

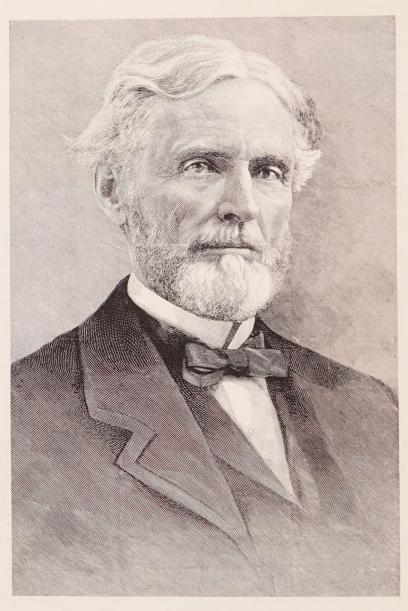




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Jefferson Davis

AT THE AGE OF SEVENTY-THREE YEARS

JEFFERSON DAVIS

CONSTITUTIONALIST

HIS LETTERS, PAPERS AND SPEECHES

COLLECTED AND EDITED BY DUNBAR ROWLAND, LL.D.

DIRECTOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ARCHIVES AND HISTORY
OF THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI, SECRETARY
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JEFFERSON DAVIS, CONSTITUTIONALIST HIS LETTERS, PAPERS AND SPEECHES

James D. Bulloch 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

63 upper Parliament Street. Liverpool, July 22 '81.

My dear Mr. Davis,

My attention has just been drawn to the book you have long been preparing, by a brief notice of it in the London Standard, and I perceive from the remarks in that paper that the work itself is in print, although not yet in actual circulation in this country. This announcement fills me with a feeling of painful regret, by reminding me that I have never sent you the information you asked in regard to the ships built or bought by me for the Confederate Government, during the war of 1861-5.

I feel conscious that no ordinary apology can be sufficient to acquit me of this seeming neglect, and no mere excuse can stand as a justification. But I feel impelled to offer you an explanation, and I pray you to believe that I have been the victim of a false hope, that I might be able to write some account of the naval operations directed from this side of the water, which would be worthy of a place in your history of the war, and I have thus been seduced into attempting too much. I ought to

VOL. IX

¹Bulloch, James Dunwody, a naval commander and native of Georgia, became a midshipman in the U. S. navy in June, 1839, served on the Potomac and Decatur until 1842. He was then transferred to the battleship Delaware which was about to make her famous cruise in the Mediterranean. In 1844-1845 Bulloch attended the naval school in Philadelphia and the 2nd of July 1845, he passed midshipman. He was on duty in the Pacific during the Mexican War, was promoted lieutenant in October 1853, and resigned his commission October 5, 1854. At the outbreak of the Civil War he was commissioned commander and sent to Europe as the special agent of the Confederate government to secure vessels for the navy. He purchased the Florida, the Alabama, and the Shenandoah and put them affoat under the Confederate flag. He remained abroad after the war, residing in Liverpool and on a magnificent estate in the Highlands of Scotland. He wrote a History of the Secret Service of the Confederacy in Europe.

have sent you a list of the ships, and their commanders; and the briefest possible narrative of their cruises and ultimate fate, but I thought you would like to have a full account of the means adopted to build, despatch and equip them, and a history of the legal and diplomatic questions which arose out of those efforts, and in an unfortunate moment, I began to examine and arrange my papers, with the purpose to furnish you the fullest possible particulars. The documents accumulated during the war fill a large chest, and the correspondence with the Secretary of the Navy, the Confederate Commissioners, ship builders, agents, and officials of various rank and grade, was simply voluminous. The papers are all carefully preserved, but they were originally filed according to date, and I soon found that to be available for an historical narrative, it would be necessary to rearrange them according to subjects. This I perceived after a short trial would require much time, and I should have then abandoned the purpose, and have sent you the simple list &c-but I had begun the more elaborate narrative, and I tried to continue it, under a fatal sort of hallucination that I would be able to make it complete, in spite of many obstacles which interfered with steady

Twice I had to be absent for long periods, then too, for many months I can say that I was never wholly well, but always more or less uncomfortable and often pressed with cares which were the harder to endure because I was not willing to complain, or to cast any portion of their burden upon others. Thus the narrative dragged, and is now still in a most incomplete state. However, it is now too late for your purposes, and I cannot tell you how much I am grieved. If you had only aroused me at any time by a reminder, I might have despatched you some details at least, but there is left to me now only the painful reflection that your history may be in some respects defective or

incomplete, from my fault.

I was told after the war that my reports to Mr. Mallory, especially those in reference to the seizure of ships alleged to be building for the C. S., and descriptive of the action of the Imperial Government of France, were laid before the Cabinet at Richmond, and I hope you have been able to refresh your memory by consultation with the survivors. The naval operations although interesting, and also important at the time, as the means of extorting the views and feelings of the European States in respect to the two belligerents, were so dwarfed in comparison with the great military movements and their consequences, that I trust your history will be worthy of the subject,

the people whose cause it proposes to defend, and of yourself, the representative of that cause, in spite of unavoidable incom-

pleteness in minor particulars.

I have often felt that a full history of the naval operations organized abroad should be written, but whenever I have contemplated making the effort, I have been appalled by the mass of documents to be examined, and other cases and pressing occupations of time and thought, have deterred me.

Besides this, the operations were, except in one case, prepared and put afloat by me personally, and I shrank from publishing a narative which would appear to be so like a history of my own individual adventures and services. I deeply regret that I have not had an account ready which you could have incorporated in your own general history.

I am, dear Mr. Davis, yours most truly,

JAMES D. BULLOCH

endorsed:

J. D. Bulloch; list of ships built and bought by him for C. S.

P.S.

The "One case" referred to within of a naval expedition not fitted out by me was that of the "Georgia" an Ironclad Steamer bought by Capt. M. F. Maury.

List of Ships built and bought by J. D. Bulloch

accompanying letter to Jefferson Davis, written July 22, 1881.

List of ships built and bought by me in Europe, for the C. S. Navy Dept.

- 1. Fingal. iron screw steamer; bought; converted at Savannah into the armour-clad Gunboat "Atlanta."
- 2. Alabama. wooden screw steamer; built; 1050 tons; 10 guns; cruiser.
- 3. Agrippina. sailing ship; bought; tender (?) to Alabama.
- 4. Florida; wooden screw steamer; built; 700 tons; 8 guns; cruiser.
- 5. Coquette; iron screw steamer; bought; special blockade runner for Navy Dept.
- 6. Shenandoah; composite screw steamer; bought and armed for cruising—455 cwt. 8 inch guns and two Whitworth 32 pounders.

7. Laurel; iron screw steamer; bought; tender (?) to Shenan-doah, afterwards special blockade runner for Navy Dept.

8. Stonewall; iron-clad Ram; built; armed with 1,150 pdr. Armstrong gun (rifled). She got out to Havanna and her Commander Capt. T. J. Page learning there that the war was at an end surrendered her to the Spanish authorities.

9. Ajax; iron twin screw steamer; built; light draft for harbour

defence Wilmington: 1-9 inch rifle Armstrong gun.

In addition to the foregoing, I built eight paddle steamers, light draft and high speed and of steel, especially for blockade running, and two large twin screw steamers for the same pur-

pose.

These latter vessels were built under contract with the Treasury Dept. with proviso that they were to be designed and superintended by me, the contractors to receive payment in cotton after delivery of the ships. Six of the number were finished, and each made one or more successful trips into Wilmington or Galveston. The remaining four were not completed at the close of the war, and were retained by the contractors.

J. D. B.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Minor Orcus (Va.) July 25th, 1881.

Dear Davis,

Many thanks for your volumes received from the Appleton house 12 days ago. Since last fall, exema has been afflicting me, remitting and aggravating, latterly my face has been involved, inflaming the eyes and weakening the sight and preventing much use. Now I am better though confident that returns must be expected as this class of cutaneous affections is due in my case to gastric and hepatic lesion. I have not detected a kidney affection; and am my own doctor, so sensation aids diagnosis.

I have not been able to read your superb work except on the events connected with Harper's ferry, Manassas, Shiloh, Atlanta, Seven Pines,—and around Richmond by Johnston and Lee premature evacuation of Norfolk prevented by you,—Drury's lines and escape of Butler—and around Vicksburg and Johnston's palpable treason at the last &c &c. You omitted Hood's declaration—under circumstances excluding doubt—and exploding Johnston's declaration of intending and expecting to hold "At-

lanta forever' -that before reaching the Chattahoochee he had planned falling back to Macon and said it.

Though incompetent to estimate such a work, I am sufficiently informed to say, that no man has ever lived, who had such a problem as you undertook, and had to face. American politicians and their followers being the worst of material -they scrupled not at open opposition and secret machination while the members of Congress speculated in stocks and commodities, and the people generally—some of the ladies also—became speculators.

You have shown what some of the generals were, while the war ministers spent much time on trivial complaints and claims belonging to their Chiefs of Bureau, while failing to enforce transportation or ordering the generals to give authority to impress-if they were in want-and use my methods and system which were unchanged because unimprovable. Johnston's retreat ordered by you need never wanted. Before I left, the Commissaries of N. C., Ga. and Ala. and in So. Ca. stated that with funds or credit supplies were abundant and the inherent power of impressment made a general independent of funds. While my plan of districting showed what was attainable, reporting supplies semi monthly, left nothing wanting but the presence of troops and the order of the General. Once in Texas you would have made your own terms; two months ago, and often before, I have stated that no European people had ever so suddenly collapsed—due to the electoral coruptions, and specially as you have now established to Johnston's treachery, the former would demoralise saints, the latter invited imitation.

America has never produced another man who could simultaneously have comprehended the problem of organising supplying and directing internally civil and military, while conducting all external relations, in a people where minorities rule by corrupting majorities. The "nation" sustain the Federal Govt. of "Usurpation" the love of money, official and private emolument, and the principle that morality is the art of avoiding detection or legal correction is the American code. I think you have established the premises, from the corollaries.

If I had not appreciated your genius and character before it had been proven, I should be afraid to go near you, for your penetration made you always hard to talk with. Your portraits are very pleasant to contemplate, that of 32 is all right, but the brow which was more perpendicular I think at Fort Gibson; the old man in the 2d volume has fattened and looks dour; all previous ones since the war were caricatures.

There is a marvellous unity in your character, manifested in

this work. You prove by congruity what no one had suspected, that Wirz was tried and convicted in order to catch you. You imply that these and kindred points will receive future attention. May you have health and long life is the prayer of yours ever,

L. B. NORTHROP.

P.S. Charlemagne managed civil and military affairs but he had unity within, and no secret assailants to his position. No other man could have done what you did and no man in America could have held your ground for one year. Your "esto perpetua" I think and hope is less true than your other quotation "ex nihilo nihil fit,"—an exception to which you approximated effecting.

endorsed: L. B. Northrop.

Jefferson Davis to R. C. Holland. (From Lynchburg News.)

Beauvoir, Harrison county, Miss., July 25, 1881.

R. C. Holland, Esq.:

My Dear Sir,—Accept my kind thanks for your kind letter of the 28th ult. In reply to your inquiry I would say:

The States cannot be deprived of their reserved rights except by their own action in a general convention, such as formed by the Constitution.

As each State did by its own consent delegate certain powers and reserve the rest, so must each State grant any additional power as the only means by which it can be justly deprived of it.

Force may prevail over right, but cannot destroy truth.

The exercise of a power to coerce a State cannot give to that act constitutional authority, but it has been so acquiesced in, that the remedy of secession by an oppressed minority must be considered impracticable.

The South never asked for more than a fair construction of the Constitution as interpreted by the men who made it, and if in the future that can be secured we may be content, though we cannot surrender a right even while admitting our inability to maintain it.

I was much gratified by the expression of your opinion in regard to the past, and tender to you my sincere regards.

Respectfully and truly yours,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

J. N. Maffitt to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Near Wilmington (N. C.) Aug. 1st, '81.

My Dear Sir,

Your welcome favor of the 9th ult. came to hand some days ago, after encountering the uncertainty of a country mail.

Many thanks for your kind rememberance; I have been waiting the action of your publisher, who, I fancy is still much engaged in the distribution of your books, and has not yet reached my name. My son informs me that there was no officer by the name of Howard; and thinks that the author of the malicious and false article in The Times of the 2d is that traitorous Paymaster Clarence Young, who was rejected from the Ala. for gross misconduct. His name was withheld from the public by Admiral Semmes in his book, in consideration for his respectable family in Savannah Geo. My son has written to Capt. Kell who was the 1st Lieut. of the Ala, and requested him as the oldest surviving officer of that vessel to denounce and expose the false statements of the "nom de plume" Howard. Commander Sinclair had a son on board the Ala, and while the vessel was at Cherbourg he visited his son, and hearing of the contemplated fight, requested permission to remain. His request was refused, in consequence of an order, previously issued by the French Admiral, forbidding the increase of the force of the Ala.,—so he did not engage in the contest, or sail in the vessel. No boat passed between the Yacht Deerhound and the Ala., nor had Admiral Semmes ever met or communicated with its owner, until rescued by him from the sea. Capt. Kell can make numerous points that will prove that the writer of the abusive article was not on board the Ala, during the engagement. The Yankees still patronize lying contributions in abuse of both Confederate Army and Navy. In fact their historians encircle Southern history with falsehoods such as Gen. Badeau, the bootlick of Grant, has foisted upon the world. Badeau asserts that Grant never outnumbered Lee, that his killed and wounded were not as numerous as Lee's who surrendered 75,000 men!! Your lance has been bravely couched a l'outrance and Stalwarts as a body seem to shun the conflict.

I shall when received peruse your renowned work with infinite pleasure. Your kind extension of hospitality is sincerely appreciated, and I trust a kindly future may permit me to avail myself of the tempting offer. Present me very cordially to Mrs. Davis and believe me

Sincerely yours,

J. N. MAFFITT.

endorsed:

Capt. Maffitt exposing falsehood of pretended officer of the Alabama.

James Lyons to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

613 E. Main St., Richmond— Aug^t 2nd /81.

My dear Mr. Davis—

I have had the pleasure to receive your kind letter of the 26th of July—and am very glad to hear that you and Mrs. Davis are well— Please to make the best regards of Mrs. Lyons and myself to her as well as to your self—

I was glad to see that you had written about the assassination and I wished you to write directly to the President because I desired that the South through you particularly should speak and express its gratification at his recovery—not because I have any regard for him—or even respect for he is but a second edition of Hayes—and but for Blaine, I believe, would have succumbed to Conkling—whom I regard as the greatest rascal in the Country—and Arthur as his second Garfield therefore is much to be preferred to either of them and if he had died, we should have had them both as President, de facto. I wished moreover that the South through you should express its abhorrence of Nihilism—

We have here nothing but two penny presses, who will not publish anything without pay— I wrote an article rebuking a contemptible sneer by the "State" at you—but it would not publish it—and I am very firmly convinced now that Lord Hartington was right when he told me that no government could exist where the Penny Press lived. In like manner I wrote an article retailing an interview with Genl. Lee—in which Magruder and myself besought him to creet his banner on the other side of the Potomac, whereby the enemy would have been driven to Havre-de-Grace and the War carried on in Pennsylvania and Washington would have been ours—

I wish you and Mrs. Davis would come to the Centennial at Yorktown—and appear in Washington next winter—

I cannot hope ever to see you again, as I am prostrate by sickness and eighty years old—

God bless you both,

Yrs truly, (Signed) JAMES LYONS.

J. A. Early to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Alleghany Springs, Montgomery Co., Va. August 6th, 1881.

My Dear Sir:

I send you a copy of the Richmond Dispatch containing a review of the pretensions of Mahone, as set forth in a communication to the New York Herald of the 20th of June.

I would have written this article sooner but have been from home the greater part of the time, in attendance on the examination at the V. M. I. Lexington and our Court of Appeals. I did not think it necessary to sign my name to the article, as I knew every one who read it would attribute it to me.

I understand that you have seen the reputed interview in

the Herald, and therefore do not send it to you.

Mahone is a miserable liar and slanderer, and what is more,

he is a contemptible coward, and was so in the War.

I had a correspondence with him several years ago about a biography of himself, which he caused to be written and published: and the next time I see you, I will show you that correspondence, from which you will discover what a miserable creature he is.

With my best regards to Mrs. Davis, and the assurance of my highest esteem and best wishes for yourself, I am Very Truly yours

J. A. EARLY.

Hon. Jefferson Davis.

endorsed:

Early on Mahone; Aug. 6, 1881; ansd. 13th Aug. '81.

R. C. Holland to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Roanoke College, Salem, Virginia August 6, 1881.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

Dear Sir:

Your very clear and satisfactory reply to my inquiry relative to the right of secession as a right surviving the war, is greatly appreciated; and I do hereby most heartily thank you for the kind consideration which you have given me.

I teach Constitutional History and Law so far as the same is included in the Curriculum of the College; and I must confess that the politicians of the day (Southern) here at times puzzled me by their "truly loyal" talk. I am glad that we are approaching an era of calm consideration of the issues involved in the recent war. Your book has appeared very opportunely, and we owe you a debt of gratitude for it.

I am glad to be able to assure you that in Virginia you have as many and as warm friends and admirers as in any state of

the late Confederacy, and the number is increasing.

I hope you will pardon me for obtruding myself upon your attention. My object was information, and to express my gratitude for your valuable service to our Southern cause both during and since the war. Of course I am unknown to you. I had the honor to be a volunteer soldier of Picketts brigade and division, and being wounded and captured on "Cemetery Heights" spent a long term in prison through the courtesy of the Federal Authorities.

I am very sincerely

Your friend

endorsed:

R. C. HOLLAND

R. C. Holland on the right of secession; complimentary &c.

A. J. B. B. Hope to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Museum.)

Arklow House, Connaught Place, W. August 7, 1881.

My dear Mr. Davis:

Your gift is indeed a generous and most acceptable one and what I shall ever prize for the sake of the donor, for the tale it tells and for the war which it commemorates.

I had already made myself acquainted with it and even dared pride myself as advertising it on this side of the Atlantic.

I have directed a copy of the Saturday Review containing

the notice to be forwarded to you.

Happiness for me is at an end but duty remains and the hope of the hereafter. I had a short time since published (anonymously) and unknown to her a novel as a surprise. I have now brought out another edition with a commemoratory preface as a memorial of her and I beg your acceptance of a copy of it.

I trust that Mrs. Davis and your family are well. Pray offer

my kindest regards and believe me, my dear Mr. Davis,

Yours very truly,

(Signed) A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE.

Walker Fearn to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Museum.)

New Orleans, 10 Aug. 1881. Wednesday.

Dear Mr. Davis:

I have heard with very great pleasure, that it is quite probable you will sail for England on the Steamer "Bernard Hall" on Sunday next. Having just taken passage in her myself, I trust nothing may occur to change your purpose and can assure you that with no inconsiderable experience as one of those "going down to sea in ships" I have rarely seen a nobler vessel. Hoping to meet you on board and with kindest remembrance to Mrs. Davis,

I am, yours very faithfully, (Signed) WALKER FEARN.

Jefferson Davis to Misses Genie Morris and Angie Patton.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Miss. 13th Aug. 1881

My dear little Friends,

I feel very sensibly the compliment contained in your request that I should write a history of the United States which it would not pain you to recite. I have long desired to see school history which would do justice to our people & their ancestors, and urged the late Dr. Bledsoe to undertake the work. He died without doing so, and I know of no living man as well able to perform the task. I should much distrust my own ability, but if my life is spared and I can get no one of such views as would suit you to prepare such a work, I will remember your request with sincere desire to grant it. I dare not promise to do so, for many years and bitter trials leave me little time or strength for so important a labor.

May God bless you, my dear children and reward your patriotic

impulse with long life and happiness.

Very truly

Your friend,

Misses Genie Morris & Angie Patton. Port Gibson, Miss. JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Paul H. Hayne ¹ to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

"Copse Hill," Georgia Rail Road,

Address:

P. O. Box 275, Augusta, Ga.

August 15th, 1881.

My dear Mr. Davis:

I ree^d your most cordial and affectionate note of the —— inst. and I thank you for it.

¹ Hayne, Paul Hamilton (1830-1886), an American poet, nephew of Robert Y. Hayne, was born in Charleston, S. C., January 1, 1830, graduated at the College of Charleston in 1850, studied law, but pursued his literary bent rather than the practise of that profession. In his early twenties he edited Russell's Magazine and contributed notably to the Southern Literary

Such a testimonial of your regard shall be always cherished. Since I wrote you last, I have had the great satisfaction of procuring your work upon "The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government!"

I am now engaged in studying, carefully and profoundly the 1st vol., especially the Chapters devoted to the elucidation of the scope and meaning of the U. S. Constitution:—the Constitution as it stood, before Fanatics and political sciolists poluted it.

Dec. 29th, 1881

Thus far I had written months ago, when the news that you had started for Europe reached me.

Now, that you have returned, I take up the thread of my interrupted letter,

The first vol. of your great "History" I have mastered, (it requires close study), and I really think that every genuine well wisher in regard to this Country's prosperity every philosophic Thinker, ought to thank you for so luminous, and able a Disquisition.

The Vol. devoted to the War, I have yet to read, ill health, and many exacting literary toils—having restricted my liesure. . . I trust that your visit abroad proved beneficial to your health; and that you come back stronger &c. &c. By the way, certain recent assaults made upon your character, and honor have signally failed to hit the mark.

Every impartial person feels indignant at your being treated thus. And yet, good often comes out of evil. All these attempts to injure and defame you, only bring into stronger relief, the purity and nobility of your nature:—and your stainless integrity! As the Chieftain of a "Lost Cause," what have you not been compelled to endure! It is always thus.

Selfish Humanity cannot recognize the nobility which may nevertheless make the fallen hero sublime. Success is the Idol they worship. Suppose Washington had failed, as he came within an ace of failing, in the old Revolution, (for who can doubt that the French aid, and the French aid alone, won that

Messenger. During the Civil War he saw active service and suffered great financial losses, including his library, during the bombardment of Charleston. From 1865 to his death he resided at a small cottage near Augusta, Georgia, called Copse Hill. Through ill health and various misfortunes he maintained good spirits and won a genuine though limited reputation as a poet in both the North and South. A complete edition of his poems was published in 1882. Consult F. V. N. Painter: Poets of the South, New York, 1903; and C. W. Hubner: Representative Southern Poets. New York, 1906.

decided victory at Yorktown) would not his name be to this hour synonymous with *treason*; and "infamous Rebel," be the mildest term associated therewith?

Let us thank God, that "to our own souls," and conscience, "we stand or fall!"

And now, I must send you the best wishes of the season, in which my wife begs to join. May the sunset of your existence be as calm and tranquil, as your eventful noon was tempestuous, and full of danger, trial, vicissitude!

When the hurry and passion of our jaundiced and morally distorted generation, shall have passed (as all earthly passions must), I think that to the eyes of the pure, and wise, surveying the years of blood, turmoil, and transitional violence which immediately succeeded the great American Civil War, no figure will appear more self-contained, dignified, and grandly pathetic as that of Jefferson Davis! I am not penning words of idle flattery but casting my vision into the remote Future—and estimating, by the infallible laws of reason experience and psychological deduction, what must and will happen!

Always, most Faithfully and Cordially yours, (Signed) PAUL H. HAYNE.

Mary W. Rhodes to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Charleston near Stockton. Sept. 4th 1881

Mr. Davis My dear Sir

Your most kind and gracious compliance with my request has made me very happy. Already they the Books are lying on my table under the portrait of Genl. Lee.— How vividly past scenes are recalled by the little I have had time to read. One recollection may be of interest to you, as showing the warm interest and grateful affection expressed by Mrs. Lee in you at your time of intense suffering. After the war, I removed the remains of my son, together with those of two others who fell with him in defence of their Regimental colors to Baltimore, where they still lie interred in the private lot of a friend— When the Episcopal services for the dead, were over, a gentleman present approached me and saying he was just from Richmond, proceeded to relate to me scenes of suffering he had witnessed.

more especially mentioning cases of ladies who had been employed in the different Departments of the Confederate Government and who were without the means of returning to their homes- Having met Col. Bowers of Grants staff often and received from the General himself, pardon and transportation for many who were in Northern prisons at the close of the War, I went at once to Washington and was told that if I would go to Richmond I should have assistance in sending persons in need, to their homes. This was on Sunday and on Wednesday I left Baltimore for Richmond with \$1,100 in gold, collected by the noble women of Baltimore. Immediately on my arrival, Dr. Simmons then U. S. Medical Director sent for me- I had met him at David's Island whither many Gettysburg prisoners were taken. He placed an ambulance and driver at my disposal for every day of my stay extending over 2 weeks and did all in his power for me in my mission. I gave to each of the clergymen \$50. and to Mrs. Lee the same sum, to be given to those they could approach and I could not. In one of my interviews with Genl. & Mrs. Lee they spoke of you with deep feeling and Mrs. Lee pointed out to me a large easy chair which she said you sent to her when you were on the eve of departure from Richmond remembering even then, her invalid condition. She spoke with tears of your sufferings in prison the cruel separation from your family being dwelt upon in gentle sorrow but most forcible terms. I remember saying more to the General than to her, how much I also felt, but, that I did not anticipate anything more than present suffering-said I, "if Mr. Davis can endure it and survive he must be tried and his trial is also the trial of the Southern Confederacy and who can doubt the result?" "Ah Madam'' said Genl. Lee, "if he can have a fair trial!"- I replied that such a trial would and must be an open one the whole civilized world looking on and must perforce be a fair one-They dared not bring you to trial.

Dr. Simmons sent for me the day before I left Richmond, told me he had seen you—in prison—mentioned what I had already long known a real or fancied grievance at your hands while Secretary of War—expressed the deepest indignation at your treatment and his grave fears that your health would give way—and wished me to try quietly what could be done in

Washington-

Soon as I arrived there I called on Surgeon General Barnes, who, recognizing me as the lady who had written to him in regard to the treatment of some Southern women imprisoned in Louisville by order of Genl. Sherman, who had placed the no-

torious Dr. Mary Walker in charge of them. "I inquired into your statements" said Dr. Barnes "found them correct, and had her dismissed at once"— When I named my present errand he spoke feelingly and assured me that much had been already done, more in progress. What he said of those in authority was

confidential and was not complimentary.

Once again I saw Genl. & Mrs. Lee, at their own home in Lexington, Va- On my way to N. C. for my daughter and her family in 1868 I felt a yearning to see the Institute where my noble boy spent the happiest days of his life— I spent an afternoon and evening by invitation at Genl. Lee's—he was not well and I feared he was sitting up too late on my account, the young man who was expected to see me to the Hotel not arriving I insisted I could go alone. The Genl, told Mildred to bring his hat and cloak and while waiting for them, pointed out to me a fine portrait of the Pope, "the only sovereign" said he "in Europe who recognized our poor Confederacy''— During our walk to the Hotel he spoke again, so feelingly and kindly of you, told me you were born in 1808—himself in 1806— We parted at the Hotel door—an earnest and on my part tearful parting. I entered the hall and passed nearly thro it, when looking back I saw the General still standing by the door. Seeing me turn and stop, he came to me, took both my hands in his pressed them to his heart and oh his look! The Soul that was there!

He died of a broken heart. Found every pledge broken, every promise falsified—and his noble heart pierced to the core gave

wav---

Farewell, my dear Sir—be of good courage— Never was Truth so literally "crushed to earth" as in the case of the Confederacy and your own part therein—but remembering always that "The Eternal years of God are hers"! let us not despair—

With grateful regards—
(Signed) MARY W. RHODES.

I do not enclose this ragged relic of the past in any spirit of ostentation, believe me, or to allude to anything I may have been able to do, for suffering humanity but as my best and only apology for writing to you as I did. Ever since my return, I have been struggling to pay off a mortgage on my home, and really had not the money to buy the Book I was so anxious to read. I am as I told you, of northern birth, but in the struggle we have passed thro' I felt as I think any just woman must feel in a quarrel between her relatives and those of her husband,

knowing the latter to be in the right. Then my dear father was the friend of those old New Hampshire Democrats, Franklin Pierce, Levi Woodbury and others and fond of reading I was well versed in the history of our country. My boys went to the field with my full and free consent.

My dear Eddie was noble by nature, his whole soul was in the cause— His Col. Leventhorpe wrote to me from prison, "I saw him for a moment as we were nearing the enemy, and he remarked to me with a smile 'we are marching in excellent line!" Proud of the troops he has helped to drill, he went to his death without fear.

In a few days I shall be 73 years old— Shadows and clouds and darkness rest upon my future, but I repine not at the loss of my boys. The evening of my days may be lonely and alas has been so but they died for the right. One in battle, the other weakened by 4 years of privation and suffering—from his 17 to his 21 year—

"They cannot come to me but I shall soon go to them."

Forgive me for writing so much, and believe me once more and ever gratefully yours,

(Signed) M. W. Rhodes.

W. N. Pendleton to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Lexington, Virginia. Sept. 6th, 1881.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Miss. My Dear and honoured Friend.

Since receiving your valued favour of June 21st—I have not, I believe, written to you,—mainly because of the probability, you then indicated, of your taking with Mrs. Davis, a voyage across the Atlantic, &c., in connection with the graduation of your youngest daughter at Carlsruhe. Now I write, taking for granted you have reached home again, excessive as are the heat and drought with which the Bestower of good sees fit to afflict us.

And first let me thank you for your two admirable volumes, most kindly sent me by Judge Tenney, "with the respects of the Author," distinctly inscribed on each.

With the deepest interest and with more than full approval, have I read them. Even with wondering thankfulness to the

Supreme Guide unto truth, that you were enabled to secure so many documents proving the right,—and that you were granted the wise virtue of charitable allowance for dreadful wrongs of

all sorts, while faithfully exhibiting the wrongs.

The friendly favour with which you several times speak of myself, claims, of course, my grateful acknowledgment. To the Divine blessing was due any and every service rendered by me, in our great struggle against assailing and destructive force. And under this conviction, my hope is, not to be tempted into

any vain self-conceit by praise even from yourself.

With some of the responsible commanders whom you carefully exhibit, with elaborate detail, toward just, if not wholly approving judgment, as Genl. Pemberton,—my own ceaseless duties permitted me not to get acquainted. But I am sure that his character, as ultimately shown, entitled him to your cordial vindication. Your great estimate of Genl. A. S. Johnston, R. E. Lee, and Stonewall Jackson, is in full accord with the judgment of Christendom. As of other Leaders on our side, only second to them.

And the exposure you got means to make of crafty Seward,—lying Sherman,—and inhuman, covenant-breaking, Grant,—will, in time, spot them and their cause, with more or less of disgrace in the estimation of the reflecting portion of mankind.

It is likely, I think, that the facts brought out by you in the latter half of your 2nd Vol. respecting what they call, "the period of reconstruction,"—will tell more than all else, strong as is all the truth you present,—to stamp upon the conscience of christendom, horror—at Yankee atrocities: and upon the general Yankee mind itself, something of shame.

The difficulty is to get any large number really to look into and consider the realities. In Appleton's Review, I have noticed extracts from some English Publications justly and highly commendatory of your great contribution to reliable History. But rarely has been published, so far as I know, any mention of your work, even in professedly democratic papers, at the North. They are prejudiced. They are afraid for the actual truth to be known.

I notice that even Church papers, on an occasion like this of Garfield's long illness under his wound,—talk about "the head of this one great Nation"!—wholly ignoring the existence of Separate commonwealths, with their governments and rights,—all—essential to the benign agencies of well regulated Society; guarded on the one hand against communism, and on the other against resistless tyranny.

My trust is your book, and several great influences, will gradually bring the western, and the better of the Northern people to juster estimate of that principle of "Home-Rule," (State Rights), which "Judicion, Hooker" says—"God has stamped on human souls." Which Washington and his associates wrought for, and established, and which we, though by force overborne, vindicated. Certainly the foiling of Imperialism thus far is remarkable.

You spoke of having probably to publish again, against some wrongful assailants. Of something of the kind by Genl. J. E., someone has spoken, in my presence,—and of some preposterous folly of the kind by Mahone. But no such paper is ever sent me; and of it I now know nothing. You have still, of course, to defend the truth, and therein my prayers are with you.

A pleasant account, of the "Golden wedding" of my wife and self, on the 15th July, was published. I hope it fell under your eyes.

Farewell! Love to you all. And God's blessing be yours forever! Your affectionate Friend,

(Signed) W. N. PENDLETON.

Hunter Davidson to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Duplicate.

Buenos Ayres, Dec. 5, 1881.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

I write to ask that you will do an act of justice.

On page 207-8 of your "Rise & Fall of the Confederate Government" you say "This led to an order placing Gen. G. J. Rains in charge of the submarine defences; . . . The secret of all his future success . . . The Torpedoes were made of the ordinary material generally, as, beer barrels, fixed up with conical heads . . .; some were made of cast iron, copper or tin; and glass demijohns were used. There were three essentials to success, viz.: the sensitive primer, a charge of Sixty pounds of gunpowder, and actual contact between the Torpedo and the bottom of the vessel."

You have thus gone into detail on the subject of Torpedoes, and you continue it at some length on the two following pages.

The inference to be drawn from reading your remarks on this subject in days when you and I have passed away and it will be too late to correct errors, is that,—Gen. Rains commanded the submarine defences of the South.

To him is due the success of this means of warfare. His "sensitive fuze primer" was "essential to success." The subm. mines were only beer barrels, demijohns &c, with charges of sixty

pounds of gunpowder.

As President, you would not be expected to know much of the details of Torpedo operations during such a terrible war as that of our Second Revolution, but whatever may come from your pen will be received by the World as the highest authority, even upon Torpedoes.

I know it is too late to correct your Work unless a Second Edition be published, but you can answer my letter and my

children will have it to read.

The facts of the case are briefly these, as far as I am personally concerned.

In the Summer of 1862 I relieved Com. M. F. Maury in command of the Subm. defences around Richmond by written order

of the Secy. of the Navy.

The result was: the organization of a department; the application of an electric battery, of convenient size and sufficient strength to the explosion of Subm. Mines; the construction of a large number of wrought iron mines, (at the Tredegar Works) holding 1800 lbs. of gunpowder to be placed at a depth of Seven fathoms; the importation of insulated Cable to connect the Mines and the electric batteries; the manufacture of the platinum, or quantity fuze, which alone was used in all the electrical defences around Richmond, and in those attempted at Charleston.

The department was completely organized before the first of 1863, both in personnel and material, and occupied nine well constructed Stations on the James river alone, connected by telegraph, and with the office of the Secy. of the Navy.

The effective work of this organization consisted in the partial destruction of the large gunboat "Commo. Barney" and the

loss of many lives, in August 1863.

The complete destruction of the large gunboat "Commo. Jones" and nearly all her crew in May 1864.

These were the first vessels ever injured in War by any system of electrical defences.

In a long letter from the Secy. of the Navy, Mr. Mallory, to me after the war, he says "The destruction of the "Commo.

Jones' the leading vessel of Admiral Lee's Fleet, which was ascending the James river to co-operate with Gen. Butler in the attack on Drury's Bluff, by causing the retirement of that Fleet undoubtedly saved Drury's Bluff, the key to Richmond."

Again he says, "I always regarded the Subm. department under your command as equal in importance to any Division of the Army."

About the same time I reed, the most flattering letters from Gen. Lee; Admiral Buchanan and others on the subject of my services in command of the Submarine defences, and it is with painful surprise I find you have forgotten a long letter of the same nature written me by yourself, as you do not even allude to any act of mine in your Work.

In March 1864 I ran down the James river from Richmond to its mouth in a small steam launch and attacked the Flag Ship Minnesota with a spar torpedo, doing her considerable injury, and returned to Richmond without the slightest loss of any kind. This was the only instance during our War where the spar torpedo was used with effect, and without loss to the attacking party, and therefore was the only instance to establish the efficiency of the method. The Russian (sulphuric acid &c) fuze was used, the same that Capt. Glassell used against the "Ironsides."

I commanded the Subm. defences as a regularly organized electrical system, in all its detail and requirements until near the end of the War, under the orders of the Secy. of the Navy only, and never heard of any of Gen. Rains' work but in two instances; once when told he had placed a self acting Torpedo in the river, I immediately complained to the Secy. of the impropriety of this act, as it would close the river to our own vessels and almost prevent the management of my electrical subm. defences. By authority of the Secretary I had the Torpedo dragged for and removed.

The second instance—towards the close of the War some of these self acting Torpedoes of Gen. Rains were again placed in the James river, and the Confederate Steamer "Shultz" went down—loaded with Federal prisoners to be exchanged at City Point.—Fortunately for the South there was not another cause for the cry of murder and assassination against it; the Shultz passed the Rains Torpedo going down, and delivered the prisoners safely, but returning she struck it and was destroyed. During the years that I commanded the electrical Subm. defences not a friendly skin was ever broken, to my knowledge, and it

must be remembered that I had to experiment and bring the

system to perfection.

I never met, nor communicated with Gen. Rains or any one attached to "his submarine defences" during the War, or since. If your memory still fails you, there are four well known officers living who can testify to the exactness of all I have here written viz.: Captains W. H. Parker, J. Pembroke Jones, J. M. Brooke and John Taylor Wood.

I have therefore to request that as an act of simple justice you will answer this letter and correct the mistake referred to. I have addressed you in duplicate because of the great dis-

tance that separates us.

Very truly and Respy. yr. obdt. servt.

HUNTER DAVIDSON

Care of Messrs. S. B. Hale & Co. 32 Calle Reconquista

Buenos Ayres, S. A.

endorsed: Hunter Davidson; about Torpedoes; ansd. 25 Jan. '82.

E. Osborne M.D. to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Mason City Ia. Dec. 11th, 1881.

Jefferson Davis Esq. Dear Sir,

A few days since I was conversing with a discharged union soldier about some of the incidents of the late civil war when I casually remarked that Gen. Sherman denied the truth of the statement in your history that northern soldiers burned Columbia S. C. He replied that Sherman knew very little about the affair for he did not come till long after the town had begun to burn and he gave his version of the affair. He was a private in a Kentucky regt, commanded by a Col. Murray (now Gov. of Utah) and in Kilpatrick's brigade. About 500 or 1000 "bummers" approached the town just as the Confederates were evacuating the place. They exchanged a few shots with them and then entered the place. No signs of fire were any where visible. A number of them dismounted and entered a very fine public building of some kind in the top story of which they found a lot of Confederate bonds which they seized and divided among themselves to use in card playing.

Presently the cry of fire was raised and he found that the lower story of the building in which he was, was on fire and he escaped by leaping from the first story to the ground. He said the question was not even discussed as to who fired the town for there was not a Confederate in the place and it was well enough known that the bummers did it.

Should a more complete account giving names and dates be of any value to you I would secure it for you if you desired it.

I have no particular interest to serve by thus thrusting this intelligence before you as I am a Canadian located in this town and can take no part in political controversies. I am only interested that the truth should be known and have therefore placed this evidence before you.

Yours respectfully.

E. OSBORNE M. D.

Mason City Ia.

endorsed:

Testimony of a federal soldier on burning of Columbia.

Isaac N. Brown to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Kanawha Glendale P. O. Missi. 15th Decr. 1881.

H. E. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Missi.

Dear Sir.

On the 10th April last, in compliance with your request by letter of I think 28th of March preceding, I sent you an account of the affair of the C. S. Gunboat "Arkansas"—of the fitting out of that vessel and the attack on the 15th July 1862 upon the United States Naval forces in the vicinity of Vicksburg.

Having received no acknowledgement of the receipt on your part of such account, I beg now to recall your attention to the matter, and if it was received that you will do me the favor to return it to my address by mail.

I am very respectfully yours, ISAAC N. BROWN.

endorsed:

Capt. Isaac N. Brown wants his account of the cruise of the Arkansas; ansd. 28th "Feb. '82 and returned his MSS.

A. F. Smith 1 to Burton N. Harrison.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

New York, Dec. 20, 1881.

Capt. Burton N. Harrison, New York City.

Dear Sir:

I must begin by begging your kind indulgence for this unwarranted trespass upon your time and patience, in extenuation of which I deem it sufficient to say, I am a native born southerner, and an ex-confederate soldier; but the years intervening since the close of the war are too brief to have hidden from view the many heartfelt memories that cluster around that eventful past. As an officer of the 49th Tenn. Infantry, acting in the capacity of A.A.I.G. Walthall's Division, Stewart's Corps, Army of Tenn. I served in the greater part of the Georgia campaign; in fact was identified with that army from New Hope Church to Jonesboro and thence to Nashville and all subsequent movements to the surrender at Greensboro N. C.; and until quite recently have been a warm defender of Genl. Johnston as against the criticisms and attacks of Mr. Davis' friends, but a perusal of Mr. Davis' book and a review of Genl. Johnston's "Narrative," have modified my previously conceived opinions to a limited extent, even to a large extent.

In an interview with you published in today's "Times," you are made to say that you had "no knowledge that \$39,000,00 was left at Greensboro for soldiers, as stated, and I feel confident no such sum was left by Mr. Davis." I can not say what sum was left or by whose orders, but I do know that a sum of coin was distributed among the troops surrendered, for I assisted the Pay Master of our division, Capt. W. P. Davis, of Enterprise Miss., to the extent of paying one Brigade; and my memory now is that the payment was \$1.25 or \$1.50 per man regardless of rank, so I infer the sum of \$39,000.00 is not far from the facts.

But I wish to express my profound astonishment that any man known and honored by our people in the trying past could so far forget what was due our people (and especially our leaders) as well as himself, as to come forward at this late day with such a vile and improbable accusation as the papers of the day attribute to Genl. J. E. Johnston.

¹ Confederate soldier, lawyer, 71 Wall St., 1881 N. Y. City Directory.

In my opinion Mr. Davis has never seen the day in which such an act was possible to him; and if any single act of his previous life had justified a suspicion of this character, the circumstances of his capture, imprisonment and subsequent life, are all dead against the *possibility* of such an appropriation.

Whatever may have been our individual opinions of Mr. Davis' administration,—and I confess mine were in the main friendly—ordinary regard for common honesty,— even decency—would prevent our forgetting that Mr. Davis, of all our people, is in the most helpless condition, in such matters, and any man who can so far forget what is due his own reputation for courage and manliness, or who can not discern that so gross an accusation against his former chief is an indirect slur upon himself, must be well beyond the misty borders which separate the sane from the insane.

I have felt that Genl. Johnston's course was an outrage upon the feelings of all true southern men, and for the reason that I have considered myself more friendly to him than to Mr. Davis until recently, and because I do not feel that I can with ordinary propriety address such a communication to Mr. D., I have decided to inflict you,—whom I know from history and from our mutual friend Mr. M. H. Clarke of Clarksville, Tenn., to have held very intimate relations with Mr. Davis—with this communication, as representing in some measure, the views and feelings of a former "Johnstonite."

I have the honor to be, with great respect,

Very truly yrs.
A. F. SMITH.

Burton N. Harrison to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

120 Broadway, New York. Dec. 21, '81.

My dear Mr. Davis:

We hoped, in the Spring, that you and Mrs. Davis would be here before going to Europe, and on your way there. That disappointment however was outdone by the greater disappointment we had when you recently arrived here, unannounced and actually got off for home before we knew that you had arrived. I should certainly have met you at the steamer had I known by

what boat you were to come and should thus have had the satisfaction of seeing you during the short time you waited for the train without going at all to a Hotel.

We have seen, and felt great concern at, the statement that you were halted at Louisville, by Mrs. Davis' illness; and we sincerely trust that you are all now safely established at Beau-

voir and in good health again.

There was recently published in Philadelphia what purported to be a discourse by Genl. J. E. Johnston. I have seen only an extract from it published in New York papers. Somebody has probably sent it to you entire. A reporter of the "New York Times" called on me about it, and I send you what he has published. He has not followed my language and in places gives a twist to what I said. But it is so much nearer to an approximation to a correct report than that paper has heretofore made of interviews with me that I am inclined to think they meant to tell the story straight.

I send you also a slip cut from the "World" today, showing that Johnston has been made to see he has compromised himself. I send you also a letter which shows how his utterances have affected people.

With the most affectionate regard always

Very truly,
BURTON N. HARRISON.

C. J. Wright to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

2246 Indiana av. Chicago Dec. 21

Dear Friend,

I have cut an a/c of one of the narratives from the gen. Comd. (?) that I enclose about confederate money. I have no belief that Gen. Johnston ever said what is charged to him because he could have known nothing of the facts. A year or so ago I obtained from Secry. Treasury the amt, received into the Treasury of the captured money and published it. I enclose the mem, of the three sums which are all. I do not believe a word of all or any part.

If you have anything to say or desire it, let me know if you choose so to do, either in confidence or that I may use it, if I

choose and find occasion.

I sent your letter to Austin and told him as he wanted to write Drayton, he had as well do the same to you. And if we could agree arrange for the meeting of us four—all told—once more somewhere.

I do not know the new President Arthur and none of the men he is gathering about him. I have to work on in the hope of getting my arrear of Pension—but the hope now is small enough —though the need great.

I fear your book will not prove profitable to you as I hear little of it here.

I have not heard from Drayton for a long time nor written him.

Christmas will be with you about when this reaches. I have nothing to send—but with all my heart and in the hope your good wife may be well again I wish you she and your household a merry and happy one—many more we will not have.

truly yours, CRAFTS(?) J. WRIGHT.

Memorandum slip referred to in letter of C. J. Wright to Jefferson Davis, dated Dec. 21.

June 16/65 3 kegs, 37 boxes of Gold and Silver coin and bullion turned over at Savannah by Lt. Col. York dis. Pro. mar. to A. G. Brown of T. Dept.—came from Augusta—and cond. in U. S. T. \$81,936.14.

July '65 Coin and bul, from Wash, Ga, in charge of officers of Richd, Bk, and into Trea, \$95,264.87.

May 26/65 Cap. Curting of Q. M. G. Cav. at Macon \$4768 part taken from J. D. and 148.16 from sales of stock in T. D.

Reagan wrote me he had two drafts on Eng. un-endorsed which were taken,—I have never seen accounted for—some 40000\$\\$ in val. But I always doubted R's statement—though I had no real cause to disbelieve him.

Mrs. Lizzie Greene Fisher to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Ex-Presdt. Jefferson Davis,

Dear Sir,

I enclose two articles from the S. F. "Cronicle," in regards to you, which I believe to be false and a foul slander on you. I

hope you will loose no time in contradicting them. I have ever been an ardent admirer of yours, from my earliest remembrance, and from the manner you acquitted yourself in our lost cause, and the firmness of your stand that we were in the right, has increased my admiration for you. Every now and then, I have a battle to fight about you. I will not allow any one to slander you in my presence. If in my rooms I order them out; and in any other place I leave. I believe you to be as true and good as my own father was. He was also a great admirer of yours, and it was in his house in New Orleans, I first saw you. I was only 6 yrs, old, and you then made a lasting impression upon me. I remember asking my Mother if you were a "King." I was too young to know how to express myself, but in after years, when I saw you in the Capital, and other places, in Jackson, Miss., the time the State seceded, I thought you were the most elegant, polished, and accomplished gentleman I ever saw, and could express then what I was unable to do years before, and when you were made Presdt. of our "Southern Confederacy" I said to Senator Allcorn, "I called Mr. Davis a 'King' when I was 6 vrs old, and now he is one in reality''—and the very one to fill the place. Those were happy days, but we all have seen some miserable ones since tho' that war brought sorrow and destruction all over our sunny land, and stripped us of all we had, and I have been struggling with poverty ever since, and am now as poor can be, I still stick firm to our cause, that we were right, and it is to be deplored we did not win our cause. that we fought, bled, and struggled so hard for, our loss has saddened and thrown a gloom over my whole life, but it has not, or never will subdue me,—I am still a 'Rebel' and will die one, and like Dr. Page, who is a Cousin of Genl. Lee's, I want the Confederate Flag carved on my tomb.

Excuse the liberty I have taken in intruding upon you, but I was so incensed when I read these articles in the paper, I acted

right away from impulse.

Respectfully,
Yours,
MRS. LIZZIE GREENE FISHER
No. 526 Geary st.
San Francisco, Cal.

Dec. 22d. 1881

P.S. I don't know if you will remember me, but I am the daughter of "Maj. John K. Rayburn, of N. O." who did a large cotton and tobacco business there, and at the time I met you in Jackson, Miss., I was a Mrs. Jno. Price, then a young widow.

Gov. Allcorn knows me, he was once a beau of mine; when I was quite young, and a friend of my cousin's, Col. A. N. Rayburn.

Thos. F. Drayton to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Charlotte, 22nd Decr. 1881.

Dear Jeff,

I got a glimpse last night of the Atlanta Constitution of the 20th inst., containing an article by the authority of Joe Johnston, charging you with having made way with \$2,500,000 of Gold belonging to the Confederacy—in other words, you had such an amount in your possession, and have never rendered an account of it!

There are many other offensive utterances against you in the said article—but I have not had an opportunity of reading them. I have sent to Atlanta for the paper of the 20th, and as soon as it has been perused will write you.

Occupying, during the trying days of our struggles for deliverance from Northern domination, the lofty Office of President, it would have been impossible for you to have escaped calumny and harsh criticism; but Joe Johnston has been the first of your bitter opponents, who has dared to couple thief, with your honest name. And I can account for the bitterness of this attack upon you, in no other way, than by assuming that Joe has gone mad in his old age.

One word more, Jeff; don't forget that you are the most conspicuous figure of our "Lost Cause" who survives; so be careful not to indulge in harsh recrimination in any reply that you may feel called upon to lay before your friends and countrymen; for in doing so, you will be treading in the footprints of your denouncer, whose crazy attack upon you, must not be repeated upon him!!! "Our Lord when he was reviled, reviled not again."

You are our Representative man of the "Lost Cause", and any self-inflicted wounds upon yourself, will be keenly felt by your many friends whose feelings in your behalf are grossly outraged by Johnston's cruel and unmanly attack.

I hope that Mrs. Davis and yourself have returned from your trip to Europe in improved health;—though this mean and unexpected assault will I fear, arouse emotions which will undo

the beneficial effects upon mind and body, that rest and recreation among new scenes, so often bring about.

With my kind remembrances to you both,

Believe me, as always
Yr friend,

THOS. F. DRAYTON.

Honl.

Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir,
Harrison Co., Miss.

S. K. Phillips to W. T. Walthall.

Chattanooga, Tenn. Dec. 22, 1881.

Major W. T. Walthall, Hansboro, Miss.

My dear Sir:

Enclosed I hand you some clippings from the Cincinnati Enquirer of the 20th inst., covering alleged interviews between reporters of the Enquirer and Genl's E. P. Alexander and Robert Toombs. These interviews were superinduced by an interview recently published in the Philada. Press as having occurred between a reporter of that paper and Genl. Joseph E. Johnston in regard to certain funds of the Confederacy, which by implication at least reflects upon ex-President Davis and Genl. John C. Breckenridge.

I pay very little attention ordinarily to reported interviews with prominent and distinguished public men, knowing that reporters too often give such interviews a coloring which will be most acceptable to the papers which they represent, or to the public for whom they cater. It is only, as in this instance, when some great character connected with our struggle is the subject of public criticism that I become interested in what is written, and sensitive to the effects likely to result therefrom.

While I give no credit to these articles, I cannot suppress the pain which they inflict. I love and honor our noble ex-President. I revere the memory of Genl. John C. Breckenridge. The first is alive and amply able and equipped to defend himself from any and all attacks. The last sleeps the sleep of a stainless soldier, powerless for defence.

Genl. Breckenridge was a close personal and political friend

of a favorite uncle of mine, and honored me in my youth with his consideration and great public influence. I have never ceased to love and honor him, and this implied impeachment of his integrity affects me very keenly.

There is no living person who could so easily and so perfectly east aside and crush forever this cruel thrust at one of the noblest of his great Lieutenants and his trusted friend, as Ex-President Davis. I ask, therefore, as a personal favor that you place these papers before him, and if you feel disposed to do so, this letter.

In conclusion, permit me to acknowledge your kindness for the publication of my Garfield Sonnet, and the delicate notice which you were pleased to give it. You were always kind to me in my literary matters, and I beg you to believe that I hold that kindness in very dear remembrance. With the hope that this will find you and yours well and prosperous,

I am, truly yours friend, S. K. Рицырз.

M. H. Clark to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Clarksville, Tenn., Dec. 23, 1881

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

Dear Sir,

I was very glad to hear of the safe arrival of yourself Mrs. Davis and Daughter on this side of the water, after such a stormy and perilous voyage, and I bid you a hearty welcome home again, a wish echoed by many thousands of hearts to whom you are very dear.

You have no doubt, had sent you from various quarters newspapers containing an account of an interview of a newspaper Reporter with Gen'l. J. E. Johnston, in which the latter gives utterance to slanderous insinuations in regard to your connection with the Confederate Treasury matters.

As while you were in Europe, I was asked to nail a Yankee lie to the counter, I have taken the liberty to enclose you the article copied from the Nashville American.

As I was the last Confederate Treasurer and disbursed the specie assets of the Treasury, taking receipts from all, I felt authorized to speak, for I alone can now speak with authority upon that subject, giving exact facts, and should you find it

necessary to notice the attack, your last Treasurer can give his

report.

I never gave my parole and surrendered myself a prisoner to the U. S. Govt., and was the last Officer upon duty, being engaged in watching over the papers of the Executive Office until the fall of 1865.

While you were in prison I went to see Mrs. Davis at Mrs. McAlpins near Augusta Ga., carrying, in fact forcing Capt. Temple with me, in hopes of making him do his duty to her; and to her made a full report to be repeated to you on your release, as I knew that the U. S. Govt. would not dare to try the cause of the Confederacy in your person in the Courts.

I have always thought your book might well have had a chapter in reference to the Treasury and other matters at Washington, Ga., material for which I might have furnished the data.

With much respect
Faithfully Yours
M. H. CLARK.

C. J. Wright to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

2246 Indiana Ave. (Chicago) Dec. 23/81

Dear Friend,

I may be exercising myself and troubling you more than I should about your own affairs but what bears on you is of interest to me of course. I send to day some slips which you may not otherwise see and which I thought you would like to see. I know Johnson, unfortunately bears you no good will.

I have always been under the impression that a President on your side would be like ours and therefore have no authority of even the Treasury for what the Sec. of Treasury was directly liable. The Presdt might exercise authority by removal but not personally handle or control the Treasury. Hence I have supposed all the charges of personal action or authority or use were not true. I did not believe either that in money the Confed. Gov. had any such sum as is stated in what I sent you yesterday.

I don't know that I shall bother you or send you more.

truly yours, C. J. W.

Thos. F. Drayton to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Charlotte 24th Decr. 1881.

Dear Jeff.

Since my letter to you of the 22nd just after I had a brief perusal of the alleged conversation between Joe. Johnston and his interviewer F. A. B., I have seen, in this morning's paper, a denial from Joe, which is enclosed. After the hasty utterances in my former letter, I will not add more—except, that when a man hates another as Joe does you, he can not be too prudent what he says about you—and to whom he speaks.

Wishing you and Mrs. Davis "a Merry Christmas", and to you especially, deliverance from all kinds of attacks in the time

to come from anonymous correspondents,

Believe me as always

yr friend

Honr.

Jeffr. Davis Beauvoir, Miss.

J. B. Briggs to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Russellville, Ky. Dec. 26, 1881.

THOS. F. DRAYTON.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, New Orleans, La.

My Dear Sir.

I enclose you herein a hurriedly written letter in regard to the specie belonging to "our late Confederacy." It was written very hurriedly, but gives you a synopsis of the information I furnish the press. I am very glad to see such a general condemnation of the charges as purported to emanate from Gen. John(t)son, and trust he will at once deny them. All we have left of "our beloved Confederacy" is our honor and "God forbid" that any one should impugn it, much less impugn one of our own number—and especially our President. My letter is not as explicit as it might be, as it was written hastily. No

doubt Gen. Dibrell, Cols. W. C. P. Breckinridge and Col. W. S. McLemore will gladly give you their recollections of this eventful occasion.

With my sincere best wishes for your good health and long life,

I remain Yours Truly,

J. B. Briggs.

J. B. Briggs to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Russellville, Ky., Dec. 26th, 1881.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, My Dear Sir,

I have read with regret a Conversation said to have occured with Gen. Joe. E. Johns(t) on and a reporter of a Philadelphia paper. I cannot believe such a Conversation really occurred. I served under Gen. Johns (t) on during the Tennessee and Georgia Campaign. There was no soldier in the Confederate Army I had greater admiration for than Gen. Johns (t) on; but take his interview as a fact, and it is mere heresay on his part. What we want are "real facts", and as I happen to know personally, something in regard to this "specie" business, I have given the same to the "Courier Journal of Louisville Ky." As I understood it after the fall of Richmond you and your Cabinett started South; near Greensboro N. C. Gen. Breckinridge Secty, of War sent an order to Gen. Johns (t) on near Raleigh N. C. to send his best Division of Cavalry to act as "Escort." Gen. Geo. G. Dibbrell now Member of Congress from Tennessee was detailed for this purpose. His Division was Composed of a part of the old Forrest Brigade in Command of Col. W. S. McLemore now of Franklin Tennessee, composed of the 4th Tennessee Cavalry 545 men, the 13th Tenn. Cavly. 381 men, 4th Battalion Tenn. Cavly, 103 men Pro. Guard parts of the 9th, 10th and 11th Tenn. Cavly., detailed men and men of various Commands attached to this brigade making 89 men, making total no. in this brigade 1118 men. The other Brigade of Gen. Dibrell's Division was composed of Ky, and Texas troops Commanded I think by Col. W. C. P. Breckinridge; this was the only escort propper to You and Cabinet. We joined you near Greensboro N. C.

Our march was thence to Charlotte N. C., when we heard of the death of Mr. Lincoln, where you made a speech regretting the death of Mr. Lincoln in which you stated his death was a great loss to the South-from Charlotte we went to Abbeville S. C. where the last Council of War was held. I saw no specie train up to that time. From Abbeville we took the road to Washington Georgia. When we reached the Savannah River we found a pontoon bridge across that stream upon which we crossed, and encamped near the Bank of the River. Quarters were in a House about 2 miles from the stream on the road to Washington Georgia. I received an order that evening to report to you. I was the A. Q. M. of Dibbrell's brigade. When I arrived I was advised by you, that you desired to have the specie belonging (to) the Confederacy divided equally between the troops escorting you, and other troops that were present (parts of Duke's Ky. Brigade, Vaughn's Tenn. Brigade, Ferguson's Miss. Brigade and straggling soldiers) and Gen. Forrest's Command which was supposed to be somewhere in the vicinity of Macon Geo. You stated that other A.Q.M's of the several brigades were expected—Maj. White the A. Q. M. of Dibbrells Division was present, also Capts, Rice and Lewellen and possibly other A. Q. M.'s The Treasury Wagons were then encamped in and around the Yard of the House. To ascertain how the division should be made it was requisite to know the amount of money that was in the Treasury train, a detail was therefore made, and the wagons one by one were driven to the door of the House and the specie was unloaded. It was mostly in Mexican and American Silver, and the greater part in Specie Kegs, near the size of Beer Kegs. These Kegs contained about 5000\$ each, the balance of the Silver was in ammunition boxes.

There was very little Gold. What there was of it was in strong Cotton Sacks, and the Seal on nearly every Sack was broken, and the Counters reported not a single Sack contained the amount marked on it. The supposition at the time was the train had been robbed while en route but by who no one seemed to know. Counters were appointed—a muster roll was furnished by each Company, Regiment and brigade who were in the vicinity, and after dividing the money equally between Forrest and the men who were with you and pro-rating it, it was found each man would receive \$26.00, which was paid to the respective officers who were authorized to receive it. You and your staff were in the adjoining room and I remember distinctly going to you and asking how the division should be made, and you replied to pay the officers and soldiers alike share and share. I can readily see why Gen. Johns (t) on or any other officer seeing the boxes would make an over estimate; they no doubt presumed all the specie was Gold, when a very small fraction was Gold. A 20\$ Gold piece is no larger than a silver dollar in bulk, but 20 times more in value. I paid myself to Dibbrell's Brigade of 1118 men \$29,068 for which I have the papers. In addition to this Brigade, there was the brigade of some division commanded by Col, W. C. P. Breckinridge, Ferguson's brigade,parts of Dukes and Vaughns brigades and various other detached commands. It is safe to say at least \$150,000 was paid out there to this Command—39.000\$ to Gen, Johns(t) on's army -and 150,000 started to Forrest's Command-this sum would equal \$339,000, not counting the 20,000 Mai. Moses claimed to have received. I know nothing of what became of the money that was intended to go to Forrest's men, nor of the Richmond Banks money: about 2 o'clock on the morning of May 4th 1865 I had the money 29,068\$ to pay off the old Forrest brigade loaded into a wagon and with only two Guards carried it to my brigade 2 miles back on the road to Savannah River; and I must say that while the Yankees were expected every moment and we naturally might expect much disorder and want of discipline there was none in Dibrell's division, and this money remained in the wagon at my headquarters until 8 A.M. on the morning of the 4th May 1865 with only one guard, and when it was recounted the next morning and paid out to the 1118 men of McLemore's brigade by myself not a dollar was missing.

Dibbrell's Division offered to escort you to the Miss. River and you said no they had best surrender. I saw you and staff leave also your escort and I cheerfully say I did not see one dollar or any semblance of money with you. I paid many of the Cabinet officers and men connected with you their \$26.00 but cannot at this time remember who they were. I feel very confident you will come out of this investigation "pure and above

reproach" as you have in the past.

Yours truly, J. B. Briggs formerly A.Q.M. Dibbrell's Brig.

John F. Wheless 1 to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Memorial Hall,)

Sir,

I take the liberty of enclosing a newspaper slip containing a statement relative to the movements and disposition made of the Confederate Treasure after the evacuation of Richmond.

¹ Captain in the Confederate Army.

The recklessness of the statements and innuendoes which have recently appeared in the public prints connecting you with an improper use of the Treasure are without a parallel even among political adventurers with whom no character is too exalted to escape their attacks when they have revenge to gratify or unworthy ends to subserve. An intelligent and just public opinion, however, will render an unanimous verdict that will vindicate you and severely censure the originators of the unfounded, not to say wickedly malicious, calumny.

If you should desire to make any reply to the statements alluded to, it will give me pleasure to furnish you, over my own signature, a written statement of the facts mentioned in the enclosed slip.

As I am entirely unknown to you I deem it proper to enclose copies of letters from your devoted friend Lt. Gen. Polk (the noblest gentleman and purest of Christian heroes) to yourself and Secty. Mallory of date Nov. 5th 1863, and can further refer you to any bank of our city, or to Ex Gov. Albert S. Marks upon whose staff I had the position of Inspector Genl. during his official term as Governor of the State.

Sincerely wishing for your speedy restoration to health, I am, Sir,

Respectfully and truly Yours, John F. Wheless.

Nashville, Dec. 26th 1881. Hon. Jefferson Davis Beauvoir Miss.

Benj. H. Hill to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

United States Senate Chamber. Washington, Decr. 27th, 1881.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.,

My dear Sir:

Poor Johnston has ruined himself at last unless he can save his character by a retreat. If he can do any thing at all he can retreat, though I think even that oft practised habit will fail him this time.

His allusion to myself is nothing except that it enables me to know consciously that he will lie. In truth I am sorry for him though he does not deserve even

pity.

I shall not presume to advise you. Mr. Burr, who reported the interview, wrote me on the day it appeared to say that the Press would cheerfully open its columns to you for a reply. I telegraphed back "the statements of Gen. Johnston will injure no one but himself. They need no notice from Mr. Davis."

Events show that I was right. The whole Southern people are your defenders, and the calumny has only served to show once more how devotedly they love you. I think Johnston will

spend the remnant of his days without character.

I enclose you a letter I this day received from Mr. Burr. You need not trouble yourself to return it. His statement only increases Johnston's infamy.

I hope you enjoyed your visit abroad, and am glad to find

you have reached your home in health and safety.

With my warmest regards to Mrs. Davis and your daughter, and with ever increasing esteem for yourself, I am

Yours Very Truly BENJ. H. HILL.

Frank A. Burr to Benj. H. Hill.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

The Philadelphia Press.
Philadelphia, Dec. 26, 1881.

My dear Senator,

Your telegram was received by me a day or two ago upon my return from the East. I thank you warmly for your kind attention to my request. The Article has created a great deal of comment and the drift is decidedly against Gen. Johnston. I am, of course, more than pleased that the effort to impeach the accuracy of my work and to charge a breach of faith on my part has utterly failed. I knew, of course, that I need not assure you of the correctness of the work or of my authority to use it.

The fact is, Mr. Senator, that my letter was a very temperate review of what passed between Gen. Johnston and myself. I spent the greater part of two afternoons with him in his room, and dictated immediately after each talk, the notes of it to my stenographer, and no man living knew better than Gen. Johnston that they were to be given to the public. The controversy seems to have done Mr. Davis a great deal of good rather than harm.

I enclose you an editorial from todays Press, and I also send you a couple of copies.

I wish you and yours a Merry Christmas and many very many happy returns.

Very Truly,

FRANK A. BURR.

Thos. C. Reynolds to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

405 North 6th Street, St. Louis Mo. 27 Decr. '81.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Dear Sir,

I have mailed to you at Beuvoir, in letter envelope, sundry newspaper clippings in relation to Gen. Johnston's absurd charge, or insinuation, about the Confederate specie, and I now enclose a final batch of them. It must be gratifying to you to notice the spontaneous springing up, from so many different points, and from friends and foes alike, of witnesses to your high personal and official character. That is a truer test than ordinary praise, of the real esteem for you, which will go into history, of the entire American people. I do not recall, in my experience or reading, so remarkable an instance of the immediate and complete outburst of indignation, to put down a foul slander,—and that without even the slightest intimation from the slandered of a desire for it.

I remain, Mr. President, as ever,

Sincerely your friend, THOS. C. REYNOLDS.

B. H. Hill to Frank A. Burr.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Private.

United States Senate Chamber. Washington, Dec. 27, 1881.

My dear Sir:

Received your letter of yesterday. I am sorry for Gen. Johnston. He has always had a respectable party of admirers in the South. He will now have none. His reputation and his character are both ruined.

I have never spoken unkindly of him, and was more than

willing to do him justice. I knew he was suspicious, spiteful and jealous, but I assumed he was sincere and truthful. Now I have a conscious knowledge that he is sadly untruthful. His absurd insinuations against Mr. Davis are as disgraceful in spirit as they are unfounded in fact. His allusion to me is a small matter but it is a statement which he was obliged to know was false, and I can never believe him again in anything. Yet I do not care to injure him. I hope Mr. Davis will not notice him at all further, though I shall not advise him.

Johnston did not repudiate your report. On the contrary everybody will believe from his own statement that your report was correct. But he says the report is inaccurate and he did not know it was to be published. What you now say in your letter to me makes even this evasion a disgraceful untruth. Poor fellow! he has sadly fallen and I can see no recovery for him.

I still lisp in talking, and have some abnormal . . . I don't

like about my mouth. But I am encouraged to hope.

I will always be glad to see you. Your politics are horrible, but I like you anyhow. Your friend,

(Signed) BENJ. H. HILL.

J. Stoddard Johnston to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

The Yeoman. Editorial Department.

Frankfort, Ky. Dec. 28th, 1881.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Miss.
My Dear Sir:

ston's statement but I was in Atlanta, and besides, thought you would have so many letters that it would not be worth while for me to trouble you. But since my return I have been "interviewed", the result of which I send you as it appeared in the Courier-Journal of the 26th. The gentleman who wrote the inclosed, Capt. Merrill, promised to let me look over his manuscript before sending it off but failed, which will account for some minor inaccuracies, such as stating that I was a member of your military family, which he has corrected. It is not as full as I would have made it had I written it, nor as explicit

as it would have been had I seen it before printed, but I have deemed it proper that you should see it with this explanation.

I should have written you sooner on the subject of Gen. John-

What you may deem it proper for you to say I know may be left to your own good judgment. I must, however, congratulate you upon the unanimity of the ex-Confederate expression in this matter in your behalf and in indignant protest against the silly calumny.

I read so many papers that it gives me a good opportunity to judge of the extent to which this feeling has been aroused and it has gratified me beyond measure to find how deeply and thoroughly a sense of your personal honor and purity of character is impressed upon the people—the Union people as well as our own.

I inclose two letters from Gen. Johnston which may have escaped you.

No. 1.

General Joe Johnston's Disclaimer. (Special Despatch to the World.)

Washington, December 20. Last Sunday the Philadelphia Press printed five columns of alleged reminiscences of the rebellion, composed of a mixture of history, imagination and conversation. A large portion of this so-called chapter of unwritten history was made up from a conversation alleged to have been held with General Joseph E. Johnston. The article purported to be General Johnston's account of the armistice agreed upon by General Sherman and himself, and of certain financial transactions said to have occurred at the time of the collapse of the rebellion. General Johnston says the most ridiculous and untrue statements have been attributed to him, and he has written the following disclaimer to the editor of the Press:

"To the Editor of the Philadelphia Press.

"Dear Sir: I was greatly annoyed by reading the article in your paper of the 18th inst. headed 'General Johnston's Narrative' and signed 'F. A. B.' This article is evidently based on a conversation which I did not take to be an interview. In that conversation, therefore, a good deal was said which nothing could induce me to say for publication, notably what relates to Confederate treasure at Greensboro. Besides this, the narrative is inaccurate, so much so that I will not undertake to correct it, and it contains letters which not only did not come from me, but which have not been in my possession for years. So I beg you to publish this to relieve me of responsibility for the narrative.

Most respectfully yours,

J. E. JOHNSTON.

"Washington, December 20, 1881."

No. 2.

"Washington, December 21, 1881.

"To the Editor of the New York World:

"Sir—I have just been 'much annoyed' by the dispatch of your Washington correspondent published in the World of the 20th,

and headed 'Joe Johnston and Jeff Davis.'

"Your correspondent called on me on the 19th to offer the help of the World to me in the matter of a very recent publication in the Philadelphia Press, entitled 'General Johnston's Narrative.' I told him that I thought of writing no more than a brief disclaimer of responsibility for the statements in the narrative, on the ground of their inaccuracy, and for the publication, on the ground that I was unconscious at the time that the conversation was an interview—this to the Press. He suggested my sending copies of the note, if made, to other papers—notably the World. I promised an answer next morning. In the meantime such a disclaimer was written, a copy of which I put into your office here, which I hope you received this morning at the latest.

"My object in this is to correct the wrong done to the correspondent of the *Press*, whom I never accused of beguiling me." for I knew him personally, but of publishing what was not said for publication.

"I write this in explanation of a telegram I have just sent to

you. Most respectfully yours,

"J. E. JOHNSTON."

Also this dispatch:

"Washington, December 22.

"To the Editor of the Press:

"I did not authorize dispatch in the World of 20th, nor say that I was beguiled, for I know Mr. Burr.

(Signed) Jos. E. Johnston."

I was in hopes that it was different and that Gen. Johnston had given no foundation for the calumny, but it seems he was willing to smirch you without having it authoritatively reported. It has happened well and you have had from your faithful followers a vindication which they might otherwise not have had the opportunity of tendering.

I regretted not seeing you when you were in Louisville. I should have gone down but thought you would merely pass through. When hearing of your being there, several days I

went down you were gone.

Make my affectionate regards to Mrs. Davis, and take this

letter simply as the expression of the love and devotion I have ever and shall always feel for you.

Sincerely your friend,
J. Stoddard Johnston.

F. R. Lubbock to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Treasury Department State of Texas.

My Dear Friend,

Austin, Dec. 30, 1881.

After wishing you Mrs. and Miss Davis the compliments of the season, with the hope that you may all live to enjoy a prolonged and happy future both here and hereafter, I intrude upon your time asking that you will read the enclosures.

I could not resist the inclination and opportunity offered to

send a parting shot at the Michigan robbers.

I would have supposed that they of all others would have kept out of print. I presume they think it a good joke that they were enabled to rob women and children.

If entirely convenient drop me just a line that I may know you reed, this.

Yours truly as ever

F. R. LUBBOCK.

I do most sincerely thank you for giving my Photo such prominence, in your valuable and highly esteemed book.

PART II. THE CONSTITUTION.¹

CHAPTER I.

The Original Confederation.—"Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union."—Their Inadequacy ascertained.—Commercial Difficulties.—The Conference at Annapolis.—Recommendation of a General Convention.—Resolution of Congress.—Action of the Several States.—Conclusions drawn therefrom.

¹ From The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government by Jefferson

Davis Vol. 1 pp 86-198.

No compilation of Jefferson Davis Papers could be definitive without giving this unanswered and unanswerable statement of the Southern position on constitutional interpretation.

WHEN certain American colonies of Great Britain, each acting for itself, although in concert with the others, determined to dissolve their political connection with the mother-country, they sent their representatives to a general Congress of those colonies, and through them made a declaration that the colonies were, and of right ought to be, "free and independent States." As such they contracted an alliance for their "common defense," successfully resisted the effort to reduce them to submission, and secured the recognition by Great Britain of their separate independence; each State being distinctly recognized under its own name—not as one of a group or nation. That this was not merely a foreign view is evident from the second of the "Articles of Confederation" between the States, adopted subsequently to the Declaration of Independence, which is in these words: "Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled."

These "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union between the States," as they were styled in their title, were adopted by eleven of the original States in 1778, and by the other two in the course of the three years next ensuing, and continued in force until 1789. During this period the General Government was vested in the Congress alone, in which each State, through its representatives, had an equal vote in the determination of all questions whatever. The Congress exercised all the executive as well as legislative powers delegated by the States. When not in session the general management of affairs was intrusted to a "Committee of the States," consisting of one delegate from each State. Provision was made for the creation. by the Congress, of courts having a certain specified jurisdiction in admiralty and maritime cases, and for the settlement of controversies between two or more States in a mode specifically prescribed.

The Government thus constituted was found inadequate for some necessary purposes, and it became requisite to organize it. The first idea of such reorganization arose from the necessity of regulating the commercial intercourse of the States with one another and with foreign countries, and also of making some provision for payment of the debt contracted during the war for independence. These exigencies led to a proposition for a meeting of commissioners from the various States to consider the subject. Such a meeting was held at Annapolis in September, 1786; but, as only five States (New York, New Jersey,

Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Virginia) were represented, the Commissioners declined to take any action further than to recommend another Convention, with a wider scope for consideration. As they expressed it, it was their "unanimous conviction that it may essentially tend to advance the interests of the Union, if the States, by whom they have been respectively delegated, would themselves concur, and use their endeavors to procure the concurrence of the other States, in the appointment of commissioners, to meet at Philadelphia on the second Monday in May next, to take into consideration the situation of the United States, to devise such further provisions as shall appear to them necessary to render the Constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union, and to report such an act for that purpose to the United States in Congress assembled, as, when agreed to by them, and afterward confirmed by the Legislatures of every State, will effectually provide for the same."

It is scarcely necessary to remind the well-informed reader that the terms, "Constitution of the Federal Government," employed above, and "Federal Constitution," as used in other proceedings of that period, do not mean the instrument to which we now apply them, and which was not then in existence. They were applied to the system of government formulated in the Articles of Confederation. This is in strict accord with the definition of the word constitution, given by an eminent lexicographer: "The body of fundamental laws, as contained in written documents or prescriptive usage, which constitute the form of government for a nation, state, community, association, or society." † Thus we speak of the British Constitution, which is an unwritten system of "prescriptive usage"; of the Constitution of Massachusetts or of Mississippi, which is the fundamental or organic law of a particular State embodied in a written instrument; and of the Federal Constitution of the United States, which is the fundamental law of an association of States, at first as embraced in the Articles of Confederation, and afterward as revised, amended, enlarged, and embodied in the instrument framed in 1787, and subsequently adopted by the various States. The manner in which this revision was effected was as follows. Acting on the suggestion of the Annapolis Con-

^{*} Dr. Worcester.

[†] This definition is very good as far as it goes, but "the form of government" is a phrase which falls short of expressing all that should be comprehended. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say, "which constitute the form, define the powers, and prescribe the functions of government," etc. The words in italies would make the definition more complete.

vention, the Congress, on the 21st of the ensuing February (1787), adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, That, in the opinion of Congress, it is expedient that, on the second Monday in May next, a convention of delegates, who shall have been appointed by the several States, be held at Philadelphia, for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and reporting to Congress and the several Legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall, when agreed to in Congress and confirmed by the States, render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of Government and the preservation of the Union."

The language of this resolution, substantially according with that of the recommendation made by the commissioners at Annapolis a few months before, very clearly defines the objects of the proposed Convention and the powers which it was thought advisable that the States should confer upon their delegates. These were, "solely and expressly," as follows:

1. "To revise the Articles of Confederation with reference to

the 'situation of the United States';

2. "To devise such alterations and provisions therein as should seem to them requisite in order to render 'the Federal Constitution,' or 'Constitution of the Federal Government,' adequate to 'the exigencies of the Union,' or 'the exigencies of the Government and the preservation of the Union';

3. "To report the result of their deliberations—that is, the 'alterations and provisions' which they should agree to recommend—to Congress and the Legislatures of the several States."

Of course, their action could be only advisory until ratified by the States. The "Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union," under which the States were already united, provided that no alteration should be made in any of them, "unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and afterward confirmed by the Legislatures of every State."

The Legislatures of the various States, with the exception of Rhode Island, adopted and proceeded to act upon these suggestions by the appointment of delegates—some of them immediately upon the recommendation of the Annapolis Commissioners in advance of that of the Congress, and the others in the course of a few months after the resolution adopted by Congress. The instructions given to these delegates in all cases conformed to the recommendations which have been quoted, and in one case imposed an additional restriction or limitation. As this is a

matter of much importance, in order to a right understanding of what follows, it may be advisable to cite in detail the action of the several States, italicizing such passages as are specially significant of the duties and powers of the delegates to the Convention.

The General Assembly of Virginia, after reciting the recommendation made at Annapolis, enacted: "That seven commissioners be appointed by joint ballot of both Houses of Assembly, who, or any three of them, are hereby authorized, as deputies from this Commonwealth, to meet such deputies as may be appointed and authorized by other States, to assemble in convention at Philadelphia, as above recommended, and to join with them in devising and discussing all such alterations and further provisions as may be necessary to render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of the Union, and in reporting such an act for that purpose to the United States in Congress, as, when agreed to by them, and duly confirmed by the several States, will effectually provide for the same."

The Council and Assembly of New Jersey issued commissions to their delegates to meet such commissioners as have been, or may be, appointed by the other States of the Union, at the city of Philadelphia, in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, on the second Monday in May next, for the purpose of taking into consideration the state of the Union as to trade and other important objects, and of devising such other provisions as shall appear to be necessary to render the Constitution of the Federal

Government adequate to the exigencies thereof."

The act of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania constituted and appointed certain deputies, designated by name, "with powers to meet such deputies as may be appointed and authorized by the other States, . . . and to join with them in devising, deliberating on, and discussing all such alterations and further provisions as may be necessary to render the Federal Constitution fully adequate to the exigencies of the Union, and in reporting such act or acts for that purpose, to the United States in Congress assembled, as, when agreed to by them and duly confirmed by the several States, will effectually provide for the same."

The General Assembly of North Carolina enacted that commissioners should be appointed by joint ballot of both Houses, "to meet and confer with such deputies as may be appointed by the other States for similar purposes, and with them to discuss and decide upon the most effectual means to remove the defects of our Federal Union, and to procure the enlarged pur-

poses which it was intended to effect; and that they report such an act to the General Assembly of this State, as, when agreed to by them, will effectually provide for the same." (In the case of this State alone nothing is said of a report to Congress. Neither North Carolina nor any other State, however, fails to make mention of the necessity of a submission of any action taken to the several States for ratification.)

The commissions issued to the representatives of South Carolina, by the Governor, refer to an act of the Legislature of that State authorizing their appointment "to meet such deputies or commissioners as may be appointed and authorized by other of the United States," at the time and place designated, and to join with them "in devising and discussing all such alterations, clauses, articles, and provisions, as may be thought necessary to render the Federal Constitution entirely adequate to the actual situation and future good government of the Confederate States," and to "join in reporting such an act to the United States in Congress assembled, as, when approved and agreed to by them, and duly ratified and confirmed by the several States, will effectually provide for the exigencies of the Union." In these commissions the expression, "alterations, clauses, articles, and provisions," clearly indicates the character of the duties which the deputies were expected to discharge.

The General Assembly of Georgia "ordained" the appointment of certain commissioners, specified by name, who were "authorized, as deputies from this State, to meet such deputies as may be appointed and authorized by other States, to assemble in convention at Philadelphia, and to join with them in devising and discussing all such alterations and further provisions as may be necessary to render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of the Union, and in reporting such an act for that purpose to the United States in Congress assembled, as, when agreed to by them, and duly confirmed by the several

States, will effectually provide for the same."

The authority conferred upon their delegates by the Assembly of New York and the General Court of Massachusetts was in each case expressed in the exact words of the advisory resolution of Congress: they were instructed to meet the delegates of the other States "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and reporting to Congress and to the several Legislatures such alterations and provisions therein as shall, when agreed to in Congress, and confirmed by the several States, render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of the Union."

The General Assembly of Connecticut designated the delegates of that State by name, and empowered them, in conference with the delegates of other States, "to discuss upon such alterations and provisons, agreeable to the general principles of republican government, as they shall think proper to render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of the Government and the preservation of the Union," and "to report such alterations and provisions as may be agreed to by a majority of the United States in convention, to the Congress of the United States and to the General Assembly of this State."

The General Court of New Hampshire authorized and empowered the deputies of that State, in conference with those of other States, "to discuss and decide upon the most effectual means to remedy the defects of our Federal Union, and to procure and secure the enlarged purposes which it was intended to effect"—language almost identical with that of North Carolina, but, like the other States in general, instructed them to report the result of their deliberations to Congress for the action of that body, and subsequent confirmation "by the several States."

The delegates from Maryland were appointed by the General Assembly of that State, and instructed "to meet such deputies as may be appointed and authorized by any other of the United States, to assemble in convention at Philadelphia, for the purpose of revising the Federal system, and to join with them in considering such alterations and further provisions," etc.—the remainder of their instructions being in the same words as those given to the Georgia delegates.

The instructions given to the deputies of Delaware were substantially in accord with the others—being almost literally identical with those of Pennsylvania—but the following proviso was added: "So, always, and provided, that such alterations or further provisions, or any of them, do not extend to that part of the fifth article of the Confederation of the said States, finally ratified on the first day of March, in the year 1781, which declares that, 'in determining questions in the United States in Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote."

Rhode Island, as has already been mentioned, sent no delegates.

From an examination and comparison of the enactments and instructions above quoted, we may derive certain conclusions, so obvious that they need only to be stated:

1. In the first place, it is clear that the delegates to the Convention of 1787 represented, not the people of the United States in mass, as has been most absurdly contended by some political

writers, but the people of the several States, as States—just as in the Congress of that period—Delaware, with her sixty thousand inhabitants, having entire equality with Pennsylvania, which had more than four hundred thousand, or Virginia, with her seven hundred and fifty thousand.

2. The object for which they were appointed was not to organize a *new* Government, but "solely and expressly" to amend the "Federal Constitution" already existing; in other words, "to revise the Articles of Confederation," and to suggest such "alterations" or additional "provisions" as should be deemed necessary to render them "adequate to the exigencies of the Union."

3. It is evident that the term "Federal Constitution," or its equivalent, "Constitution of the Federal Government," was as freely and familiarly applied to the system of government established by the Articles of Confederation—undeniably a league or compact between States expressly retaining their sovereignty and independence—as to that amended system which was substituted for it by the Constitution that superseded those articles.

4. The functions of the delegates to the Convention were, of course, only to devise, deliberate, and discuss. No validity could attach to any action taken, unless and until it should be afterward ratified by the several States. It is evident, also, that what was contemplated was the process provided in the Articles of Confederation for their own amendment—first, a recommendation by the Congress; and, afterward, ratification "by the Legislatures of every State," before the amendment should be obligatory upon any. The departure from this condition, which actually occurred, will presently be noticed.

CHAPTER II.

The Convention of 1787.—Diversity of Opinion.—Luther Martin's Account of the Three Parties.—The Question of Representation,—Compromise effected.—Mr. Randolph's Resolutions.—The Word "National" condemned.—Plan of Government framed.—Difficulty with Regard to Ratification, and its Solution.—Provision for Secession from the Union.—Views of Mr. Gerry and Mr. Madison.—False Interpretations.—Close of the Convention,

When the Convention met in Philadelphia, in May, 1787, it soon became evident that the work before it would take a

wider range and involve more radical changes in the "Federal Constitution" than had at first been contemplated. Under the Articles of Confederation the General Government was obliged to rely upon the governments of the several States for the execution of its enactments. Except its own officers and employees. and in time of war the Federal army and navy, it could exercise no control upon individual citizens. With regard to the States, no compulsory or coercive measures could be employed to enforce its authority, in case of opposition or indifference to its exercise. This last was a feature of the Confederation which it was not desirable nor possible to change, and no objection was made to it; but it was generally admitted that some machinery should be devised to enable the General Government to exercise its legitimate functions by means of a mandatory authority operating directly upon the individual citizens within the limits of its constitutional powers. The necessity for such provision was undisputed.

Beyond the common ground of a recognition of this necessity, there was a wide diversity of opinion among the members of the Convention. Luther Martin, a delegate from Maryland, in an account of its proceedings, afterward given to the Legislature of that State, classifies these differences as constituting three parties in the Convention, which he describes as follows:

"One party, whose object and wish it was to abolish and annihilate all State governments, and to bring forward one General Government over this extensive continent of a monarchial nature, under certain restrictions and limitations. Those who openly avowed this sentiment were, it is true, but few; yet it is equally true that there was a considerable number, who did not openly avow it, who were, by myself and many others of the Convention, considered as being in reality favorers of that sentiment. . . .

"The second party was not for the abolition of the State governments nor for the introduction of a monarchial government under any form; but they wished to establish such a system as could give their own States undue power and influence in the gov-

ernment over the other States.

"A third party was what I considered truly federal and republican. This party was nearly equal in number with the other two, and was composed of the delegates from Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and in part from Maryland; also of some individuals from other representations. This party were for proceeding upon terms of federal equality: they were for taking our present federal system as the basis of their proceedings, and as far as experience had shown that other powers were necessary to the Federal Government, to give those powers. They

considered this the object for which they were sent by their States, and what their States expected from them."

In his account of the second party above described, Mr. Martin refers to those representatives of the larger States who wished to establish a numerical basis of representation in the Congress, instead of the equal representation of the States (whether large or small) which existed under the Articles of Confederation. There was naturally much dissatisfaction on the part of the greater States-Virginia, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, and Massachusetts—whose population at that period exceeded that of all the others combined, but which, in the Congress, constituted less than one third of the voting strength. On the other hand, the smaller States were tenacious of their equality in the Union. Of the very smallest, one, as we have seen, had sent no representatives to the Convention, and the other had instructed her delegates, unconditionally, to insist upon the maintenance of absolute equality in the Congress. This difference gave more trouble than any other question that came before the Convention, and for some time threatened to prove irreconcilable and to hinder any final agreement. It was ultimately settled by a compromise. Provision was made for the representation of the people of the States in one branch of the Federal Legislature (the House of Representatives) in proportion to their numbers; in the other branch (the Senate), for the equal representation of the States as such. The perpetuity of this equality was furthermore guaranteed by a stipulation that no State should ever be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate without its own consent.* This compromise required no sacrifice of principle on either side, and no provision of the Constitution has in practice proved more entirely satisfactory.

It is not necessary, and would be beyond the scope of this work, to undertake to give a history of the proceedings of the Convention of 1787. That may be obtained from other sources. All that is requisite for the present purpose is to notice a few particulars of special significance or relevancy to the subject of inquiry.

Early in the session of the Convention a series of resolutions was introduced by Mr. Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, embodying a proposed plan of government, which were considered in committee of the whole House, and formed the basis of a protracted discussion. The first of these resolutions, as amended before a vote was taken, was in these words:

^{*} Constitution, Article V.

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee that a national Government ought to be established, consisting of a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary."

This was followed by other resolutions—twenty-three in all, as adopted and reported by the committee—in which the word "national" occurred twenty-six times.

The day after the report of the committee was made, Mr. Ellsworth, of Connecticut, moved to strike out the words "national Government" in the resolution above quoted, and to insert the words "Government of the United States," which he said was the proper title. "He wished also the plan to go forth as an amendment of the Articles of Confederation." * That is to say, he wished to avoid even the appearance of undertaking to form a new government, instead of reforming the old one, which was the proper object of the Convention. This motion was agreed to without opposition, and, as a consequence, the word "national" was stricken out wherever it occurred, and nowhere makes its appearance in the Constitution finally adopted. The prompt rejection, after introduction, of this word "national," is obviously much more expressive of the intent and purpose of the authors of the Constitution than its mere absence from the Constitution would have been. It is a clear indication that they did not mean to give any countenance to the idea which, "scotched, not killed," has again reared its mischievous crest in these latter days—that the government which they organized was a consolidated nationality, instead of a confederacy of sovereign members.

Continuing their great work of revision and reorganization, the Convention proceeded to construct the framework of a government for the Confederacy, strictly confined to certain specified and limited powers, but complete in all its parts, legislative, executive, and judicial, and provided with the means for discharging all its functions without interfering with the "sovereignty, freedom, and independence" of the constituent States.

All this might have been done without going beyond the limits of their commission "to revise the Articles of Confed-

*See Elliott's "Debates," vol, v, p. 214. This reference is taken from "The Republic of Republics," Part III, chapter vii, p. 217. This learned, exhaustive, and admirable work, which contains a wealth of historical and political learning, will be freely used, by kind consent of the author, without the obligation of a repetition of special acknowledgment in every case. A like liberty will be taken with the late Dr. Bledsoe's masterly treatise on the right of secession, published in 1866, under the title, "Is Davis a Traitor? or, Was Secession a Constitutional Right?"

eration," and to consider and report such "alterations and provisions" as might seem necessary to "render the Federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union." A serious difficulty, however, was foreseen. The thirteenth and last of the aforesaid articles had this provision, which has already been referred to: "The Articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration, at any time hereafter, be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterward confirmed by the Legislatures of every State."

It is obvious, from an examination of the records, as has already been shown, that the original idea in calling a Convention was, that their recommendations should take the course prescribed by this article—first, a report to the Congress, and then, if approved by that body, a submission to the various Legislatures for final action. There was no reason to apprehend the non-concurrence of Congress, in which a mere majority would determine the question; but the consent of the Legislatures of "every State" was requisite in order to final ratification, and there was serious reason to fear that this consent could not be obtained. Rhode Island, as we have seen, had declined to send any representatives to the Convention; of the three delegates from New York, two had withdrawn; and other indications of dissatisfaction had appeared. In case of the failure of a single Legislature to ratify, the labors of the Convention would go for naught, under a strict adherence to the letter of the article above cited. The danger of a total frustration of their efforts was imminent.

In this emergency the Convention took the responsibility of transcending the limits of their instructions, and recommending a procedure which was in direct contravention of the letter of the Articles of Confederation. This was the introduction of a provision into the new Constitution, that the ratification of nine States should be sufficient for its establishment among themselves. In order to validate this provision, it was necessary to refer it to authority higher than that of Congress and the State Legislatures—that is, to the People of the States, assembled, by their representatives, in convention. Hence it was provided, by the seventh and last article of the new Constitution, that "the ratification of the Conventions of nine States" should suffice for its establishment "between the States so ratifying the same."

There was another reason, of a more general and perhaps

more controlling character, for this reference to conventions for ratification, even if entire unanimity of the State Legislatures could have been expected. Under the American theory of republican government, conventions of the people, duly elected and accredited as such, are invested with the plenary power inherent in the people of an organized and independent community, assembled in mass. In other words, they represent and exercise what is properly the sovereignty of the people. State Legislatures, with restricted powers, do not possess or represent sovereignty. Still less does the Congress of a union or confederacy of States, which is by two degrees removed from the seat of sovereignty. We sometimes read or hear of "delegated sovereignty," "divided sovereignty," with other loose expressions of the same sort; but no such thing as a division or delegation of sovereignty is possible.

In order, therefore, to supersede the restraining article above cited and to give the highest validity to the compact for the delegation of important powers and functions of government to a common agent, an authority above that of the State Legislatures was necessary. Mr. Madison, in the "Federalist," * says: "It has been heretofore noted among the defects of the Confederation, that in many of the States it had received no higher sanction than a mere legislative ratification." This objection would of course have applied with greater force to the proposed Constitution, which provided for additional grants of power from the States, and the conferring of larger and more varied powers upon a General Government, which was to act upon individuals instead of States, if the question of its confirmation had been submitted merely to the several State Legislatures. Hence the obvious propriety of referring it to the respective people of the States in their sovereign capacity, as provided in the final article of the Constitution.

In this article provision was deliberately made for the secession (if necessary) of a part of the States from a union which, when formed, had been declared "perpetual," and its terms and articles to be "inviolably observed by every State."

Opposition was made to the provision on this very ground—that it was virtually a dissolution of the Union, and that it would furnish a precedent for future secessions. Mr. Gerry, a distinguished member from Massachusetts—afterward Vice-President of the United States—said, "If nine out of thirteen (States) can dissolve the compact, six out of nine will be just as able to dissolve the future one hereafter."

^{*} No. xliii.

Mr. Madison, who was one of the leading members of the Convention, advocating afterward, in the "Federalist" the adoption of the new Constitution, asks the question, "On what principle the Confederation, which stands in the solemn form of a compact among the States, can be superseded without the unanimous consent of the parties to it?" He answers this question "by recurring to the absolute necessity of the case; to the great principle of self-preservation; to the transcendent law of nature and of nature's God, which declares that the safety and happiness of society are the objects at which all political institutions aim, and to which all such institutions must be sacrificed." He proceeds, however, to give other grounds of justification:

"It is an established doctrine on the subject of treaties, that all the articles are mutually conditions of each other; that a breach of any one article is a breach of the whole treaty; and that a breach committed by either of the parties absolved the others, and authorizes them, if they please, to pronounce the compact violated and void. Should it unhappily be necessary to appeal to these delicate truths for a justification for dispensing with the consent of particular States to a dissolution of the Federal pact, will not the complaining parties find it a difficult task to answer the multiplied and important infractions with which they may be confronted? The time has been when it was incumbent on us all to veil the ideas which this paragraph exhibits. The scene is now changed, and with it the part which the same motives dictate."

Mr. Madison's idea of the propriety of *veiling* any statement of the right of secession until the occasion arises for its exercise, whether right or wrong in itself, is eminently suggestive as explanatory of the caution exhibited by other statesmen of that period, as well as himself, with regard to that "delicate truth."

The only possible alternative to the view here taken of the seventh article of the Constitution, as a provision for the secession of any nine States, which might think proper to avail themselves of it, from union with such as should refuse to do so, and the formation of an amended or "more perfect union" with one another, is to regard it as a provision for the continuance of the old Union, or Confederation, under altered conditions, by the majority which should accede to them, with a recognition of the right of the recusant minority to withdraw, secede, or stand aloof. The idea of compelling any State or States to enter into or to continue in union with the others by coercion,

is as absolutely excluded under the one supposition as under the other—with reference to one State or a minority of States, as well as with regard to a majority. The article declares that "the ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution"—not between all, but—"between the States so ratifying the same." It is submitted whether a fuller justification of this right of the nine States to form a new Government is not found in the fact of the sovereignty in each of them, making them "a law unto themselves," and therefore the final judge of what the necessities of each community demand.

Here—although, perhaps, in advance of its proper place in the argument—the attention of the reader may be directed to the refutation, afforded by this article of the Constitution, of that astonishing fiction, which has been put forward by some distinguished writers of later date, that the Constitution was established by the people of the United States "in the aggregate." If such had been the case, the will of a majority duly ascertained and expressed, would have been binding upon the minority. No such idea existed in its formation. It was not even established by the States in the aggregate, nor was it proposed that it should be. It was submitted for the acceptance of each separately, the time and place at their own option, so that the dates of ratification did extend from December 7, 1787, to May 29, 1790. The long period required for these ratifications makes manifest the absurdity of the assertion, that it was a decision by the votes of one people, or one community, in which a majority of the votes cast determined the result.

We have seen that the delegates to the Convention of 1787 were chosen by the several States, as States—it is hardly necessary to add that they voted in the Convention, as in the Federal Congress, by States—each State casting one vote. We have seen, also, that they were sent for the "sole and express purpose" of revising the Articles of Confederation and devising means for rendering the Federal Constitution "adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union"; that the terms "Union," "United States," "Federal Constitution," and "Constitution of the Federal Government," were applied to the old Confederation in precisely the same sense in which they are used under the new; that the proposition to constitute a "national" Government was distinctly rejected by the Convention; that the right of any State, or States, to withdraw from union with the others was practically exemplified, and that the idea of coercion of a State, or compulsory measures, was distinctly excluded under any construction that can be put upon the action of the Convention.

To the original copy of the Constitution, as set forth by its framers for the consideration and final action of the people of the States, was attached the following words:

"Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names."

[Followed by the signatures of "George Washington, President, and deputy from Virginia," and the other delegates who signed it.]

This attachment to the instrument—a mere attestation of its authenticity, and of the fact that it had the unanimous consent of all the States then present by their deputies—not of all the deputies, for some of them refused to sign it—has been strangely construed by some commentators as if it were a part of the Constitution, and implied that it was "done," in the sense of completion of the work.*

But the work was not done when the Convention closed its labors and adjourned. It was scarcely begun. There was no validity or binding force whatever in what had been already "done." It was still to be submitted to the States for approval or rejection. Even if a majority of eight out of thirteen States had ratified it, the refusal of the ninth would have rendered it null and void. Mr. Madison, who was one of the most distinguished of its authors and signers, writing after it was completed and signed, but before it was ratified, said: "It is time now to recollect that the powers [of the Convention] were merely advisory and recommendatory; that they were so meant by the States, and so understood by the Convention; and that the latter have accordingly planned and proposed a Constitution, which is to be of no more consequence than the paper on which it is written, unless it be stamped with the approbation of those to whom it is addressed."—("Federalist," No. XL.)

The mode and terms in which this approval was expressed will be considered in the next chapter.

^{*} See "Republic of Republics," Part II, chapters xiii and xiv.

CHAPTER III.

Ratification of the Constitution by the States.—Organization of the New Government.—Accession of North Carolina and Rhode Island.—Correspondence between General Washington and the Governor of Rhode Island.

THE amended system of union, or confederation (the terms are employed indiscriminately and interchangeably by the statesmen of that period), devised by the Convention of 1787, and embodied, as we have seen, in the Constitution which they framed and have set forth, was now to be considered and acted on by the people of the several States. This they did in the highest and most majestic form in which the sanction of organized communities could be given or withheld-not through ambassadors, or Legislatures, or deputies with limited powers, but through conventions of delegates chosen expressly for the purpose and clothed with the plenary authority of sovereign people. The action of these conventions was deliberate, cautious, and careful. There was much debate, and no little opposition to be conciliated. Eleven States, however, ratified and adopted the new Constitution within the twelve months immediately following its submission to them. Two of them positively rejected it, and, although they afterward acceded to it, remained outside of the Union in the exercise of their sovereign right, which nobody then denied-North Carolina for nine months, Rhode Island for nearly fifteen, after the new Government was organized and went into operation. In several of the other States the ratification was effected only by small majorities.

The terms in which this action was expressed by the several States and the declarations with which it was accompanied by some of them are worthy of attention.

Delaware was the first to act. Her Convention met on December 3, 1787, and ratified the Constitution on the 7th. The readiness of this least in population, and next to the least in territorial extent, of all the States, to accept that instrument, is a very significant fact when we remember the jealous care with which she had guarded against any infringement of her sovereign Statehood. Delaware alone had given special instructions to her deputies in the Convention not to consent to any sacrifice of the principle of equal representation in Congress. The promptness and unanimity of her people in adopting the new Constitution prove very clearly, not only that they were satisfied with the

preservation of that principle in the Federal Senate, but that they did not understand the Constitution, in any of its features, as compromising the "sovereignty, freedom, and independence" which she had so especially cherished. The ratification of their Convention is expressed in these words:

"We the deputies of the people of the Delaware State, in convention met, having taken into our serious consideration the Federal Constitution proposed and agreed upon by the deputies of the United States at a General Convention held at the city of Philadelphia on the 17th day of September, A. D. 1787, have approved of, assented to, and ratified and confirmed, and by these presents do, in virtue of the powers and authority to us given for that purpose, for and in behalf of ourselves and our constituents, fully, freely, and entirely, approve of, assent to, ratify, and confirm the said Constitution.

"Done in convention at Dover, December 7, 1787."

This, and twelve other like acts, gave to the Constitution "all the life and validity it ever had, or could have, as to the thirteen united or associated States."

Pennsylvania acted next (December 12, 1787), the ratification not being finally accomplished without strong opposition, on grounds which will be referred to hereafter. In announcing its decision, the Convention of this State began as follows:

"In the name of the people of Pennsylvania. Be it known unto all men that we, the delegates of the people of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, in General Convention assembled," etc., etc., concluding with these words: "By these presents, do, in the name and by the authority of the same people, and for ourselves, assent to and ratify the foregoing Constitution for the United States of America."

In New Jersey the ratification, which took place on the 18th of December, was unanimous. This is no less significant and instructive than the unanimity of Delaware, from the fact that the New Jersey delegation, in the Convention that framed the Constitution, had taken the lead in behalf of the federal, or State-rights idea, in opposition to that of nationalism, or consolidation. William Patterson, a distinguished citizen (afterward Governor) of New Jersey, had introduced into that Convention what was known as "the Jersey plan," embodying these State-rights principles, as distinguished from the various "national" plans presented. In defending them, he had said, after calling for the reading of the credentials of delegates:

"Can we, on this ground, form a national Government? I fancy not. Our commissions give a complexion to the business; and can we suppose that, when we exceed the bounds of our duty, the people will approve our proceedings?

"We are met here as the deputies of thirteen independent, sovereign States, for federal purposes. Can we consolidate their sovereignty and form one nation, and annihilate the sovereignties of our States, who have sent us here for other purposes?"

Again, on a subsequent day, after stating that he was not there to pursue his own sentiments of government, but of those who had sent him, he had asked:

"Can we, as representatives of independent States, annihilate the essential powers of independency? Are not the votes of this Convention taken on every question under the idea of independency?"

The fact that this State, which, through her representatives, had taken so conspicuous a part in the maintenance of the principle of State sovereignty, ratified the Constitution with such readiness and unanimity, is conclusive proof that, in her opinion, that principle was not compromised thereby. The conclusion of her ordinance of ratification is in these words:

"Now be it known that we, the delegates of the State of New Jersey, chosen by the people thereof for the purpose aforesaid, having maturely deliberated on and considered the aforesaid proposed Constitution, do hereby, for and on behalf of the people of the said State of New Jersey, agree to, ratify, and confirm the same, and every part thereof.

"Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the members present, this 18th day of December, A. D. 1787."

Georgia next, and also unanimously, on January 2, 1788, declared, through "the delegates of the State of Georgia, in convention met, pursuant to the provisions of the [act of the] Legislature aforesaid, . . . in virtue of the powers and authority given us [them] by the people of the said State, for that purpose," that they did "fully and entirely assent to, ratify, and adopt the said Constitution."

Connecticut (on the 9th of January) declares her assent with equal distinctness of assertion as to the source of the authority: "In the name of the people of the State of Connecticut, we, the delegates of the people of the said State, in General Convention assembled, pursuant to an act of the Legislature in October last

. . . do assent to, ratify, and adopt the Constitution reported by

the Convention of delegates in Philadelphia."

In Massachusetts there was a sharp contest. The people of that State were then—as for a long time afterward—exceedingly tenacious of their State independence and sovereignty. proposed Constitution was subjected to a close, critical, and rigorous examination with reference to its bearing upon this very point. The Convention was a large one, and some of its leading members were very distrustful of the instrument under their consideration. It was ultimately adopted by a very close vote (187 to 168), and then only as accompanied by certain proposed amendments, the object of which was to guard more expressly against any sacrifice or compromise of State sovereignty, and under an assurance, given by the advocates of the Constitution, of the certainty that those amendments would be adopted. The most strenuously urged of these was that ultimately adopted (in substance) as the tenth amendment to the Constitution, which was intended to take the place of the second Article of Confederation, as an emphatic assertion of the continued freedom, sovereignty, and independence of the States. This will be considered more particularly hereafter.

In terms substantially identical with those employed by the other States, Massachusetts thus announced her ratification:

"In convention of the delegates of the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1788. The Convention having impartially discussed and fully considered the Constitution for the United States of America, reported [etc.], . . . do, in the name and in behalf of the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, assent to and ratify the said Constitution for the United States of America."

This was accomplished on February 7, 1788.

Maryland followed on the 28th of April, and South Carolina on the 23d of May, in equivalent expressions, the ratification of the former being made by "the delegates of the people of Maryland," speaking, as they declared, for ourselves, and in the name and on the behalf of the people of this State; that of the latter, "in convention of the people of the State of South Carolina, by their representatives, . . . in the name and behalf of the people of this State."

But South Carolina, like Massachusetts, demanded certain amendments, and for greater assurance accompanied her ordinance of ratification with the following distinct assertion of the

principle afterward embodied in the tenth amendment:

"This Convention doth also declare that no section or paragraph of the said Constitution warrants a construction that the States do not retain every power not expressly relinquished by them and vested in the General Government of the Union."

"The delegates of the people of the State of New Hampshire," in convention, on the 21st of June, "in the name and behalf of the people of the State of New Hampshire," declared their approval and adoption of the Constitution. In this State, also, the opposition was formidable (the final vote being 57 to 46), and, as in South Carolina, it was "explicitly declared that all powers not expressly and particularly delegated by the aforesaid Constitution are reserved to the several States, to be by them exercised."

The debates in the Virginia Convention were long and animated. Some of the most eminent and most gifted men of that period took part in them, and they have ever since been referred to for the exposition which they afford of the interpretation of the Constitution by its authors and their contemporaries. Among the members were Madison, Mason, and Randolph, who had also been members of the Convention at Philadelphia. Mr. Madison was one of the most earnest advocates of the new Constitution, while Mr. Mason was as warmly opposed to its adoption: so also was Patrick Henry, the celebrated orator. It was assailed with great vehemence at every vulnerable or doubtful point, and was finally ratified June 26, 1788, by a vote of 89 to 79—a majority of only ten.

This ratification was expressed in the same terms employed by other States, by "the delegates of the people of Virginia, . . . in the name and in behalf of the people of Virginia." In so doing, however, like Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and South Carolina. Virginia demanded certain amendments as a more explicit guarantee against consolidation and accompanied the demand

with the following declaration:

"That the powers granted under the Constitution, being derived from the people of the United States, may be resumed by them, whenever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression, and that every power not granted thereby remains with them and at their will," etc., etc.

Whether, in speaking of a possible resumption of powers by "the people of the United States," the Convention had in mind the action of such a people in the aggregate—a political community which did not exist, and of which they could hardly have entertained even an ideal conception—or of the people of Vir-

ginia, for whom they were speaking, and of the other United States then taking similar action—is a question which scarcely admits of argument, but which will be more fully considered in

the proper place.

New York, the eleventh State to signify her assent, did so on July 26, 1788, after an arduous and protracted discussion, and then by a majority of but three votes—30 to 27. Even this small majority was secured only by the recommendation of certain material amendments, the adoption of which by the other States it was at first proposed to make a condition precedent to the validity of the ratification. This idea was abandoned after a correspondence between Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Madison, and, instead of conditional ratification, New York provided for the resumption of her grants; but the amendments were put forth with a circular letter to the other States, in which it was declared that "nothing but the fullest confidence of obtaining a revision" of the objectionable features of the Constitution, "and an invincible reluctance to separating from our sister States, could have prevailed upon a sufficient number to ratify it without stipulating for previous amendments."

The ratification was expressed in the usual terms, as made "by the delegates of the people of the State of New York, . . . in the name and in behalf of the people" of the said State. Accompanying it was a declaration of the principles in which the assent of New York was conceded, one paragraph of which runs

as follows:

"That the powers of government may be reassumed by the people, whensoever it shall become necessary to their happiness; that every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not, by the said Constitution, clearly delegated to the Congress of the United States, or the departments of the Government thereof, remains to the people of the several States, or to their respective State governments, to whom they may have granted the same; and that those clauses in the said Constitution which declare that Congress shall not have or exercise certain powers, do not imply that Congress is entitled to any powers not given by the said Constitution, but such clauses are to be construed either as exceptions to certain specified powers or as inserted for greater caution."

The acceptance of these eleven States having been signified to the Congress, provision was made for putting the new Constitution in operation. This was effected on March 4, 1789, when the Government was organized, with George Washington as President, and John Adams, Vice-President; the Senators and Representatives elected by the States which had acceded to the Constitution, organizing themselves as a Congress.

Meantime, two States were standing, as we have seen, unquestioned and unmolested, in an attitude of absolute independence. The Convention of North Carolina, on August 2, 1788, had rejected the proposed Constitution, or, more properly speaking, had withheld her ratification until action could be taken upon the subject-matter of the following resolution adopted by her Convention:

"Resolved. That a declaration of rights, asserting and securing from encroachment the great principles of civil and religious liberty, and the unalienable rights of the people, together with amendments to the most ambiguous and exceptionable parts of the said Constitution of government, ought to be laid before Congress and the Convention of the States that shall or may be called for the purpose of amending the said Constitution, for their consideration, previous to the ratification of the Constitution aforesaid on the part of the State of North Carolina."

More than a year afterward, when the newly organized Government had been in operation for nearly nine months, and when—although no convention of the States had been called to revise the Constitution—North Carolina had good reason to feel assured that the most important provisions of her proposed amendments and "declaration of rights" would be adopted, she acceded to the amended compact. On November 21, 1789, her Convention agreed. "in behalf of the freemen, citizens, and inhabitants of the State of North Carolina," to "adopt and ratify" the Constitution.

In Rhode Island the proposed Constitution was at first submitted to a direct vote of the people, who rejected it by an overwhelming majority. Subsequently—that is, on May 29, 1790, when the reorganized Government had been in operation for nearly fifteen months, and when it had become reasonably certain that the amendments thought necessary would be adopted—a convention of the people of Rhode Island acceded to the new Union, and ratified the Constitution, though even then by a majority of only two votes in sixty-six—34 to 32. The ratification was expressed in substantially the same language as that which has now been so repeatedly cited:

"We, the delegates of the people of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, duly elected and met in convention, . . . in the name and behalf of the people of Rhode Island and

Providence Plantations, do, by these presents, assent to and ratify the said Constitution."

It is particularly to be noted that, during the intervals between the organization of the Federal Government under the new Constitution and the ratification of that Constitution by North Carolina and Rhode Island, respectively, those States were absolutely independent and unconnected with any other political community, unless they be considered as still representing the "United States of America," which by the Articles of Confederation had been declared a "perpetual union." The other States had seceded from the former union-not in a body, but separately, each for itself—and had formed a new association, leaving these two States in the attitude of foreign though friendly powers. There was no claim of any right to control their action, as if they had been mere geographical or political divisions of one great consolidated community or "nation." Their accession to the Union was desired, but their freedom of choice in the matter was never questioned. And then it is to be noted, on their part, that, like the house of Judah, they refrained from any attempt to force the seceding sisters to return.

As illustrative of the relations existing during this period between the United States and Rhode Island, it may not be uninstructive to refer to a letter sent by the government of the latter to the President and Congress, and transmitted by the

President to the Senate, with the following note:

"United States, September 26, 1789.

"GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE: Having yesterday received a letter written in this month by the Governor of Rhode Island, at the request and in behalf of the General Assembly of that State, addressed to the President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives of the eleven United States of America in Congress assembled, I take the earliest opportunity of laying a copy of it before you.

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

Some extracts from the communication referred to are annexed:

"State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, In General Assembly, September Session, 1789.

"To the President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives of the eleven United States of America in Congress assembled: "The critical situation in which the people of this State are placed engages us to make these assurances, on their behalf, of

their attachment and friendship to their sister States, and of their disposition to cultivate mutual harmony and friendly intercourse. They know themselves to be a handful, comparatively viewed, and, although they now stand as it were alone, they have not separated themselves or departed from the principles of that Confederation, which was formed by the sister States in their struggle for freedom and in the hour of danger. . . .

"Our not having acceded to or adopted the new system of government formed and adopted by most of our sister States, we doubt not, has given uneasiness to them. That we have not seen our way clear to it, consistently with our idea of the principles upon which we all embarked together, has also given pain to us. We have not doubted that we might thereby avoid present diffi-

culties, but we have apprehended future mischief. . . .

"Can it be thought strange that, with these impressions, they [the people of this State] should wait to see the proposed system organized and in operation?—to see what further checks and securities would be agreed to and established by way of amendments, before they could adopt it as a Constitution of govern-

ment for themselves and their posterity? . . .

"We are induced to hope that we shall not be altogether considered as foreigners having no particular affinity or connection with the United States; but that trade and commerce upon which the prosperity of this State much depends, will be preserved as free and open between this State and the United States, as our different situations at present can possibly admit. . . .

"We feel ourselves attached by the strongest ties of friendship, kindred, and interest, to our sister States; and we can not, without the greatest reluctance, look to any other quarter for those advantages of commercial intercourse which we conceive

to be more natural and reciprocal between them and us.
"I am, at the request and in behalf of the General Assembly,

your most obedient, humble servant.

"John Collins, Governor.

"His Excellency, the President of the United States."

[AMERICAN STATE PAPERS, Vol. I, MISCELLANEOUS.]

CHAPTER IV.

The Constitution not adopted by one People "in the Aggregate."

—A Great Fallacy exposed.—Mistake of Judge Story.—Colonial Relations.—The United Colonies of New England.—Other Associations.—Independence of Communities traced from Germany to Great Britain, and from Great Britain to America.—Mr. Everett's "Provincial People."—Origin and Continuance

of the Title "United States."—No such Political Community as the "People of the United States."

THE historical retrospect of the last three chapters and the extracts from the records of a generation now departed have been presented as necessary to a right understanding of the nature and principles of the compact of 1787, on which depended the questions at issue in the secession of 1861 and the contest that ensued between the States.

We have seen that the united colonies, when they declared their independence, formed a league or alliance with one another as "United States." This title antedated the adoption of the Articles of Confederation. It was assumed immediately after the Declaration of Independence, and was continued under the Articles of Confederation; the first of which declared that "the style of this confederacy shall be 'The United States of America'"; and this style was retained—without question—in the formation of the present Constitution. The name was not adopted as antithetical to, or distinctive from, "confederate," as some seem to have imagined. If it has any significance now, it must have had the same under the Articles of Confederation, or even before they were adopted.

It has been fully shown that the States which thus became and continued to be "united," whatever form their union assumed, acted and continued to act as distinct and sovereign political communities. The monstrous fiction that they acted as one people "in their aggregate capacity" has not an atom of

fact to serve as a basis.

To go back to the very beginning, the British colonies never constituted one people. Judge Story, in his "Commentaries" on the Constitution, seems to imply the contrary, though he shrinks from a direct assertion of it, and clouds the subject by a confusion of terms. He says: "Now, it is apparent that none of the colonies before the Revolution were, in the most large and general sense, independent or sovereign communities. They were all originally settled under and subjected to the British Crown." And then he proceeds to show that they were, in their colonial condition, not sovereign—a proposition which nobody disputed. As colonies, they had no claim, and made no pretension, to sovereignty. They were subject to the British Crown, unless, like the Plymouth colony, "a law unto themselves," but they were independent of each other-the only point which has any bearing upon their subsequent relations. There was no other bond between them than that of their common allegiance to the Government of the mother-country. As an illustration of this may be cited the historical fact that, when John Stark, of Bennington memory, was before the Revolution engaged in a hunting expedition in the Indian country, he was captured by the savages and brought to Albany, in the colony of New York, for a ransom; but, inasmuch as he belonged to New Hampshire, the government of New York took no action for his release. There was not even enough community of feeling to induce individual citizens to provide money for the purpose.

There were, however, local and partial confederacies among the New England colonies, long before the Declaration of Independence. As early as the year 1643 a Congress had been organized of delegates from Massachusetts, Plymouth, New Haven, and Connecticut, under the style of "The United Colonies of New England.' The objects of this confederacy, according to Mr. Bancroft, were "protection against the encroachments of the Dutch and French, security against the tribes of savages, the liberties of the gospel in purity and in peace."* The general affairs of the company were intrusted to commissions, two from each colony; but the same historian tells us that "to each its respective local jurisdiction was carefully reserved," and he refers to this as evidence that the germ-principle of Staterights was even then in existence. "Thus remarkable for unmixed simplicity" (he proceeds) "was the form of the first confederated government in America. . . . There was no president, except as a moderator of its meetings, and the larger State [sic], Massachusetts, superior to all the rest in territory, wealth, and population, had no greater number of votes than New Haven. But the commisioners were in reality little more than a deliberative body; they possessed no executive power, and, while they could decree a war and a levy of troops, it remained for the States to carry their votes into effect." *

This confederacy continued in existence for nearly fifty years. Between that period and the year 1774, when the first Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, several other temporary and provisional associations of colonies had been formed, and the people had been taught the advantages of union for a common purpose; but they had never abandoned or compromised the great principle of community independence. That form of self-government, generated in the German forests before the days of the Cæsars, had given to that rude people a self-reliance

^{*} Bancroft's "History of the United States," vol. i, chap. ix.

and patriotism which first checked the flight of the Roman eagles, which elsewhere had been the emblem of their dominion over the known world. This principle—the great preserver of all communal freedom and of mutual harmony—was transplanted by the Saxons into England, and there sustained those personal rights which, after the fall of the Heptarchy, were almost obliterated by the encroachments of Norman despotism; but, having the strength and perpetuity of truth and right, were reasserted by the mailed hands of the barons at Runnymede for their own benefit and that of their posterity. Englishmen, the early settlers, brought this idea to the wilds of America, and it found expression in many forms among the infant colonies.

Mr. Edward Everett, in his Fourth-of-July address, delivered in New York in 1861, following the lead of Judge Story, and with even less caution, boldly declares that, "before their independence of England was asserted, they [the colonies] constituted a provincial people." To sustain this position—utterly contrary to all history as it is—he is unable to adduce any valid American authority, but relies almost exclusively upon loose expressions employed in debate in the British Parliament about the period of the American Revolution—such as "that people," "that loyal and respectable people," "this enlightened and spirited people," etc., etc. The speakers who made use of this colloquial phraseology concerning the inhabitants of a distant continent, in the freedom of extemporaneous debate, were not framing their ideas with the exactitude of a didactic treatise, and could little have foreseen the extraordinary use to be made of their expressions nearly a century afterward, in sustaining a theory contradictory to history as well as to common sense. It is as if the familiar expressions often employed in our own time, such as "the people of Africa," or "the people of South America," should be cited, by some ingenious theorist of a future generation, as evidence that the subjects of the Khedive and those of the King of Dahomey were but "one people," or that the Peruvians and the Patagonians belonged to the same political community.

Mr. Everett, it is true, quotes two expressions of the Continental Congress to sustain his remarkable proposition that the colonies were "a people." One of these is found in a letter addressed by the Congress to General Gage in October, 1774, remonstrating against the erection of fortifications in Boston, in which they say, "We entreat your Excellency to consider what a tendency this conduct must have to irritate and force a free people, hitherto well disposed to peaceable measures, into hos-

tilities." From this expression Mr. Everett argues that the Congress considered themselves the representatives of "a people." But, by reference to the proceedings of the Congress, he might readily have ascertained that the letter to General Gage was written in behalf of "the town of Boston and Province of Massuchusetts Bay," the people of which were "considered by all America as suffering in the common cause for their noble and spirited opposition to oppressive acts of Parliament." The avowed object was "to entreat his Excellency, from the assurance we have of the peaceable disposition of the inhabitants of the town of Boston and of the Province of Massachusetts Bay. to discontinue his fortifications." * These were the "people" referred to by the Congress; and the children of the Pilgrims, who occupied at that period the town of Boston and Province of Massachusetts Bay, would have been not a little astonished to be reckoned as "one people," in any other respect than that of the "common cause," with the Roman Catholics of Maryland, the Episcopalians of Virginia, the Quakers of Pennsylvania, or the Baptists of Rhode Island.

The other citation of Mr. Everett is from the first sentence of the Declaration of Independence: "When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for *one people* to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another," etc., etc. This, he says, characterizes "the good people" of the col-

onies as "one people."

Plainly, it does no such thing. The misconception is so palpable as scarcely to admit of serious answer. The Declaration of Independence opens with a general proposition. "One people" is equivalent to saying "any people." The use of the correlatives "one" and "another" was the simple and natural way of stating this general proposition. "One people" applies, and was obviously intended to apply, to all cases of the same category—to that of New Hampshire, or Delaware, or South Carolina, or of any other people existing or to exist, and whether acting separately or in concert. It applies to any case, and all cases, of dissolution of political bands, as well as to the case of the British colonies. It does not, either directly or by implication, assert their unification, and has no bearing whatever upon the question.

When the colonies united in sending representatives to a Congress in Philadelphia, there was no purpose—no suggestion of a purpose—to merge their separate individuality in one consolidated mass. No such idea existed, or with their known

^{* &}quot;American Archives," fourth series, vol. i, p. 908.

opinions could have existed. They did not assume to become a united colony or province, but styled themselves "united colonies''-colonies united for purposes of mutual counsel and defense, as the New England colonies had been united more than a hundred years before. It was as "United States"—not as a state, or united people—that these colonies—still distinct and politically independent of each other-asserted and achieved their independence of the mother-country. As "United States" they adopted the Articles of Confederation, in which the separate sovereignty, freedom, and independence of each was distinctly asserted. They were "united States" when Great Britain acknowledged the absolute freedom and independence of each, distinctly and separately recognized by name. France and Spain were parties to the same treaty, and the French and Spanish idioms still express and perpetuate, more exactly than the English, the true idea intended to be embodied in the title les États Unis, or los Estados Unidos—the States united.

It was without any change of title—still as "United States"—without any sacrifice of individuality—without any compromise of sovereignty—that the same parties entered into a new and amended compact with one another under the present Constitution, Larger and more varied powers were conferred upon the common Government for the purpose of insuring "a more perfect union"—not for that of destroying or impairing the in-

tegrity of the contracting members.

The point which now specially concerns the argument is the historical fact that, in all these changes of circumstances and of government, there has never been one single instance of action by the "people of the United States in the aggregate," or as one body. Before the era of independence, whatever was done by the people of the colonies was done by the people of each colony separately and independently of each other, although in union by their delegates for certain specified purposes. Since the assertion of their independence, the people of the United States have never acted otherwise than as the people of each State, severally and separately. The Articles of Confederation were established and ratified by the several States, either through conventions of their people or through the State Legislatures. The Constitution which superseded those articles was framed, as we have seen, by delegates chosen and empowered by the several States, and was ratified by conventions of the people of the same States all acting in entire independence of one another. This ratification alone gave it force and validity. Without the approval and ratification of the people of the States, it would have been, as Mr. Madison expressed it, "of no more consequence than the paper on which it was written." It was never submitted to "the people of the United States in the aggregate," or as a people. Indeed, no such political community as the people of the United States in the aggregate exists at this day or ever did exist. Senators in Congress confessedly represent the States as equal units. The House of Representatives is not a body of representatives of "the people of the United States," as often erroneously asserted; but the Constitution, in the second section of its first article, expressly declares that it "shall be composed of members chosen by the people of the several States."

Nor is it true that the President and Vice-President are elected, as it is sometimes vaguely stated, by vote of the "whole people" of the Union. Their election is even more unlike what such a vote would be than that of the representatives, who in numbers at least represent the strength of their respective States. In the election of President and Vice-President the Constitution (Article II) prescribes that "cach State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors" for the purpose of choosing a President and Vice-President. The number of these electors is based partly upon the equal sovereignty, partly upon the unequal population of the respective States.

It is, then, absolutely true that there has never been any such thing as a vote of "the people of the United States in the aggregate": no such people is recognized by the Constitution; and no such political community has ever existed. It is equally true that no officer or department of the General Government formed by the Constitution derives authority from a majority of the whole people of the United States, or has ever been chosen by such majority. As little as any other is the United States Government a government of a majority of the mass.

CHAPTER V.

The Preamble to the Constitution.—"We, the People."

THE preamble to the Constitution proposed by the Convention of 1787 is in these words:

"We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity,

provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

The phraseology of this preamble has been generally regarded as the stronghold of the advocates of consolidation. It has been interpreted as meaning that "we, the people of the United States," as a collective body, or as a "nation," in our aggregate capacity, had "ordained and established" the Constitution over the States.

This interpretation constituted, in the beginning, the most serious difficulty in the way of the ratification of the Constitution. It was probably this to which that sturdy patriot. Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts, alluded, when he wrote to Richard Henry Lee, "I stumble at the threshold." Patrick Henry, in the Virginia Convention, on the third day of the session, and in the very opening of the debate, attacked it vehemently. He said, speaking of the system of government set forth in the proposed Constitution:

"That this is a consolidated government is demonstrably clear; and the danger of such a government is, to my mind, very striking. I have the highest veneration for those gentlemen [its authors]; but, sir, give me leave to demand, What right had they to say, We, the people? My political curiosity, exclusive of my anxious solicitude for the public welfare, leads me to ask. Who authorized them to speak the language of 'We, the people,' instead of We, the States? States are the characteristics and the soul of a confederation. If the States be not the agents of this compact, it must be one great consolidated national government of the people of all the States."*

Again, on the next day, with reference to the same subject, he said: "When I asked that question, I thought the meaning of my interrogation was obvious. The fate of this question and of America may depend on this. Have they said, We, the States? Have they made a proposal of a compact between States? If they had, this would be a confederation: it is otherwise most clearly a consolidated government. The question turns, sir, on that poor little thing—the expression, "We, the people," instead of the States of America.";

^{*} Elliott's ''Debates'' (Washington edition, 1836), vol. iii, p. 54. † Ibid., p. 72.

The same difficulty arose in other minds and in other conventions,

The scruples of Mr. Adams were removed by the explanations of others, and by the assurance of the adoption of the amendments thought necessary—especially of that declaratory safeguard afterward embodied in the tenth amendment—to be referred to hereafter.

Mr. Henry's objection was thus answered by Mr. Madison:

"Who are parties to it [the Constitution]? The people—but not the people as composing one great body; but the people as composing thirteen sovereignties: were it, as the gentleman [Mr. Henry asserts, a consolidated government, the assent of a majority of the people would be sufficient for its establishment, and as a majority have adopted it already, the remaining States would be bound by the act of the majority, even if they unanimously reprobated it: were it such a government as is suggested, it would be now binding on the people of this State, without having had the privilege of deliberating upon it; but, sir, no State is bound by it, as it is, without its own consent. Should all the States adopt it, it will be then a government established by the thirteen States of America, not through the intervention of the Legislatures, but by the people at large. In this particular respect the distinction between the existing and proposed governments is very material. The existing system has been derived from the dependent, derivative authority of the Legislatures of the States, whereas this is derived from the superior power of the people." *

It must be remembered that this was spoken by one of the leading members of the Convention which formed the Constitution, within a few months after that instrument was drawn up. Mr. Madison's hearers could readily appreciate his clear answer to the objection made. The "people" intended were those of the respective States—the only organized communities of people exercising sovereign powers of government; and the idea intended was the ratification and "establishment" of the Constitution by direct act of the people in their conventions, instead of by act of their Legislatures, as in the adoption of the Articles of Confederation. The explanation seems to have been as satisfactory as it was simple and intelligible. Mr. Henry, although he fought to the last against the ratification of the Constitution, did not again bring forward this objection, for the reason, no doubt, that it had been fully answered. Indeed, we

^{*} Elliott's "Debates" (Washington edition, 1836), vol. iii, pp. 114, 115.

hear no more of the interpretation which suggested it, from that period, for nearly half a century, when it was revived, and has since been employed, to sustain that theory of a "great consolidated national government" which Mr. Madison so distinctly repudiated.

But we have access to sources of information, not then available, which make the intent and meaning of the Constitution still plainer. When Mr. Henry made his objection, and Mr. Madison answered it, the journal of the Philadelphia Convention had not been published. That body had sat with closed doors, and among its rules had been the following:

"That no copy be taken of any entry on the journal during the sitting of the House, without the leave of the House.

"That members only be permitted to inspect the journal.
"That nothing spoken in the House be printed, or otherwise published or communicated, without leave."*

We can understand, by reference to these rules, how Mr. Madison should have felt precluded from making allusion to anything that had occurred during the proceedings of the Convention. But the secrecy then covering those proceedings has long since been removed. The manuscript journal, which was intrusted to the keeping of General Washington, President of the Convention, was deposited by him, nine years afterward, among the archives of the State Department. It has since been published, and we can trace for ourselves the origin, and ascertain the exact significance, of that expression, "We, the people," on which Patrick Henry thought the fate of America might depend, and which has been so grossly perverted in later years from its true intent.

The original language of the preamble, reported to the Convention by a committee of five appointed to prepare the Constitution, as we find it in the proceedings of August 6, 1787, was as follows:

"We, the people of the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, do ordain, declare, and establish, the following Constitution for the government of ourselves and our posterity."

^{*} Journal of the Federal Convention, May 29, 1787, 1 Elliott's "Debates."

There can be no question here what was meant: it was "the people of the States," designated by name, that were to "ordain, declare, and establish" the compact of union for themselves and their posterity. There is no ambiguity nor uncertainty in the language; nor was there any difference in the Convention as to the use of it. The preamble, as perfected, was submitted to vote on the next day, and, as the journal informs us, "it passed unanimously in the affirmative."

There was no subsequent change of opinion on the subject. The reason for the modification afterward made in the language is obvious. It was found that unanimous ratification of all the States could not be expected, and it was determined, as we have already seen, that the consent of nine States should suffice for the establishment of the new compact "between the States so ratifying the same." Any nine would be sufficient to put the proposed government in operation as to them, thus leaving the remainder of the thirteen to pursue such course as might be to each preferable. When this conclusion was reached, it became manifestly impracticable to designate beforehand the consenting States by name. Hence, in the final revision, the specific enumeration of the thirteen States was omitted, and the equivalent phrase "people of the United States" inserted in its placeplainly meaning the people of such States as should agree to unite on the terms proposed. The imposing fabric of political delusion, which has been erected on the basis of this simple transaction, disappears before the light of historical record.

Could the authors of the Constitution have foreseen the perversion to be made of their obvious meaning, it might have been prevented by an easy periphrasis—such as, "We, the people of the States hereby united," or something to the same effect. The word "people" in 1787, as in 1880, was, as it is, a collective noun, employed indiscriminately, either as a unit in such expressions as "this people," "a free people," etc., or in a distributive sense, as applied to the citizens or inhabitants of one state or country or a number of states or countries. When the Convention of the colony of Virginia, in 1774, instructed their delegates to the Congress that was to meet in Philadelphia. "to obtain a redress of those grievances, without which the people of America can neither be safe, free, nor happy," it was certainly not intended to convey the idea that the people of the American Continent, or even of the British colonies in America, constituted one political community. Nor did Edmund Burke have any such meaning when he said, in his celebrated speech

in Parliament, in 1775, "The people of the colonies are de-

scendants of Englishmen."

We need go no further than to the familiar language of King James's translation of the Bible for multiplied illustrations of this indiscriminate use of the term, both in its collective and distributive senses. For example, King Solomon prays at the dedication of the temple:

"That thine eyes may be open unto the supplication . . . of thy people Israel, to hearken unto them in all that they call for unto thee. For thou didst separate them from among all the people of the earth, to be thine inheritance." (1 King viii, 52, 53.)

Here we have both the singular and plural senses of the same word—one people, Israel, and all the people of the earth—in two consecutive sentences. In "the people of the earth," the word people is used precisely as it is in the expression "the people of the United States" in the preamble to the Constitution, and has exactly the same force and effect. If in the latter case it implies that the people of Massachusetts and those of Virginia were mere fractional parts of one political community, it must in the former imply a like unity among the Philistines, the Egyptians, the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians, and all other "people of the earth," except the Israelites. Scores of examples of the same sort might be cited if it were necessary.*

In the Declaration of Independence we find precisely analogous instances of the employment of the singular form for both singular and plural senses—"one people," "a free people," in the former, and "the good people of these colonies" in the latter. Judge Story, in the excess of his zeal in behalf of a theory of consolidation, bases upon this last expression the conclusion that the assertion of independence was the act of "the whole people of the united colonies" as a unit; overlooking or suppressing the fact that, in the very same sentence, the colonies declare themselves "free and independent States"—not a free and independent state—repeating the words "independent States" three times.

If, however, the Declaration of Independence constituted one "whole people" of the colonies, then that geographical section of it, formerly known as the colony of Maryland, was in a state of revolt or "rebellion" against the others, as well as

^{*} For a very striking illustration, see Deuteronomy vii, 6, 7.

against Great Britain, from 1778 to 1781, during which period Maryland refused to ratify or be bound by the Articles of Confederation, which, according to this theory, was binding upon her, as a majority of the "whole people" had adopted it. A fortiori, North Carolina and Rhode Island were in a state of rebellion in 1789–'90, while they declined to ratify and recognize the Constitution adopted by the other eleven fractions of this united people. Yet no hint of any such pretension—of any claim of authority over them by the majority—of any assertion of "the supremacy of the Union"—is to be found in any of the records of that period.

It might have been unnecessary to bestow so much time and attention in exposing the absurdity of the deductions from a theory so false, but for the fact that it has been specious enough to secure the countenance of men of such distinction as Webster, Story, and Everett; and that it has been made the plea to justify a bloody war against that principle of State sovereignty and independence, which was regarded by the fathers of the Union as the corner-stone of the structure and the basis of the hope for its perpetuity.

CHAPTER VI.

The Preamble to the Constitution—subject continued.—Growth of the Federal Government and Accretions of Power.—Revival of Old Errors.—Mistakes and Misstatements.—Webster, Story, and Everett.—Who "ordained and established" the Constitution?

In the progressive growth of the Government of the United States in power, splendor, patronage, and consideration abroad men have been led to exalt the place of the Government above that of the States which created it. Those who would understand the true principles of the Constitution can not afford to lose sight of the essential plurality of idea invariably implied in the term "United States," wherever it is used in that instrument. No such unit as the United States is ever mentioned therein. We read that "no title of nobility shall be granted by the United States, and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of Congress, accept," etc.* "The President . . . shall not receive, within that

^{*} Article I, section 9, clause 8.

period, any other emolument from the United States, or any of them." * "The laws of the United States, and treaties made or which shall be made under their authority," etc.† "Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies." The Federal character of the Union is expressed by this very phraseology, which recognizes the distinct integrity of its members, not as fractional parts of one great unit, but as component units of an association. So clear was this to contemporaries, that it needed only to be pointed out to satisfy their scruples. We have seen how effectual was the answer of Mr. Madison to the objections raised by Patrick Henry. Mr. Tench Coxe, of Pennsylvania, one of the ablest political writers of his generation, in answering a similar objection, said: "If the Federal Convention had meant to exclude the idea of 'union'-that is, of several and separate sovereignties joining in a confederacy—they would have said, 'We, the people of America'; for union necessarily involves the idea of competent States, which complete consolidation excludes." §

More than forty years afterward, when the gradual accretions to the power, prestige, and influence of the central Government had grown to such extent as to begin to hide from view the purposes for which it was founded, those very objections, which in the beginning had been answered, abandoned, and thrown aside, were brought to light again, and presented to the country as expositions of the true meaning of the Constitution. Mr. Webster, one of the first to revive some of those early misconceptions so long ago refuted as to be almost forgotten, and to breathe into them such renewed vitality as his commanding genius could impart, in the course of his well-known debate in the Senate with Mr. Hayne, in 1830, said:

"It can not be shown that the Constitution is a compact between State governments. The Constitution itself, in its very front, refutes that proposition: it declares that it is ordained and established by the people of the United States. So far from saving that it is established by the governments of the several States, it does not even say that it is established by the people of the several States; but it pronounces that it is established by the people of the United States in the aggregate." ¶

^{*} Article II, section 1, clause 6.

[†] Article III, section 2.

[‡] Article III, section 3. ¶ Benton's "Abridg ment," vol. x, p. 448.

Judge Story about the same time began to advance the same theory, but more guardedly and with less rashness of statement. It was not until thirty years after that it attained is full development in the annunciations of sectionists rather than Statesmen. Two such may suffice as specimens:

Mr. Edward Everett, in his address delivered on the 4th of July, 1861, and already referred to, says of the Constitution: "That instrument does not purport to be a 'compact,' but a constitution of government. It appears, in its first sentence, not to have been entered into by the States, but to have been ordained and established by the people of the United States for themselves and their 'posterity.' The States are not named in it; nearly all the characteristic powers of sovereignty are expressly granted to the General Government and expressly prohibited to the States.' * Mr. Everett afterward repeats the asertion that "the States are not named in it." †

But a yet more extraordinary statement of the "one people" theory is found in a letter addressed to the London "Times," in the same year, 1861, on the "Causes of the Civil War," by Mr. John Lothrop Motley, afterward Minister to the Court of St. James. In this letter Mr. Motley says of the Constitution of the United States:

"It was not a compact. Who ever heard of a compact to which there were no parties? or who ever heard of a compact made by a single party with himself? Yet the name of no State is mentioned in the whole document; the States themselves are only mentioned to receive commands or prohibitions; and the 'people of the United States' is the single party by whom alone the instrument is executed.

"The Constitution was not drawn up by the States, it was not promulgated in the name of the States, it was not ratified by the States. The States never acceded to it, and possess no power to secede from it. It was 'ordained and established' over the States by a power superior to the States; by the people of the whole land in their aggregate capacity," etc.

It would be very hard to condense a more amazing amount of audacious and reckless falsehood in the same space. In all Mr. Motley's array of bold assertions, there is not one single truth—unless it be, perhaps, that "the Constitution was not drawn up by the States." Yet it was drawn up by their dele-

^{*} See address by Edward Everett at the Academy of Music, New York, July 4, 1861.

† Ibid.

gates, and it is of such material as this, derived from writers whose reputation gives a semblance of authenticity to their state-

ments, that history is constructed and transmitted.

One of the most remarkable—though, perhaps, the least important—of these misstatements is that which is also twice repeated by Mr. Everett-that the name of no State is mentioned in the whole document, or, as he puts it, "the States are not named in it." Very little careful examination would have sufficed to find, in the second section of the very first article of the Constitution, the names of every one of the thirteen then existent States distinctly mentioned, with the number of representatives to which each would be entitled, in case of acceding to the Constitution, until a census of their population could be taken. The mention there made of the States by name is of no special significance; it has no bearing upon any question of principle; and the denial of it is a purely gratuitous illustration of the recklessness of those from whom it proceeds, and the low estimate put on the intelligence of those addressed. It serves, however, to show how much credence is to be given to their authority as interpreters and expounders.

The reason why the names of the ratifying States were not mentioned has already been given: it was simply because it was not known which States would ratify. But, as regards mention of "the several States," "each State," "any State," "particular States," and the like, the Constitution is full of it. I am informed, by one who has taken the pains to examine carefully that document with reference to this very point, thatwithout including any mention of "the United States" or of "foreign states," and excluding also the amendments—the Constitution, in its original draft, makes mention of the States, as States, no less than seventy times; and of these seventy times, only three times in the way of prohibition of the exercise of a power. In fact, it is full of statehood. Leave out all mention of the States-I make no mere verbal point or quibble, but mean the States in their separate, several, distinct capacityand what would remain would be of less account than the play of the Prince of Denmark with the part of Hamlet omitted.

But, leaving out of consideration for the moment all minor questions, the vital and essential point of inquiry now is, by what authority the Constitution was "ordained and established." Mr. Webster says it was done "by the people of the United States in the aggregate"; Mr. Everett repeats substantially the same thing; and Mr. Motley, taking a step further, says that "it was 'ordained and established' by a power superior to the

States—by the people of the whole land in their aggregate capacity."

The advocates of this mischievous dogma assume the existence of an unauthorized, undefined power of a "whole people," or "people of the whole land," operating through the agency of the Philadelphia Convention, to impose its decrees upon the States. They forget, in the first place, that this Convention was composed of delegates, not of any one people, but of distinct States; and, in the second place, that their action had no force or validity whatever—in the words of Mr. Madison, that it was of no more consequence than the paper on which it was written-until approved and ratified by a sufficient number The meaning of the preamble, "We, the people of the United States . . . do ordain and establish this Constitution," is ascertained, fixed, and defined by the final article: "The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same." If it was already established, what need was there of further establishment? It was not ordained or established at all, until ratified by the requisite number of States. The announcement in the preamble of course had reference to that expected ratification, without which the preamble would have been as void as the body of the instrument. The assertion that "it was not ratified by the States" is so plainly and positively contrary to well-known fact—so inconsistent with the language of the Constitution itself—that it is hard to imagine what was intended by it, unless it was to take advantage of the presumed ignorance of the subject among the readers of an English journal, to impose upon them a preposterous fiction. It was State ratification alone—the ratification of the people of each State, independently of all other people—that gave force, vitality, and validity to the Constitution.

Judge Story, referring to the fact that the voters assembled in the several States, asks where else they could have assembled—a pertinent question on our theory, but the idea he evidently intended to convey was that the voting of "the people" by States was a mere matter of geographical necessity, or local convenience; just as the people of a State vote by counties; the people of a county by towns, "beats," or "precinets"; and the people of a city by wards. It is hardly necessary to say that, in all organized republican communities, majorities govern. When we speak of the will of the people of a community, we mean the will of a majority, which, when constitutionally expressed, is binding on any minority of the same community.

If, then, we can conceive, and admit for a moment, the possibility that, when the Constitution was under consideration, the people of the United States were politically "one people"—a collective unit—two deductions are clearly inevitable: In the first place, each geographical division of this great community would have been entitled to vote according to its relative population; and, in the second, the expressed will of the legal majority would have been binding upon the whole. A denial of the first proposition would be a denial of common justice and equal rights; a denial of the second would be to destroy all government and establish mere anarchy.

Now, neither of these principles was practiced or proposed or even imagined in the case of the action of the people of the United States (if they were one political community) upon the proposed Constitution. On the contrary, seventy thousand people in the State of Delaware had precisely the same weight—one vote—in its ratification, as seven hundred thousand (and more) in Virginia, or four hundred thousand in Pennsylvania. Would not this have been an intolerable grievance and wrong—would no protest have been uttered against it—if these had

been fractional parts of one community of people?

Again, while the will of the consenting majority within any State was binding on the opposing minority in the same, no majority, or majorities, of States or people had any control whatever upon the people of another State. The Constitution was established, not "over the States," as asserted by Motley, but "between the States," and only "between the States so ratifying the same." Little Rhode Island, with her seventy thousand inhabitants, was not a mere fractional part of "the people of the whole land," during the period for which she held aloof, but was as free, independent, and unmolested, as any other sovereign power, notwithstanding the majority of more than three millions of "the whole people" on the other side of the question.

Before the ratification of the Constitution—when there was some excuse for an imperfect understanding or misconception of the terms proposed—Mr. Madison thus answered, in advance, the objections made on the ground of this misconception, and

demonstrated its fallacy. He wrote:

"That it will be a federal and not a national act, as these terms are understood by objectors—the act of the people, as forming so many independent States, not as forming one aggregate nation—is obvious from this single consideration, that it is to result neither from the decision of a majority of the people of the Union nor from that of a majority of the States. It must result

from the unanimous assent of the several States that are parties to it, differing no otherwise from their ordinary assent than in its being expressed, not by the legislative authority, but by that of the people themselves. Were the people regarded in this transaction as forming one nation, the will of the majority of the whole people of the United States would bind the minority, in the same manner as the majority in each State must bind the minority; and the will of the majority must be determined either by a comparison of the individual votes or by considering the will of the majority of the States as evidence of the will of a majority of the people of the United States. Neither of these has been adopted. Each State, in ratifying the Constitution, is considered as a sovereign body, independent of all others, and only to be bound by its own voluntary act."

It is a tedious task to have to expose the misstatements, both of fact and of principle, which have occupied so much attention, but it is rendered necessary by the extent to which they have been imposed upon the acceptance of the public, through reckless assertion and confident and incessant repetition.

"'I remember,' says Mr. Webster, 'to have heard Chief-Justice Marshall ask counsel, who was insisting upon the authority of an act of legislation, if he thought an act of legislation could create or destroy a fact, or change the truth of history? "Would it alter the fact." said he, "if a Legislature should solemnly enact that Mr. Hume never wrote the History of England?" A Legislature may alter the law, continued Mr. Webster, 'but no power can reverse a fact.' Hence, if the Convention of 1787 had expressly declared that the Constitution was [to be] ordained by 'the people of the United States in the aggregate,' or by the people of America as one nation, this would not have destroyed the fact that it was ratified by each State for itself, and that each State was bound only by 'its own voluntary act." (Bledsoe.)

But the Convention, as we have seen, said no such thing. No such community as "the people of the United States in the aggregate" is known to it, or ever acted on it. It was ordained, established, and ratified by the people of the several States; and no theories or assertions of a later generation can change or conceal this fixed fact, as it stands revealed in the light of contemporaneous records.

^{* &}quot;Federalist," No. xxxix.

CHAPTER VII.

Verbal Cavils and Criticisms.—"Compact," "Confederacy," "Accession," etc.—The "New Vocabulary."—The Federal Constitution a Compact, and the States acceded to it.—Evidence of the Constitution itself and of Contemporary Records.

I HAVE habitually spoken of the Federal Constitution as a compact, and of the parties to it as sovereign States. These terms should not, and in earlier times would not, have required explanation or vindication. But they have been called in question by the modern school of consolidation. These gentlemen admit that the Government under the Articles of Confederation was a compact. Mr. Webster, in his rejoinder to Mr. Hayne, on the 27th of January, 1830, said:

"When the gentleman says the Constitution is a compact between the States, he uses language exactly applicable to the old Confederation. He speaks as if he were in Congress before 1789. He describes fully that old state of things then existing. The Confederation was, in strictness, a compact; the States, as States, were parties to it. We had no other General Government. But that was found insufficient and inadequate to the public exigencies. The people were not satisfied with it, and undertook to establish a better. They undertook to form a General Government, which should stand on a new basis—not a confederacy, not a league, not a compact between States, but a Constitution."

Again, in his discussion with Mr. Calhoun, three years afterward, he vehemently reiterates the same denial. Of the Constitution, he says: "Does it call itself a compact? Certainly not. It uses the word 'compact' but once, and that when it declares that the States shall enter into no compact.† Does it call itself a league, a confederacy, a subsisting treaty between the States? Certainly not. There is not a particle of such language in all its pages." ‡

The artist, who wrote under his picture the legend "This is a horse," made effectual provision against any such cavil as that preferred by Mr. Webster and his followers, that the Constitution is not a compact, because it is not "so nominated in the

t"Congressional Debates," vol. ix, Part I, p. 563.

^{*} Gales and Seaton's "Register of Congressional Debates," vol. vi, Part I, p. 93.

t The words "with another State or with a foreign power" should have been added to make this statement accurate.

bond." As well as I can recollect, there is no passage in the "Iliad" or the "Eneid" in which either of those great works "calls itself," or is called by its author, an epic poem, yet this would scarcely be accepted as evidence that they are not epic poems. In an examination of Mr. Webster's remarks, I do not find that he announces them to be either a speech or an argument; yet their claim to both these titles will hardly be disputed—notwithstanding the verbal criticism on the Constitution just quoted.

The distinction attempted to be drawn between the language proper to a confederation and that belonging to a constitution. as indicating two different ideas, will not bear the test of examination and application to the case of the United States. It has been fully shown, in previous chapters, that the terms "Union," "Federal Union," "Federal Constitution," "Constitution of the Federal Government," and the like, were usednot merely in colloquial, informal speech, but in public proceedings and official documents—with reference to the Articles of Confederation, as freely as they have since been employed under the present Constitution. The former Union was—as Mr. Webster expressly admits—as nobody denies—a compact between States, yet it nowhere "calls itself" "a compact"; the word does not occur in it even the one time that it occurs in the present Constitution, although the contracting States are in both prohibited from entering into any "treaty, confederation, or alliance" with one another, or with any foreign power, without the consent of Congress; and the contracting or constituent parties are termed "United States" in the one just as in the other.

Mr. Webster is particularly unfortunate in his criticisms upon what he terms the "new vocabulary," in which the Constitution is styled a compact, and the States which ratified it are spoken of as having "acceded" to it. In the same speech, last quoted, he says:

"This word 'accede,' not found either in the Constitution itself or in the ratification of it by any one of the States, has been chosen for use here, doubtless not without a well-considered purpose. The natural converse of accession is secession; and therefore, when it is stated that the people of the States acceded to the Union, it may be more plausibly argued that they may secede from it. If, in adopting the Constitution, nothing was done but acceding to a compact, nothing would seem necessary, in order to break it up, but to secede from the same compact. But the term is wholly out of place. Accession, as a word applied to political associations, implies coming into a league, treaty, or con-

federacy, by one hitherto a stranger to it; and secession implies departing from such league or confederacy. The people of the United States have used no such form of expression in establishing the present Government."*

Repeating and reiterating in many forms what is substantially the same idea, and attributing the use of the terms which he attacks to an ulterior purpose, Mr. Webster says:

"This is the reason, sir, which makes it necessary to abandon the use of constitutional language for a new vocabulary, and to substitute, in the place of plain, historical facts, a series of assumptions. This is the reason why it is necessary to give new names to things; to speak of the Constitution, not as a constitution, but as a compact; and of the ratifications by the people, not as ratifications, but as acts of accession." †

In these and similar passages, Mr. Webster virtually concedes that, if the Constitution were a compact; if the Union were a confederacy; if the States had, as States, severally acceded to it—all which propositions he denies—then the sovereignty of the States and their right to secede from the Union would be deducible.

Now, it happens that these very terms—"compact," "confederacy," "accede," and the like—were the terms in familiar use by the authors of the Constitution and their associates with reference to that instrument and its ratification. Other writers, who have examined the subject since the late war gave it an interest which it had never commanded before, have collected such an array of evidence in this behalf that it is necessary only to cite a few examples.

The following language of Mr. Gerry, of Massachusetts, in the Convention of 1787, has already been referred to: "If nine out of thirteen States can dissolve the compact, six out of nine will be just as able to dissolve the new one hereafter."

Mr. Gouverneur Morris, one of the most pronounced advocates of a strong central government, in the Convention, said: "He came here to form a compact for the good of Americans. He was ready to do so with all the States. He hoped and believed they all would enter into such a compact. If they would not, he would be ready to join with any States that would. But, as the compact was to be voluntary, it is in vain for the Eastern States to insist on what the Southern States will never agree to," t

† Ibid., pp. 557, 558. ‡ "Madison Papers," pp. 1081, 1082.

^{* &}quot;Congressional Debates," vol. ix, Part I, p. 556.

Mr. Madison, while inclining to a strong government, said:

"In the case of a union of people under one Constitution, the nature of the pact has always been understood," etc.*

Mr. Hamilton, in the "Federalist," repeatedly speaks of the new government as a "confederate republic" and a "confederacy," and calls the Constitution a "compact." (See especially Nos. IX and LXXXV.)

General Washington—who was not only the first President under the new Constitution, but who had presided over the Convention that drew it up—in letters written soon after the adjournment of that body to friends in various States, referred to the Constitution as a *compact* or treaty, and repeatedly uses the terms "accede" and "accession," and once the term "secession."

He asks what the opponents of the Constitution in Virginia would do, "if nine other States should accede to the Constitution."

Luther Martin, of Maryland, informs us that, in a committee of the General Convention of 1787, protesting against the proposed violation of the principles of the "perpetual union" already formed under the Articles of Confederation, he made use of such language as this:

"Will you tell us we ought to trust you because you now enter into a solemn compact with us? This you have done before, and now treat with the utmost contempt. Will you now make an appeal to the Supreme Being, and call on Him to guarantee your observance of this compact? The same you have formerly done for your observance of the Articles of Confederation, which you are now violating in the most wanton manner." †

It is needless to multiply the proofs that abound in the writings of the "fathers" to show that Mr. Webster's "new vocabulary" was the very language they familiarly used. Let two more examples suffice, from authority higher than that of any individual speaker or writer, however eminent—from authority second only, if at all inferior, to that of the text of the Constitution itself—that is, from the acts or ordinances of ratification by the States. They certainly ought to have been conclusive, and should not have been unknown to Mr. Webster, for they are the language of Massachusetts, the State which he represented in the Senate, and of New Hampshire, the State of his nativity.

^{*} Thid., p. 1184.

[†] Luther Martin's "Genuine Information," in Wilbur Curtiss's "Secret Proceedings and Debates of the Convention," p. 29.

The ratification of Massachusetts is expressed in the following terms:

"COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

"The Convention, having impartially discussed and fully considered a Constitution for the United States of America, reported to Congress by the convention of delegates from the United States of America, and submitted to us by a resolution of the General Court of the said Commonwealth, passed the 25th day of October last past, and acknowledging with grateful hearts the goodness of the Supreme Ruler of the universe, in affording the people of the United States, in the course of his Providence, an opportunity, deliberately and peaceably, without fraud or surprise, of entering into an explicit and solemn COMPACT with each other, by assenting to and ratifying a new Constitution, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity—do, in the name and in behalf of the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, assent to and ratify the said Constitution for the United States of America."

The ratification of New Hampshire is expressed in precisely the same words, save only the difference of date of the resolution of the Legislature (or "General Court") referred to, and also the use of the word "State" instead of "Commonwealth." Both distinctly accept it as a compact of the States "with each other"—which Mr. Webster, a son of New Hampshire and a Senator from Massachusetts, declared it was not; and not only so, but he repudiated the very "vocabulary" from which the words expressing the doctrine were taken.

It would not need, however, this abounding wealth of contemporaneous exposition—it does not require the employment of any particular words in the Constitution—to prove that it was drawn up as a compact between sovereign States entering into a confederacy with each other, and that they ratified and acceded to it separately, severally, and independently. The very structure of the whole instrument and the facts attending its preparation and ratification would suffice. The language of the final article would have been quite enough: "The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same." This is not the "language" of a superior imposing a mandate upon subordinates. The consent of the contracting parties is necessary to its validity, and then it becomes

not the acceptance and recognition of an authority "over" them—as Mr. Motley represents—but of a compact between them. The simple word "between" is incompatible with any other

idea than that of a compact by independent parties.

If it were possible that any doubt could still exist, there is one provision in the Constitution which stamps its character as a compact too plainly for cavil or question. The Constitution, which had already provided for the representation of the States in both Houses of Congress, thereby bringing the matter of representation within the power of amendment, in its fifth article contains a stipulation that "no State, without its [own] consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate." If this is not a compact between the States, the smaller States have no guarantee for the preservation of their equality of representation in the United States Senate. If the obligation of a contract does not secure it, the guarantee itself is liable to amendment, and may be swept away at the will of three fourths of the States, without wrong to any party—for, according to this theory, there is no party of the second part.

CHAPTER VIII.

SOVEREIGNTY.

"THE term 'sovereign' or sovereignty," says Judge Story, "is used in different senses, which often leads to a confusion of ideas, and sometimes to very mischievous and unfounded conclusions." Without any disrespect for Judge Story, or any disparagement of his great learning and ability, it may safely be added that he and his disciples have contributed not a little to the increase of this confusion of ideas and the spread of these mischievous and unfounded conclusions. There is no good reason whatever why it should be used in different senses, or why there should be any confusion of ideas as to its meaning. Of all the terms employed in political science, it is one of the most definite and intelligible. The definition of it given by that accurate and lucid publicist, Burlamaqui, is simple and satisfactory—that "sovereignty is a right of commanding in the last resort in civil society." The original seat of this sovereignty he also declares to be in the people. "But," he adds, "when

^{*&}quot;Principes du Droit Politique," chap. v, section 1; also, chap. vii, section 1.

once the people have transferred their right to a sovereign [i.e., a monarch], they can not, without contradiction, be supposed to continue still masters of it."* This is in strict accord with the theory of American republicanism, the peculiarity of which is that the people never do transfer their right of sovereignty, either in whole or in part. They only delegate to their governments the exercise of such of its functions as may be necessary, subject always to their own control, and to reassumption whenever such government fails to fulfill the purposes for which it was instituted.

I think it has already been demonstrated that, in this country, the only political community—the only independent corporate unit—through which the people can exercise their sovereignty, is the State. Minor communities—as those of counties, cities, and towns—are merely fractional subdivisions of the State; and these do not affect the evidence that there was not such a political community as the "people of the United States in the aggregate."

That the States were severally sovereign and independent when they were united under the Articles of Confederation, is distinctly asserted in those articles, and is admitted even by the extreme partisans of consolidation. Of right, they are still sovereign, unless they have surrendered or been divested of their sovereignty; and those who deny the proposition have been vainly called upon to point out the process by which they have divested themselves, or have been divested of it, otherwise

than by usurpation.

Since Webster spoke and Story wrote upon the subject, however, the sovereignty of the States has been vehemently denied, or explained away as only a partial, imperfect, mutilated sovereignty. Paradoxical theories of "divided soverignty" and "delegated sovereignty" have arisen, to create that "confusion of ideas" and engender those "mischievous and unfounded conclusions," of which Judge Story speaks. Confounding the sovereign authority of the people with the delegated powers confered by them upon their governments, we hear of a Government of the United States "sovereign within its sphere," and of State governments "sovereign in their sphere"; of the surrender by the States of part of their sovereignty to the United States, and the like. Now, if there be any one great principle pervading the Federal Constitution, the State Constitutions, the writings of the fathers, the whole American system, as clearly as the sunlight pervades the solar

⁺ Ibid., chap. vii, section 12.

system, it is that no government is sovereign—that all governments derive their powers from the people, and exercise them in subjection to the will of the people—not a will expressed in any irregular, lawless, tumultuary manner, but the will of the organized political community, expressed through authorized and legitimate channels. The founders of the American republics never conferred, nor intended to confer, sovereignty upon either their State or Federal Governments.

If, then, the people of the States, in forming a Federal Union, surendered—or, to use Burlamaqui's term, transferred—or if they meant to surrender or transfer—part of their sovereignty, to whom was the transfer made? Not to "the people of the United States in the aggregate"; for there was no such people in existence, and they did not create or constitute such a people by merger of themselves. Not to the Federal Government; for they disclaimed, as a fundamental principle, the sovereignty of any government. There was no such surrender, no such transfer, in whole or in part, expressed or implied. They retained, and intended to retain, their sovereignty in its integrity—undivided and indivisible.

"But, indeed," says Mr. Motley, "the words 'sovereign' and 'sovereignty' are purely inapplicable to the American system. In the Declaration of Independence the provinces declare themselves 'free and independent States,' but the men of those days knew that the word 'sovereign' was a term of feudal origin. When their connection with a time-honored feudal monarchy was abruptly severed, the word 'sovereign' had no mean-

ing for us." *

If this be true, "the men of those days" had a very extraordinary way of expressing their conviction that the word "had no meaning for us." We have seen that, in the very front of their Articles of Confederation, they set forth the conspicuous declaration that each State retained "its sovereignty, freedom, and independence."

Massachusetts—the State, I believe, of Mr. Motley's nativity and citizenship—in her original Constitution, drawn up by "men

of those days," made this declaration:

"The people inhabiting the territory formerly called the Province of Massachusetts Bay do hereby solemnly and mutually agree with each other to form themselves into a free, sovereign, and independent body politic, or State, by the name of The Commonwealth of Massachusetts."

^{* &}quot;Rebellion Record," vol. i, Documents, p. 211.

New Hampshire, in her Constitution, as revised in 1792, had identically the same declaration, except as regards the name of the State and the word "State" instead of "Commonwealth."

Mr. Madison, one of the most distinguished of the men of that day and of the advocates of the Constitution, in a speech already once referred to, in the Virginia Convention of 1788, explained that "We, the people," who were to establish the Constitution, were the people of "thirteen sovereignties." *

In the "Federalist," he repeatedly employs the term—as, for example, when he says: "Do they [the fundamental principles of the Confederation | require that, in the establishment of the Constitution, the States should be regarded as distinct and independent sovereigns? They are so regarded by the Constitution proposed." †

Alexander Hamilton—another contemporary authority, no

less illustrious—says, in the "Federalist":

"It is inherent in the nature of sovereignty, not to be amenable to the suit of an individual without its consent. This is the general sense and the general practice of mankind; and the exemption as one of the attributes of sovereignty, is now enjoyed by the government of every State in the Union." I

In the same paragraph he uses these terms, "sovereign" and "sovereignty," repeatedly—always with reference to the States,

respectively and severally.

Benjamin Franklin advocated equality of suffrage in the Senate as a means of securing "the sovereignties of the individual States." § James Wilson, of Pennsylvania, said sovereignty "is in the people before they make a Constitution, and remains in them," and described the people as being "thirteen independent sovereignties." || Gouverneur Morris, who was, as well as Wilson, one of the warmest advocates in the Convention of a strong central government, spoke of the Constitution as "a compact," and of the parties to it as "each enjoying sovereign power." Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, declared that the Government "was instituted by a number of sovereign States." ** Oliver Ellsworth, of the same State, spoke of the

† "Federalist," No. xl. ! Ibid, No. lxxxi.

§ See Elliott's "Debates," vol. v, p. 266.

|| Ibid., vol. ii, p. 443.

|| See "Life of Gouverneur Morris," vol. iii, p. 193.

** See "Writings of John Adams," vol. vii, letter of Roger Sherman.

^{*} Elliott's "Debates," vol. iii, p. 114, edition of 1836.

States as "sovereign bodies." These were all eminent members of the Convention which formed the Constitution.

There was scarcely a statesman of that period who did not leave on record expressions of the same sort. But why multiply citations? It is very evident that the "men of those days" entertained very different views of sovereignty from those set forth by the "new lights" of our day. Far from considering it a term of feudal origin, "purely inapplicable to the American system," they seem to have regarded it as a very vital principle in that system, and of necessity belonging to the several States—and I do not find a single instance in which they applied it to any political organization, except the States.

Their ideas were in entire accord with those of Vattel, who, in his chapter "Of Nations or Sovereign States," writes, "Every nation that governs itself, under what form soever, without any dependence on foreign power, is a sovereign state." †

In another part of the same chapter he gives a lucid statement of the nature of a confederate republic, such as ours was designed to be. He says:

"Several sovereign and independent states may unite themselves together by a perpetual confederacy, without each in particular ceasing to be a perfect state. They will form together a federal republic: the deliberations in common will offer no violence to the sovereignty of each member, though they may, in certain respects, put some restraint on the exercise of it, in virtue of voluntary engagements. A person does not cease to be free and independent, when he is obliged to fulfill the engagements into which he has very willingly entered." ‡

What this celebrated author means here by a person, is explained by a subsequent passage: "The law of nations is the law of sovereigns; states free and independent are moral persons." §

^{*} See Elliott's "Debates," vol. ii, p. 197.

^{† &}quot;Law of Nations," Book I, chap. i, section 4.

[‡] Ibid., section 10. § Ibid., section 12.

CHAPTER IX.

The same Subject continued.—The Tenth Amendment.—Fallacies exposed.—"Constitution," "Government," and "People" distinguished from each other.—Theories refuted by Facts.—Characteristics of Sovereignty.—Sovereignty identified.—Never thrown away.

If any lingering doubt could have existed as to the reservation of their entire sovereignty by the people of the respective States, when they organized the Federal Union, it would have been removed by the adoption of the tenth amendment to the Constitution, which was not only one of the amendments proposed by various States when ratifying that instrument, but the particular one in which they substantially agreed, and upon which they most urgently insisted. Indeed, it is quite certain that the Constitution would never have received the assent and ratification of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, and perhaps other States, but for a well-grounded assurance that the substance of this amendment would be adopted as soon as the requisite formalities could be complied with. That amendment is in these words:

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the States are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

The full meaning of this article may not be as clear to us as it was to the men of that period, on account of the confusion of ideas by which the term "people"—plain enough to them—has since been obscured, and also the ambiguity attendant upon the use of the little conjunction or, which has been said to be the most equivocal word in our language, and for that reason has been excluded from indictments in the English courts. The true intent and meaning of the provision, however, may be ascertained from an examination and comparison of the terms in which it was expressed by the various States which proposed it, and whose ideas it was intended to embody.

Massachusetts and New Hampshire, in their ordinances of ratification, expressing the opinion "that certain amendments and alterations in the said Constitution would remove the fears and quiet the apprehensions of many of the good people of this Commonwealth [State (New Hampshire)], and more effectually guard against an undue administration of the Federal Govern-

ment," each recommended several such amendments, putting this at the head in the following form:

"That it be explicitly declared that all powers not expressly delegated by the aforesaid Constitution are reserved to the several States, to be by them exercised."

Of course, those stanch republican communities meant the people of the States—not their governments, as something distinct from their people.

New York expressed herself as follows:

"That the powers of government may be reassumed by the people whenever it shall become necessary to their happiness; that every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by the said Constitution clearly delegated to the Congress of the United States, or the departments of the Government thereof, remains to the people of the several States, or to their respective State governments, to whom they may have granted the same; and that those clauses in the said Constitution, which declare that Congress shall not have or exercise certain powers, do not imply that Congress is entitled to any powers not given by the said Constitution; but such clauses are to be construed either as exceptions to certain specified powers or as inserted merely for greater caution."

South Carolina expressed the idea thus:

"This Convention doth also declare that no section or paragraph of the said Constitution warrants a construction that the States do not retain every power not expressly relinquished by them and vested in the General Government of the Union."

North Carolina proposed it in these terms:

"Each State in the Union shall respectively retain every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this Constitution delegated to the Congress of the United States or to the departments of the General Government."

Rhode Island gave in her long-withheld assent to the Constitution, "in full confidence" that certain proposed amendments would be adopted, the first of which was expressed in these words:

"That Congress shall guarantee to each State its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this Constitution expressly delegated to the United States."

This was in May, 1790, when nearly three years had been given to discussion and explanation of the new Government by its

founders and others, when it had been in actual operation for more than a year, and when there was every advantage for a clear understanding of its nature and principles. Under such circumstances, and in the "full confidence" that this language expressed its meaning and intent, the people of Rhode Island signified their "accession" to the "Confederate Republic" of the States already united.

No objection was made from any quarter to the principle asserted in these various forms, or to the amendment in which it was finally expressed, although many thought it unnecessary, as being merely declaratory of what would have been sufficiently obvious without it—that the functions of the Government of the United States were strictly limited to the exercise of such powers as were expressly delegated, and that the people of the several States retained all others.

Is it compatible with reason to suppose that people so chary of the delegation of specific powers or functions could have meant to surrender or transfer the very basis and origin of all power—their inherent sovereignty—and this, not by express grant, but by implication?

Mr. Everett, following, whether consciously or not, in the line of Mr. Webster's ill-considered objection to the term "compact," takes exception to the sovereignty of the States on the ground that "the word 'sovereignty' does not occur" in the Constitution. He admits that the States were sovereign under the Articles of Confederation. How could they relinquish or be deprived of their sovereignty without even a mention of it—when the tenth amendment confronts us with the declaration that nothing was surrendered by implication—that everything was reserved unless expressly delegated to the United States or prohibited to the States? Here is an attribute which they certainly possessed—which nobody denies, or can deny, that they did possess—and of which Mr. Everett says no mention is made in the Constitution. In what conceivable way, then, was it lost or alienated?

Much has been said of the "prohibition" of the exercise by the States of certain functions of sovereignty; such as, making treaties, declaring war, coining money, etc. This is only a part of the general compact, by which the contracting parties covenant, one with another, to abstain from the separate exercise of certain powers, which they agree to intrust to the management and control of the union or general agency of the parties associated. It is not a prohibition imposed upon them from without, or from above, by any external or superior power, but is self-

imposed by their free consent. The case is strictly analogous to that of individuals forming a mercantile or manufacturing copartnership, who voluntarily agree to refrain, as individuals, from engaging in other pursuits or speculations, from lending their individual credit, or from the exercise of any other right of a citizen, which they may think proper to subject to the consent, or intrust to the management of the firm.

The prohibitory clauses of the Constitution referred to are not at all a denial of the full sovereignty of the States, but are merely an agreement among them to exercise certain powers of sover-

eignty in concert, and not separately and apart.

There is one other provision of the Constitution, which is generally adduced by the friends of centralism as antagonistic to State sovereignty. This is found in the second clause of the sixth article, as follows:

"This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution of laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

This enunciation of a principle, which, even if it had not been expressly declared, would have been a necessary deduction from the acceptance of the Constitution itself, has been magnified and perverted into a meaning and purpose entirely foreign to that which plain interpretation is sufficient to discern. Mr. Motley thus dilates on the subject:

"Could language be more imperial? Could the claim to State sovereignty" be more completely disposed of at a word? How can that be sovereign, acknowledging no superior, supreme, which has voluntarily accepted a supreme law from something which it acknowledges as superior?"

The mistake which Mr. Motley—like other writers of the same school—makes is one which is disposed of by a very simple correction. The States, which ordained and established the Constitution, accepted nothing besides what they themselves prescribed. They acknowledged no superior. The supremacy was both in degree and extent only that which was delegated by the States to their common agent.

There are some other considerations which may conduce to a clearer understanding of this supremacy of the Constitution and the laws made in pursuance thereof:

^{* &}quot;Rebellion Record," vol. i, Documents, p. 213.

1. In the first place, it must be remembered that, when the Federal Constitution was formed, each then existing State already had its own Constitution and code of statute laws. It was, no doubt, primarily with reference to these that the provision was inserted, and not in the expectation of future conflicts or discrepancies. It is in this light alone that Mr. Madison considers it in explaining and vindicating it in the "Federalist."*

2. Again, it is to be observed that the supremacy accorded to the general laws of the United States is expressly limited to those enacted in conformity with the Constitution, or, to use the exact language, "made in pursuance thereof." Mr. Hamilton, in another chapter of the "Federalist," calls particular attention to this, saying (and the italics are all his own) "that the laws of the Confederacy, as to the enumerated and legitimate objects of its jurisdiction, will become the supreme law of the land," and that the State functionaries will coöperate in their observance and enforcement with the General Government, "as far as its

just and constitutional authority extends.", †

3. In the third place, it is not the Government of the United States that is declared to be supreme, but the Constitution and the laws and treaties made in accordance with it. The proposition was made in the Convention to organize a government consisting of "supreme legislative, executive, and judicial powers," but it was not adopted. Its deliberate rejection is much more significant and conclusive than if it had never been proposed. Correction of so gross an error as that of confounding the Government with the Constitution ought to be superfluous, but so crude and confused are the ideas which have been propagated on the subject, that no misconception seems to be too absurd to be possible. Thus, it has not been uncommon, of late years, to hear. even in the highest places, the oath to support the Constitution, which is taken by both State and Federal officers, spoken of as an oath "to support the Government"—an obligation never imposed upon any one in this country, and which the men who made the Constitution, with their recent reminiscences of the Revolution, the battles of which they had fought with halters around their necks, would have been the last to prescribe. Could any assertion be less credible than that they proceeded to institute another supreme government which it would be treason to resist?

This confusion of ideas pervades the treatment of the whole subject of sovereignty. Mr. Webster has said, and very justly

^{* &}quot;Federalist," No. xliv.
† "Federalist," No. xxvii.

so far as these United States are concerned: "The sovereignty of government is an idea belonging to the other side of the Atlantic. No such thing is known in North America. Our governments are all limited. In Europe sovereignty is of feudal origin, and imports no more than the state of the sovereign. It comprises his rights, duties, exemptions, prerogatives, and powers. But with us all power is with the people. They alone are sovereign, and they erect what governments they please, and confer on them such powers as they please. None of these governments are sovereign, in the European sense of the word, all being restrained by written constitutions."

But the same intellect, which can so clearly discern and so lucidly define the general proposition, seems to be covered by a cloud of thick darkness when it comes to apply it to the particular case in issue. Thus, a little afterward, we have the following:

"There is no language in the whole Constitution applicable to a confederation of States. If the States be parties, as States, what are their rights, and what their respective covenants and stipulations? and where are their rights, covenants, and stipulations expressed? In the Articles of Confederation they did make promises, and did enter into engagements, and did plight the faith of each State for their fulfillment; but in the Constitution there is nothing of that kind. The reason is that, in the Constitution, it is the people who speak and not the States. The people ordain the Constitution, and therein address themselves to the States and to the Legislatures of the States in the language of injunction and prohibition." †

It is surprising that such inconsistent ideas should proceed from a source so eminent. Its author falls into the very error which he had just before so distinctly pointed out, in confounding the people of the States with their governments. In the vehemence of his hostility to State sovereignty, he seems—as all of his disciples seem—unable even to comprehend that it means the sovereignty, not of State governments, but of people who make them. With minds preoccupied by the unreal idea of one great people of a consolidated nation, these gentlemen are blinded to the plain and primary truth that the only way in which the people ordained the Constitution was as the people of STATES. When Mr. Webster says that "in the Constitution it is the people who speak, and not the States," he says what is untenable. The States are the people. The people do not speak, never have spoken, and never can speak, in their sovereign capacity (with-

† Ibid., p. 566.

^{* &}quot;Congressional Debates," vol. ix, Part I, p. 565.

out a subversion of our whole system), otherwise than as the

people of States.

There are but two modes of expressing their sovereign will known to the people of this country. One is by direct vote—the mode adopted by Rhode Island in 1788, when she rejected the Constitution. The other is the method, more generally pursued, of acting by means of conventions of delegates elected expressly as representatives of the sovereignty of the people. Now, it is not a matter of opinion or theory or speculation, but a plain, undeniable, historical fact, that there never has been any act or expression of sovereignty in either of these modes by that imaginary community, "the people of the United States in the aggregate." Usurpations of power by the Government of the United States, there may have been, and may be again, but there has never been either a sovereign convention or a direct vote of the "whole people" of the United States to demonstrate its existence as a corporate unit. Every exercise of sovereignty by any of the people of this country that has actually taken place has been by the people of States as States. In the face of this fact, is it not the merest self-stultification to admit the sovereignty of the people and deny it to the States, in which alone they have community existence?

This subject is one of such vital importance to a right understanding of the events which this work is designed to record and explain, that it can not be dismissed without an effort in the way of recapitulation and conclusion, to make it clear beyond the

possibility of misconception.

According to the American theory, every individual is endowed with certain unalienable rights, among which are "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." He is entitled to all the freedom, in these and in other respects, that is consistent with the safety and the rights of others and the weal of the community, but political sovereignty, which is the source and origin of all the powers of government—legislative, executive, and judicial—belongs to, and inheres in, the people of an organized political community. It is an attribute of the whole people of such a community. It includes the power and necessarily the duty of protecting the rights and redressing the wrongs of individuals, of punishing crimes, enforcing contracts, prescribing rules for the transfer of property and the succession of estates, making treaties with foreign powers, levying taxes, etc. The enumeration of particulars might be extended, but these will suffice as illustrations.

These powers are of course exercised through the agency of

governments, but the governments are only agents of the sovereign—responsible to it, and subject to its control. This sovereign—the people, in the aggregate, of each political community—delegates to the government the exercise of such powers, or functions, as it thinks proper, but in an American republic never transfers or surrenders sovereignty. That remains, unalienated and unimpaired. It is by virtue of this sovereignty alone that the Government, its authorized agent, commands the obedience of the individual citizen, to the extent of its derivative, dependent, and delegated authority. The ALLEGIANCE of the citizen is due to the sovereign alone.

Thus far, I think, all will agree. No American statesman or publicist would venture to dispute it. Notwithstanding the inconsiderate or ill-considered expressions thrown out by some persons about the unity of the American people from the beginning, no respectable authority has ever had the hardihood to deny that, before the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the only sovereign political community was the people of the State—the people of each State. The ordinary exercise of what are generally termed the powers of sovereignty was by and through their respective governments; and, when they formed a confederation, a portion of those powers was intrusted to the General Government, or agency. Under the Confederation, the Congress of the United States represented the collective power of the States; but the people of each State alone possessed sovereignty, and consequently were entitled to the allegiance of the citizen.

When the Articles of Confederation were amended, when the new Constitution was substituted in their place and the General Government reorganized, its structure was changed, additional powers were conferred upon it, and thereby subtracted from the powers theretofore exercised by the State governments; but the seat of sovereignty—the source of all those delegated and dependent powers—was not disturbed. There was a new Government or an amended Government—it is entirely immaterial in which of these lights we consider it—but no new PEOPLE was created or constituted. The people, in whom alone sovereignty inheres, remained just as they had been before. The only change was in the form, structure, and relations of their governmental agencies.

No doubt, the States—the people of the States—if they had been so disposed, might have merged themselves into one great consolidated State, retaining their geographical boundaries merely as matters of convenience. But such a merger must have

been distinctly and formally stated, not left to deduction or

implication.

Men do not alienate even an estate, without positive and express terms and stipulations. But in this case not only was there no express transfer—no formal surrender—of the preëxisting sovereignty, but it was expressly provided that nothing should be understood as even delegated—that everything was reserved, unless granted in express terms. The monstrous conception of the creation of a new people, invested with the whole or a great part of the sovereignty which had previously belonged to the people of each State, has not a syllable to sustain it in the Constitution, but is built up entirely upon the palpable misconstruction of a single expression in the preamble.

In denying that there is any such collective unit as the people of the United States in the aggregate, of course I am not to be understood as denving that there is such a political organization as the United States, or that there exists, with large and distinct powers, a Government of the United States; but it is claimed that the Union, as its name implies, is constituted of States. As a British author,* referring to the old Teutonic system, has expressed the same idea, the States are the integers, the United States the multiple which results from them. The Government of the United States derives its existence from the same source, and exercises its functions by the will of the same sovereignty that creates and confers authority upon the State governments. The people of each State are, in either case, the source. The only difference is that, in the creation of the State governments, each sovereign acted alone; in that of the Federal Government. they acted in cooperation with the others. Neither the whole nor any part of their sovereignty has been surrendered to either Government.

To whom, in fine, could the States have surrendered their sovereignty? Not to the mass of the people inhabiting the territory possessed by all the States, for there was no such community in existence, and they took no measures for the organization of such a community. If they had intended to do so, the very style, "United States," would have been a palpable misnomer, nor would treason have been defined as levying war against them. Could it have been transferred to the Government of the Union? Clearly not, in accordance with the ideas and principles of those who made the Declaration of Independence, adopted the Articles of Confederation, and established the Constitution of the United

^{*} Sir Francis Palgrave, quoted by Mr. Calhoun, "Congressional Debates," vol. ix, Part 1, p. 541.

States; for in each and all of these the corner-stone is the inherent and inalienable sovereignty of the people. To have transferred sovereignty from the people to a Government would have been to have fought the battles of the Revolution in vain—not for the freedom and independence of the States, but for a mere change of masters. Such a thought or purpose could not have been in the heads or hearts of those who molded the Union, and could have found lodgment only when the ebbing tide of patriotism and fraternity had swept away the landmarks which they erected who sought by the compact of union to secure and perpetuate the liberties then possessed. The men who had won at great cost the independence of their respective States were deeply impressed with the value of union, but they could never have consented, like "the base Judean," to fling away the priceless pearl of State sovereignty for any possible alliance.

CHAPTER X.

A Recapitulation.—Remarkable Propositions of Mr. Gouverneur Morris in the Convention of 1787, and their Fate.—Further Testimony.—Hamilton, Madison, Washington, Marshall, etc.—Later Theories.—Mr. Webster: his Views at Various Periods.—Speech at Capon Springs.—State Rights not a Sectional Theory.

LOOKING back for a moment at the ground over which we have gone, I think it may be fairly asserted that the following propositions have been clearly and fully established:

1. That the States of which the American Union was formed, from the moment when they emerged from their colonial or provincial condition, became severally sovereign, free, and independent States—not one State, or nation.

2. That the union formed under the Articles of Confederation was a compact between the States, in which these attributes of "sovereignty, freedom, and independence," were expressly asserted and guaranteed.

3. That, in forming the "more perfect union" of the Constitution, afterward adopted, the same contracting powers formed an amended compact, without any surrender of these attributes of sovereignty, freedom, and independence, either expressed or implied: on the contrary, that, by the tenth amendment to the Constitution, limiting the power of the Government to its express

grants, they distinctly guarded against the presumption of a surrender of anything by implication.

4. That political sovereignty resides, neither in individual citizens, nor in unorganized masses, nor in fractional subdivisions of a community, but in the people of an organized political body.

- 5. That no "republican form of government," in the sense in which that expression is used in the Constitution, and was generally understood by the founders of the Union—whether it be the government of a State or of a confederation of States—is possessed of any sovereignty whatever, but merely exercises certain powers delegated by the sovereign authority of the people, and subject to recall and reassumption by the same authority that conferred them.
- 6. That the "people" who organized the first confederation, the people who dissolved it, the people who ordained and established the Constitution which succeeded it, the only people, in fine, known or referred to in the phraseology of that period—whether the term was used collectively or distributively—were the people of the respective States, each acting separately and with absolute independence of the others.
- 7. That, in forming and adopting the Constitution, the States, or the people of the States—terms which, when used with reference to acts performed in a sovereign capacity, are precisely equivalent to each other—formed a new Government, but no new people; and that, consequently, no new sovereignty was created—for sovereignty in an American republic can belong only to a people, never to a government—and that the Federal Government is entitled to exercise only the powers delegated to it by the people of the respective States.
- 8. That the term "people," in the preamble to the Constitution and in the tenth amendment, is used distributively; that the only "people of the United States" known to the Constitution are the people of each State in the Union; that no such political community or corporate unit as one people of the United States then existed, has ever been organized, or yet exists; and that no political action by the people of the United States in the aggregate has ever taken place, or ever can take place, under the Constitution.

The fictitious idea of *one* people of the United States, contradicted in the last paragraph, has been so impressed upon the popular mind by false teaching, by eareless and vicious phrase-ology, and by the ever-present spectacle of a great Government, with its army and navy, its custom-houses and post-offices, its multitude of office-holders, and the splendid prizes which it

offers to political ambition, that the tearing away of these illusions and presentation of the original fabric, which they have overgrown and hidden from view, have no doubt been unwelcome, distasteful, and even repellent to some of my readers. The artificial splendor which makes the deception attractive is even employed as an argument to prove its reality.

The glitter of the powers delegated to the agent serves to obscure the perception of the sovereign power of the principal by whom they are conferred, as, by the unpracticed eye, the showy costume and conspicuous functions of the drum-major are mistaken for emblems of chieftainey—while the misuse or ambiguous use of the term "Union" and its congeners contributes to increase the confusion.

So much the more need for insisting upon the elementary truths which have been obscured by these specious sophistries. The reader really desirous of ascertaining truth is, therefore, again cautioned against confounding two ideas so essentially distinct as that of government, which is derivative, dependent, and subordinate, with that of the pcople, as an organized political community, which is sovereign, without any other than self-imposed limitations, and such as proceed from the general principles of the personal rights of man.

It has been said, in a foregoing chapter, that the authors of the Constitution could scarcely have anticipated the idea of such a community as the people of the United States in one mass. Perhaps this expression needs some little qualification, for there is rarely a fallacy, however stupendous, that is wholly original. A careful examination of the records of the Convention of 1787 exhibits one or perhaps two instances of such a suggestion—both by the same person—and the result in each case is strikingly significant.

The original proposition made concerning the office of President of the United States contemplated his election by the Congress, or, as it was termed by the proposer, "the national Legislature." On the 17th of July, this proposition being under consideration, Mr. Gouverneur Morris moved that the words "national Legislature" be stricken out, and "citizens of the United States" inserted. The proposition was supported by Mr. James Wilson both of these gentlemen being delegates from Pennsylvania, and both among the most earnest advocates of centralism in the Convention.

Now, it is not at all certain that Mr. Morris had in view an election by the citizens of the United States "in the aggregate," voting as one people. The language of his proposition is entirely

consistent with the idea of an election by the citizens of each State, voting separately and independently, though it is ambiguous, and may admit of the other construction. But this is immaterial. The proposition was submitted to a vote, and received the approval of only one State—Pennsylvania, of which Mr. Morris and Mr. Wilson were both representatives. Nine States voted against it.*

Six days afterward (July 23d), in a discussion of the proposed ratification of the Constitution by Conventions of the people of each State, Mr. Gouverneur Morris—as we learn from Mr. Madison—"moved that the reference of the plan [i. e., of the proposed Constitution] be made to one General Convention, chosen and authorized by the people, to consider, amend, and establish the same." †

Here the issue seems to have been more distinctly made between the two ideas of people of the States and one people in the aggregate. The fate of the latter is briefly recorded in the two words, "not seconded." Mr. Morris was a man of distinguished ability, great personal influence, and undoubted patriotism, but, out of all that assemblage—comprising, as it did, such admitted friends of centralism as Hamilton, King, Wilson, Randolph, Pinckney, and others—there was not one to sustain him in the proposition to incorporate into the Constitution that theory which now predominates, the theory on which was waged the late bloody war, which was called a "war for the Union." It failed for want of a second, and does not even appear in the official journal of the Convention. The very fact that such a suggestion was made would be unknown to us but for the record kept by Mr. Madison.

The extracts which have been given, in treating of special branches of the subject, from the writings and speeches of the framers of the Constitution and other statesmen of that period, afford ample proof of their entire and almost unanimous accord with the principles which have been established on the authority of the Constitution itself, the acts of ratification by the several States, and other attestations of the highest authority and validity. I am well aware that isolated expressions may be found in the reports of debates on the General and State Conventions and other public bodies, indicating the existence of individual opinions seemingly inconsistent with these principles; that loose and confused ideas were sometimes expressed with regard to sovereignty, the relations between governments and people, and

^{*} Elliott's ''Debates,'' vol. i, p. 239; ''Madison Papers,'' pp. 1119-1124.

kindred subjects; and that, while the plan of the Constitution was under discussion, and before it was definitely reduced to its present shape, there were earnest advocates in the Convention of a more consolidated system, with a stronger central government. But these expressions of individual opinion only prove the existence of a small minority of dissentients from the principles generally entertained, and which finally prevailed in the formation of the Constitution. None of these ever avowed such extravagances of doctrine as are promulgated in this generation. No statesman of that day would have ventured to risk his reputation by construing an obligation to support the Constitution as an obligation to adhere to the Federal Government—a construction which would have insured the sweeping away of any plan of union embodying it, by a tempest of popular indignation from every quarter of the country. None of them suggested such an idea as that of the amalgamation of the people of the States into one consolidated mass—unless it was suggested by Mr. Gouverneur Morris in the proposition above referred to, in which he stood alone among the delegates of twelve sovereign States assembled in convention.

As to the features of centralism, or nationalism, which they did advocate, all the ability of this little minority of really gifted men failed to secure the incorporation of any one of them into the Constitution, or to obtain their recognition by any of the ratifying States. On the contrary, the very men who had been the leading advocates of such theories, on failing to secure their adoption, lovally accepted the result, and became the ablest and most efficient supporters of the principles which had prevailed. Thus, Mr. Hamilton, who had favored the plan of a President and Senate, both elected to hold office for life (or during good behavior), with a veto power in Congress on the action of the State Legislatures, became, through the "Federalist," in conjunction with his associates, Mr. Madison and Mr. Jay, the most distinguished expounder and advocate of the Constitution, as then proposed and afterward ratified, with all its Federal and State-rights features. In the ninth number of that remarkable series of political essays, he quotes, adopts, and applies to the then proposed Constitution, Montesquieu's description of a "CONFEDERATE REPUBLIC," a term which he (Hamilton) repeatedly employs.

In the eighty-first number of the same series, replying to apprehensions expressed by some that a State might be brought before the Federal Courts to answer as defendant in suits instituted against her, he repels the idea in these plain and conclusive terms. The italics are my own:

"It is inherent in the nature of sovereignty not to be amenable to the suit of any individual without its consent. This is the general sense and the general practice of mankind; and the exemption, as one of the attributes of sovereignty, is now enjoyed by the government of every State in the Union. Unless, therefore, there is a surrender of this immunity in the plan of the Convention, it will remain with the States, and the danger intimated must be merely ideal. . . . The contracts between a nation and individuals are only binding on the conscience of the sovereign, and have no pretensions to a compulsive force. They confer no right of action, independent of the sovereign will. To what purpose would it be to authorize suits against States for the debts they owe? How could recoveries be enforced? It is evident that it could not be done without waging war against the contracting State; and to ascribe to the Federal courts, by mere implication, and in destruction of a preëxisting right of the State governments, a power which would involve such a consequence, would be altogether forced and unwarranted." *

This extract is very significant, clearly showing that Mr. Hamilton assumed as undisputed propositions, in the first place, that the State was the "sovereign"; secondly, that this sovereignty could not be alienated, unless by express surrender; thirdly, that no such surrender had been made; and, fourthly, that the idea of applying coercion to a State, even to enforce the fulfillment of a duty, would be equivalent to waging war against a State—it was "altogether forced and unwarrantable."

In a subsequent number, Mr. Hamilton, replying to the objection that the Constitution contains no bill or declaration of rights, argues that it was entirely unnecessary, because in reality the people—that is, of course, the people, respectively, of the several States, who were the only people known to the Constitution or to the country—had surrendered nothing of their inherent sovereignty, but retained it unimpaired. He says: "Here, in strictness, the people surrender nothing; and, as they retain everything, they have no need of particular reservations." And again: "I go further, and affirm that bills of rights, in the sense and to the extent they are contended for, are not only unnecessary in the proposed Constitution, but would be absolutely dangerous. They would contain various exceptions to powers not granted, and on this very account would afford a colorable pretext to claim more than were granted. For why declare that

^{* &}quot;Federalist," No. lxxxi.

things shall not be done, which there is no power to do?"*
Could language be more clear or more complete in vindication of the principles laid down in this work? Mr. Hamilton declares, in effect, that the grants to the Federal Government in the Constitution are not surrenders, but delegations of power by the people of the States; that sovereignty remains intact where it was before; and that the delegations of power were strictly limited to those expressly granted—in this, merely anticipating the tenth amendment, afterward adopted.

Finally, in the concluding article of the "Federalist," he bears emphatic testimony to the same principles, in the remark that "every Constitution for the United States must inevitably consist of a great variety of particulars, in which thirteen independent States are to be accommodated in their interests or opinions of interest. . . Hence the necessity of molding and arranging all the particulars, which are to compose the whole, in such a manner as to satisfy all the parties to the compact." † There is no intimation here, or anywhere else, of the existence of any such idea as that of the aggregated people of one great consolidated state. It is an incidental enunciation of the same truth soon afterward asserted by Madison in the Virginia Convention—that the people who ordained and established the Constitution were "not the people as composing one great body, but the people as composing thirteen sovereignties."

Mr. Madison, in the Philadelphia Convention, had at first held views of the sort of government which it was desirable to organize, similar to those of Mr. Hamilton, though more moderate in extent. He, too, however, cordially conformed to the modifications in them made by his colleagues, and was no less zealous and eminent in defending and expounding the Constitution as finally adopted. His interpretation of its fundamental principles is so fully shown in the extracts which have already been given from his contributions to the "Federalist" and speeches in the Virginia Convention, that it would be superfluous to make any additional citation from them.

The evidence of Hamilton and Madison—two of the most eminent of the authors of the Constitution, and the two preëminent contemporary expounders of its meaning—is the most valuable that could be offered for its interpretation. That of all the other statesmen of the period only tends to confirm the same conclusions. The illustrious Washington, who presided over the Philadelphia Convention, in his correspondence, repeatedly

^{* &#}x27;'Federalist,'' No. lxxxiv.

[†] Ibid., No. lxxxv.

refers to the proposed Union as a "Confederacy" of States, or a "confederated Government," and to the several States as "acceding," or signifying their "accession," to it, in ratifying the Constitution. He refers to the Constitution itself as "a compact or treaty," and classifies it among compacts or treaties between "men, bodies of men, or countries." Writing to Count Rochambeau, on January 8, 1788, he says that the proposed Constitution "is to be submitted to conventions chosen by the people in the several States, and by them approved or rejected" -showing what he understood by "the people of the United States," who were to ordain and establish it. These same people -that is, "the people of the several States"-he says, in a letter to Lafayette, April 28, 1788, "retain everything they do not, by express terms, give up." In a letter written to Benjamin Lincoln, October 26, 1788, he refers to the expectation that North Carolina will accede to the Union, and adds, "Whoever shall be found to enjoy the confidence of the States so far as to be elected Vice-President," etc.—showing that in the "confederated Government," as he termed it, the States were still to act independently, even in the selection of officers of the General Government. He wrote to General Knox, June 17, 1788, "I can not but hope that the States which may be disposed to make a secession will think often and seriously on the consequences." June 28, 1788, he wrote to General Pinckney that New Hampshire "had acceded to the new Confederacy," and, in reference to North Carolina, "I should be astonished if that State should withdraw from the Union."

I shall add but two other citations. They are from speeches of John Marshall, afterward the most distinguished Chief Justice of the United States—who has certainly never been regarded as holding high views of State rights—in the Virginia Convention of 1788. In the first case, he was speaking of the power of the States over the militia, and is thus reported:

"The State governments did not derive their powers from the General Government; but each government derived its powers from the people, and each was to act according to the powers given it. Would any gentleman deny this? . . . Could any man say that this power was not retained by the States, as they had not given it away? For (says he) does not a power remain till it is given away? The State Legislatures had power to command and govern their militia before, and have it still, undeniably, unless there be something in this Constitution that takes it away. . . .

"He concluded by observing that the power of governing the

militia was not vested in the States by implication, because, being possessed of it antecedently to the adoption of the Government, and not being divested of it by any grant or restriction in the Constitution, they must necessarily be as fully possessed of it as ever they had been, and it could not be said that the States derived any powers from that system, but retained them, though not acknowledged in any part of it."*

In the other case, the special subject was the power of the Federal judiciary. Mr. Marshall said, with regard to this: "I hope that no gentleman will think that a State can be called at the bar of the Federal court. Is there no such case at present? Are there not many cases, in which the Legislature of Virginia is a party, and yet the State is not sued? Is it rational to suppose that the SOVEREIGN POWER shall be dragged before a court?" †

Authorities to the same effect might be multiplied indefinitely by quotation from nearly all the most eminent statesmen and patriots of that brilliant period. My limits, however, permit me only to refer those in quest of more exhaustive information to the original records, or to the "Republic of Republics," in which will be found a most valuable collection and condensation of the teaching of the fathers on the subject. There was no dissent, at that period, from the interpretation of the Constitution which I have set forth, as given by its authors, except in the objections made by its adversaries. Those objections were refuted and silenced, until revived, long afterward, and presented as the true interpretation, by the school of which Judge Story was the most effective founder.

At an earlier period—but when he had already served for several years in Congress, and had attained the full maturity of his powers—Mr. Webster held the views which were presented in a memorial to Congress of citizens of Boston, December 15, 1819, relative to the admission of Missouri, drawn up and signed by a committee of which he was chairman, and which also included among its members Mr. Josiah Quincy. He speaks of the States as enjoying "the exclusive possession of sovereignty" over their own territory, calls the United States "the American Confederacy," and says, "The only parties to the Constitution, contemplated by it originally, were the thirteen confederated States." And again: "As between the original States, the representation rests on compact and plighted faith; and your me-

^{*} Elliott's "Debates," vol. iii, pp. 389-391.

[†] Ibid., p. 503.

morialists have no wish that that compact should be disturbed, or that plighted faith in the slightest degree violated."

It is satisfactory to know that in the closing year of his life, when looking retrospectively, with judgment undisturbed by any extraneous influence, he uttered views of the Government which must stand the test of severest scrutiny and defy the storms of agitation, for they are founded on the rock of truth. In letters written and addresses delivered during the Administration of Mr. Fillmore, he repeatedly applies to the Constitution the term "compact," which, in 1833, he had so vehemently repudiated. In his speech at Capon Springs, Virginia, in 1851, he says:

"If the South were to violate any part of the Constitution intentionally and systematically, and persist in so doing year after year, and no remedy could be had, would the North be any longer bound by the rest of it? And if the North were, deliberately, habitually, and of fixed purpose, to disregard one part of it, would the South be bound any longer to observe its other obligations? . . .

"How absurd it is to suppose that, when different parties enter into a compact for certain purposes, either can disregard any one provision, and expect, nevertheless, the other to observe

the rest! . . .

"I have not hesitated to say, and I repeat, that, if the Northern States refuse, willfully and deliberately, to carry into effect that part of the Constitution which respects the restoration of fugitive slaves, and Congress provide no remedy, the South would no longer be bound to observe the compact. A bargain can not be broken on one side, and still bind the other side."

The principles which have been set forth in the foregoing chapters, although they had come to be considered as peculiarly Southern, were not sectional in their origin. In the beginning and earlier years of our history they were cherished as faithfully and guarded as jealously in Massachusetts and New Hampshire as in Virginia or South Carolina. It was in these principles that I was nurtured. I have frankly proclaimed them during my whole life, always contending in the Senate of the United States against what I believed to be the mistaken construction of the Constitution taught by Mr. Webster and his adherents. While I honored the genius of that great man, and held friendly personal relations with him, I considered his doctrines on these points—or rather the doctrines advocated by him during the most conspicuous and influential portions of his public career—

^{*} Curtis's "Life of Webster," chap. xxxvii, vol. ii, pp. 518, 519.

to be mischievous, and the more dangerous to the welfare of the country and the liberties of mankind on account of the signal ability and magnificent eloquence with which they were argued.

CHAPTER XI.

The Right of Secession.—The Law of Unlimited Partnerships.—
The "Perpetual Union" of the Articles of Confederation and the "More Perfect Union" of the Constitution.—The Important Powers conferred upon the Federal Government and the Fundamental Principles of the Compact the same in both Systems.—the Right to resume Grants, when failing to fulfill their Purposes, expressly and distinctly asserted in the Adoption of the Constitution.

The Right of Secession—that subject which, beyond all others, ignorance, prejudice, and political rancor have combined to cloud with misstatements and misapprehensions—is a question easily to be determined in the light of what has already been established with regard to the history and principles of the Constitution. It is not something standing apart by itself—a factious creation, outside of and antagonistic to the Constitution—as might be imagined by one deriving his ideas from the political literature most current of late years. So far from being against the Constitution or incompatible with it, we contend that, if the right to secede is not prohibited to the States, and no power to prevent it expressly delegated to the United States, it remains as reserved to the States or the people, from whom all the powers of the General Government were derived.

The compact between the States which formed the Union was in the nature of a partnership between individuals without limitation of time, and the recognized law of such partnerships is thus stated by an eminent lawyer of Massachusetts in a work intended for popular use:

"If the articles between the partners do not contain an agreement that the partnership shall continue for a specified time, it may be dissolved at the pleasure of either partner. But no partner can exercise this power wantonly and injuriously to the other partners, without making himself responsible for the damage he thus causes. If there be a provision that the partnership shall continue a certain time, this is binding."*

^{*} Parsons, "Rights of a Citizen," chap. xx, section 3.

We have seen that a number of "sovereign, free, and independent" States, during the war of the Revolution, entered into a partnership with one another, which was not only unlimited in duration, but expressly declared to be a "perpetual union." Yet, when that Union failed to accomplish the purposes for which it was formed, the parties withdrew, separately and independently, one after another, without any question made of their right to do so, and formed a new association. One of the declared objects of this new partnership was to form "a more perfect union." This certainly did not mean more perfect in respect of duration; for the former union had been declared perpetual, and perpetuity admits of no addition. It did not mean that it was to be more indissoluble: for the delegates of the States, in ratifying the former compact of union, had expressed themselves in terms that could scarcely be made more stringent. They then said:

"And we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions which, by the said confederation, are submitted to them; and that the articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the States we respectively represent; and that the Union shall be perpetual." *

The formation of a "more perfect union" was accomplished by the organization of a government more complete in its various branches, legislative, executive, and judicial, and by the delegation to this Government of certain additional powers or functions which had previously been exercised by the Governments of the respective States—especially in providing the means of operating directly upon individuals for the enforcement of its legitimately delegated authority. There was no abandonment nor modification of the essential principle of a compact between sovereigns, which applied to the one case as fully as to the other. There was not the slightest intimation of so radical a revolution as the surrender of the sovereignty of the contracting parties would have been. The additional powers conferred upon the Federal Government by the Constitution were merely transfers of some of those possessed by the State governments-not subtractions from the reserved and inalienable sovereignty of the political communities which conferred them. It was merely the institution of a new agent who, however enlarged his powers might be, would still remain subordi-

^{*} Ratification appended to Articles of Confederation. (See Elliott's "Debates," vol. i, p. 113.)

nate and responsible to the source from which they were derived—that of the sovereign people of each State. It was an amended Union, not a consolidation.

It is a remarkable fact that the very powers of the Federal Government and prohibitions to the States, which are most relied upon by the advocates of centralism as incompatible with State sovereignty, were in force under the old Confederation when the sovereignty of the States was expressly recognized. The General Government had then, as now, the exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, making treaties and alliances, maintaining an army and navy, granting letters of marque and reprisal, regulating coinage, establishing and controlling the postal service—indeed, nearly all the so-called "characteristic powers of sovereignty" exercised by the Federal Government under the existing Constitution, except the regulation of commerce, and of levying and collecting its revenues directly, instead of through the interposition of the State authorities. The exercise of these first-named powers was prohibited to the States under the old compact, "without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled," but no one has claimed that the Confederation had thereby acquired sovereignty.

Entirely in accord with these truths are the arguments of Mr. Madison in the "Federalist," to show that the great principles of the Constitution are substantially the same as those of the Articles of Confederation. He says:

"I ask, What are these principles? Do they require that, in the establishment of the Constitution, the States should be regarded as distinct and independent sovereigns? They are so regarded by the Constitution proposed. . . . Do these principles, in fine, require that the powers of the General Government should be limited, and that, beyond this limit, the States should be left in possession of their sovereignty and independence? We have seen that, in the new Government as in the old, the general powers are limited; and that the States, in all unenumerated cases, are left in the enjoyment of their sovereign and independent jurisdiction."

"The truth is," he adds, "that the great principles of the Constitution proposed by the Convention may be considered less as absolutely new, than as the expansion of principles which

are found in the Articles of Confederation." *

In the papers immediately following, he establishes this position in detail by an analysis of the principal powers delegated

^{* &}quot;Federalist," No. xl.

to the Federal Government, showing that the spirit of the original instructions to the Convention had been followed in revising "the Federal Constitution" and rendering it "adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union." †

The present Union owes its very existence to the dissolution, by separate secession of its members, of the former Union, which, as we have thus seen, as to its organic principles, rested upon precisely the same foundation. The right to withdraw from the association results, in either case, from the same principles—principles which, I think, have been established on an impreg-

nable basis of history, reason, law, and precedent.

It is not contended that this right should be resorted to for insufficient cause, or, as the writer already quoted on the law of partnership says, "wantonly and injuriously to the other partners," without responsibility of the seceding party for any damage thus done. No association can be dissolved without a likelihood of the occurrence of incidental questions concerning common property and mutual obligations—questions sometimes of a complex and intricate sort. If a wrong be perpetrated, in such case, it is a matter for determination by the means usually employed among independent and sovereign powers-negotiation, arbitration, or, in the failure of these, by war, with which, unfortunately, Christianity and civilization have not yet been able entirely to dispense. But the suggestion of possible evils does not at all affect the question of right. There is no great principle in the affairs either of individuals or of nations that is not liable to such difficulties in its practical application.

But, we are told, there is no mention made of secession in the Constitution. Mr. Everett says: "The States are not named in it; the word sovereignty does not occur in it; the right of secession is as much ignored in it as the procession of the equinoxes." We have seen how very untenable is the assertion that the States are not named in it, and how much pertinency or significance in the omission of the word "sovereignty." The pertinent question that occurs is. Why was so obvious an attribute of sovereignty not expressly renounced if it was intended to surrender it? It certainly existed; it was not surrendered; therefore it still exists. This would be a more natural and rational conclusion than that it has ceased to exist because it is not

mentioned.

The simple truth is, that it would have been a very extraordinary thing to incorporate into the Constitution any express provision for the secession of the States and dissolution of the

[†] Ibid., Nos. xli-xliv.

Union. Its founders undoubtedly desired and hoped that it would be perpetual; against the proposition for power to coerce a State, the argument was that it would be a means, not of preserving, but of destroying, the Union. It was not for them to make arrangements for its termination—a calamity which there was no occasion to provide for in advance. Sufficient for their day was the evil thereof. It is not usual, either in partnerships between men or in treaties between governments, to make provision for a dissolution of the partnership or a termination of the treaty, unless there be some special reason for a limitation of time. Indeed, in treaties, the usual formula includes a declaration of their perpetuity; but in either case the power of the contracting parties, or of any of them, to dissolve the compact, on terms not damaging to the rights of the other parties, is not the less clearly understood. It was not necessary in the Constitution to affirm the right of secession, because it was an attribute of sovereignty, and the States had reserved all which they had not delegated.

The right of the people of the several States to resume the powers delegated by them to the common agency, was not left without positive and ample assertion, even at a period when it had never been denied. The ratification of the Constitution by Virginia has already been quoted, in which the people of that State, through their Convention, did expressly "declare and make known that the powers granted under the Constitution, being derived from the people of the United States, may be resumed by them, whensoever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression, and that every power not granted thereby remains with them and at their will."*

New York and Rhode Island were no less explicit, both declaring that "the powers of government may be reassumed by the people whenever it shall become necessary to their happiness." †

These expressions are not mere obiter dicta, thrown out incidentally, and entitled only to be regarded as an expression of opinion by their authors. Even if only such, they would carry great weight as the deliberately expressed judgment of enlightened contemporaries, but they are more: they are parts of the very acts or ordinances by which these States ratified the Constitution and acceded to the Union, and can not be detached from them. If they are invalid, the ratification itself was invalid, for they are inseparable. By inserting these declarations

^{*} See Elliott's "Debates," vol. i, p. 360.

[†] Ibid., pp. 361, 369.

in their ordinances, Virginia, New York, and Rhode Island, formally, officially, and permanently, declared their interpretation of the Constitution as recognizing the right of secession by the resumption of their grants. By accepting the ratifications with this declaration incorporated, the other States as formally accepted the principle which it asserted.

I am well aware that it has been attempted to construe these declarations concerning the right of the people to reassume their delegations of power—especially in the terms employed by Virginia, "people of the United States"—as having reference to the idea of one people, in mass, or "in the aggregate." But it can scarcely be possible that any candid and intelligent reader, who has carefully considered the evidence already brought to bear on the subject, can need further argument to disabuse his mind of that political fiction. The "people of the United States," from whom the powers of the Federal Government were "derived," could have been no other than the people who ordained and ratified the Constitution; and this, it has been shown beyond the power of denial, was done by the people of each State, severally and independently. No other people were known to the authors of the declarations above quoted. Mr. Madison was a leading member of the Virginia Convention, which made that declaration, as well as of the general Convention that drew up the Constitution. We have seen what his idea of "the people of the United States" was—"not the people as composing one great body, but the people as composing thirteen sovereignties." * Mr. Lee, of Westmoreland ("Light-Horse Harry''), in the same Convention, answering Mr. Henry's objection to the expression, "We, the people," said: "It [the Constitution] is now submitted to the people of Virginia. If we do not adopt it, it will be always null and void as to us. Suppose it was found proper for our adoption, and becoming the government of the people of Virginia, by what style should it be done? Ought we not to make use of the name of the people? No other style would be proper." † It would certainly be superfluous, after all that has been presented heretofore, to add any further evidence of the meaning that was attached to these expressions by their authors. "The people of the United States' were in their minds the people of Virginia, the people of Massachusetts, and the people of every other State that should agree to unite. They could have meant only that the people of their respective States who had delegated cer-

^{*} Elliott's "Debates,' vol. iii, p. 114. † Ibid., p. 71.

tain powers to the Federal Government, in ratifying the Constitution and according to the Union, reserved to themselves the right, in event of the failure of their purposes, to "resume" (or "reassume") those powers by seceding from the same Union.

Finally, the absurdity of the construction attempted to be put upon these expressions will be evident from a very brief analysis. If the assertion of the right of reassumption of their powers was meant for the protection of the whole people—the people in mass—the people "in the aggregate"—of a consolidated republic-against whom or what was it to protect them? By whom were the powers granted to be perverted to the injury or oppression of the whole people? By themselves or by some of the States, all of whom, according to this hypothesis, had been consolidated into one? As no danger could have been apprehended from either of these, it must have been against the Government of the United States that the provision was made; that is to say, the whole people of a republic make this declaration against a Government established by themselves and entirely subject to their own control, under a Constitution which contains provision for its own amendment by this very same "whole people," whenever they may think proper! Is it not a libel upon the statesmen of that generation to attribute to their grave and solemn declarations a meaning so vapid and absurd?

To those who argue that the grants of the Constitution are fatal to the reservation of sovereignty by the States, the Constitution furnishes a conclusive answer in the amendment which was coeval with the adoption of the instrument, and which declares that all powers not delegated to the Government of the Union were reserved to the States or to the people. As sovereignty was not delegated by the States, it was necessarily reserved. It would be superfluous to answer arguments against implied powers of the States; none are claimed by implication, because all not delegated by the States remained with them, and it was only in an abundance of caution that they expressed the right to resume such parts of their unlimited power as was delegated for the purposes enumerated. As there be those who see danger to the perpetuity of the Union in the possession of such power by the States, and insist that our fathers did not intend to bind the States together by a compact no better than "a rope of sand," it may be well to examine their position. From what have dangers to the Union arisen? Have they sprung from too great restriction on the exercise of the granted powers, or from the assumption by the General Government of power claimed by implication? The whole record of our Union

answers, from the latter only.

Was this tendency to usurpation caused by the presumption of paramount authority in the General Government, or by the assertion of the right of a State to resume the powers it had delegated? Reasonably and honestly it can not be assigned to the latter. Let it be supposed that the "whole people" had recognized the right of a State of the Union, peaceably and independently, to resume the powers which, peaceably and independently, she had delegated to the Federal Government, would not this have been potent to restrain the General Government from exercising its functions to the injury and oppression of such State? To deny that effect would be to suppose that a dominant majority would be willing to drive a State from the Union. Would the admission of the right of a State to resume the grants it had made, have led to the exercise of that right for light and trivial causes? Surely the evidence furnished by the nations, both ancient and modern, refutes the supposition. In the language of the Declaration of Independence, "All experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed." Would not real grievances be rendered more tolerable by the consciousness of power to remove them; and would not even imaginary wrongs be embittered by the manifestation of a purpose to make them perpetual? To ask these questions is to answer them.

The wise and brave men who had, at much peril and great sacrifice, secured the independence of the States, were as little disposed to surrender the sovereignty of the States as they were anxious to organize a General Government with adequate powers to remedy the defects of the Confederation. The Union they formed was not to destroy the States, but to "secure the bless-

ings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

CHAPTER XII.

Coercion the Alternative to Secession.—Repudiation of it by the Constitution and the Fathers of the Constitutional Era.—Difference between Mr. Webster and Mr. Hamilton.

THE alternative to secession is coercion. That is to say, if no such right as that of secession exists—if it is forbidden or precluded by the ('onstitution—then it is a wrong; and, by a well

settled principle of public law, for every wrong there must be a remedy, which in this case must be the application of force to the State attempting to withdraw from the Union.

Early in the session of the Convention which formed the Constitution, it was proposed to confer upon Congress the power "to call forth the force of the Union against any member of the Union failing to fulfill its duty under the articles thereof." When this proposition came to be considered, Mr. Madison observed that "a union of the States containing such an ingredient seemed to provide for its own destruction. The use of force against a State would look more like a declaration of war than an infliction of punishment, and would probably be considered by the party attacked as a dissolution of all previous compacts by which it might be bound. He hoped that such a system would be framed as might render this recourse unnecessary, and moved that the clause be postponed." This motion was adopted nem, con, and the proposition was never again revived.* Again, on a subsequent occasion, speaking of an appeal to force, Mr. Madison said: "Was such a remedy eligible? Was it practicable? . . . Any government for the United States, formed on the supposed practicability of using force against the unconstitutional proceedings of the States, would prove as visionary and fallacious as the government of Congress." † Every proposition looking in any way to the same or a similar object was promptly rejected by the convention. George Mason, of Virginia, said of such a proposition: "Will not the citizens of the invaded State assist one another, until they rise as one man and shake off the Union altogether?" !

Oliver Ellsworth, in the ratifying Convention of Connecticut, said: "This ('onstitution does not attempt to coerce sovereign bodies, States, in their political capacity. No coercion is applicable to such bodies but that of an armed force. If we should attempt to execute the laws of the Union by sending an armed force against a delinquent State, it would involve the good and bad, the innocent and guilty, in the same calamity." §

Mr. Hamilton, in the Convention of New York, said: "To coerce the States is one of the maddest projects that was ever devised. . . . What picture does this idea present to our view? A complying State at war with a non-complying State: Congress marching the troops of one State into the bosom of an-

^{* &}quot;Madison Papers," pp. 732, 761.

[†] Ibid., p. 822. ‡ Ibid., p. 914. § Elliott's "Debates," vol. ii, p. 199.

other:... Here is a nation at war with itself. Can any reasonable man be well disposed toward a government which makes war and carnage the only means of supporting itself—a government that can exist only by the sword?... But can we believe that one State will ever suffer itself to be used as an instrument of coercion? The thing is a dream—it is impossible.";

Unhappily, our generation has seen that, in the decay of the principles and feelings which animated the hearts of all patriots in that day, this thing, like many others then regarded as impossible dreams, has been only too feasible, and that States have permitted themselves to be used as instruments, not merely for the coercion, but for the destruction of the freedom and inde-

pendence of their sister States.

Edmund Randolph, Governor of Virginia, although the mover of the original proposition to authorize the employment of the forces of the Union against a delinquent member, which had been so signally defeated in the Federal Convention, afterward, in the Virginia Convention, made an eloquent protest against the idea of the employment of force against a State. "What species of military coercion," said he, "could the General Government adopt for the enforcement of obedience to its demands? Either an army sent into the heart of a delinquent State, or blocking up its ports. Have we lived to this, then, that, in order to suppress and exclude tyranny, it is necessary to render the most affectionate friends the most bitter enemies, set the father against the son, and make the brother slay the brother? Is this the happy expedient that is to preserve liberty? Will it not destroy it? If an army be once introduced to force us, if once marched into Virginia, figure to yourselves what the dreadful consequences will be: the most lamentable civil war must ensue." *

We have seen already how vehemently the idea of even judicial coercion was repudiated by Hamilton, Marshall, and others. The suggestion of military coercion was uniformly treated, as in the above extracts, with still more abhorrence. No principle was more fully and firmly settled on the highest authority than that, under our system, there could be no coercion of a State.

Mr. Webster, in his elaborate speech of February 16, 1833, arguing throughout against the sovereignty of the States, and in the course of his argument sadly confounding the ideas of the Federal Constitution and the Federal Government, as he confounds the sovereign people of the States with the State govern-

[†] Ibid., pp. 232, 233. * Elliott's "Debates," vol. iii, p. 117.

ments, says: "The States can not omit to appoint Senators and electors. It is not a matter resting in State discretion or State pleasure... No member of a State Legislature can refuse to proceed, at the proper time, to elect Senators to Congress, or to provide for the choice of electors of President and Vice-President, any more than the members can refuse, when the appointed day arrives, to meet the members of the other House, to count the votes for those officers and ascertain who are chosen." † This was before the invention in 1877 of an electoral commission to relieve Congress of its constitutional duty to count the vote. Mr. Hamilton, on the contrary, fresh from the work of forming the Constitution, and familiar with its principles and purposes, said: "It is certainly true that the State Legislatures, by forbearing the appointment of Senators, may destroy the national Government." ‡

It is unnecessary to discuss the particular question on which these two great authorities are thus directly at issue. I do not contend that the State Legislatures, of their own will, have a right to forego the performance of any Federal duty imposed upon them by the Constitution. But there is a power beyond and above that of either the Federal or State governments—the power of the people of the State, who ordained and established the Constitution, as far as it applies to themselves, reserving, as I think has been demonstrated, the right to reassume the grants of power therein made, when they deem it necessary for their safety or welfare to do so. At the behest of this power, it certainly becomes not only the right, but the duty, of their State Legislature to refrain from any action implying adherence to the Union, or partnership, from which the sovereign has withdrawn.

CHAPTER XIII.

Some Objections considered.—The New States.—Acquired Territory.—Allegiance, false and true.—Difference between Nullification and Secession.—Secession a Peaceable Remedy.—No Appeal to Arms.—Two Conditions noted.

It would be only adding to a superabundance of testimony to quote further from the authors of the Constitution in support of the principle, unquestioned in that generation, that the people

^{† &}quot;Congressional Debates," vol. ix, Part I, p. 566. ‡ "Federalist," No. lix.

who granted—that is to say, of course, the people of the several States—might resume their grants. It will require but few words to dispose of some superficial objections that have been made to the application of this doctrine in a special case.

It is sometimes said that, whatever weight may attach to principles founded on the sovereignty and independence of the original thirteen States, they can not apply to the States of more recent origin—constituting now a majority of the members of the Union—because these are but the offspring or creatures of the Union, and must of course be subordinate and dependent.

This objection would scarcely occur to any instructed mind. though it may possess a certain degree of specious plausibility for the untaught. It is enough to answer that the entire equality of the States, in every particular, is a vital condition of their Every new member that has been admitted into the partnership of States came in, as is expressly declared in the acts for their admission, on a footing of perfect equality in every respect with the original members. This equality is as complete as the equality, before the laws, of the son with the father, immediately on the attainment by the former of his legal majority, without regard to the prior condition of dependence and tutelage. The relations of the original States to one another and to the Union can not be affected by any subsequent accessions of new members, as the Constitution fixes those relations permanently, and furnishes the normal standard which is applicable to all. The Boston memorial to Congress, referred to in a foregoing chapter, as prepared by a committee with Mr. Webster at its head, says that the new States "are universally considered as admitted into the Union upon the same footing as the original States, and as possessing, in respect to the Union, the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence, as the other States."

But, with regard to States formed of territory acquired by purchase from France, Spain, and Mexico, it is claimed that, as they were bought by the United States, they belong to the same, and have no right to withdraw at will from an association the property in which had been purchased by the other parties.

Happy would it have been if the equal rights of the people of all the States to the enjoyment of territory acquired by the common treasure could have been recognized at the proper time! There would then have been no secession and no war.

As for the sordid claim of ownership of States, on account of the money spent for the land which they contain—I can understand the ground of a claim to some interest in the soil, so long as it continues to be public property, but have yet to learn in what way the United States ever became purchaser of the inhabitants or of their political rights.

Any question in regard to property has always been admitted to be matter for fair and equitable settlement, in case of the withdrawal of a State.

The treaty by which the Louisiana territory was ceded to the United States expressly provided that the inhabitants thereof should be "admitted, as soon as possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States." In all other acquisitions of territory the same stipulation is either expressed or implied. Indeed, the denial of the right would be inconsistent with the character of American political institutions.

Another objection made to the right of secession is based upon obscure, indefinite, and inconsistent ideas with regard to allegiance. It assumes various shapes, and is therefore somewhat difficult to meet, but, as most frequently presented, may be stated thus: that the citizen owes a double allegiance, or a divided allegiance—partly to his State, partly to the United States: that it is not possible for either of these powers to release him from the allegiance due to the other: that the State can no more release him from his obligations to the Union than the United States can absolve him from his duties to his State. This is the most moderate way in which the objection is put. The extreme centralizers go further, and claim that allegiance to the Union, or, as they generally express it, to the Government—meaning thereby the Federal Government—is paramount, and the obligation to the State only subsidiary—if, indeed, it exists

This latter view, if the more monstrous, is at least the more consistent of the two, for it does not involve the difficulty of a divided allegiance, nor the paradoxical position in which the other places the citizen, in case of a conflict between his State and the other members of the Union, of being necessarily a rebel against the General Government or a traitor to the State of which he is a citizen.

As to true allegiance, in the light of the principles which have been established, there can be no doubt with regard to it. The primary, paramount allegiance of the citizen is due to the sovereign only. That sovereign, under our system, is the people—the people of the State to which he belongs—the people who constituted the State government which he obeys, and which

at all.

^{*} Ray's "Louisiana Digest," vol. i, p. 24.

protects him in the enjoyment of his personal rights—the people who alone (as far as he is concerned) ordained and established the Federal Constitution and Federal Government—the people who have reserved to themselves sovereignty, which involves the power to revoke all agencies created by them. The obligation to support the State or Federal Constitution and the obedience due to either State or Federal Government are alike derived from and dependent on the allegiance due to this sovereign. If the sovereign abolishes the State government and ordains and establishes a new one, the obligation of allegiance requires him to transfer his obedience accordingly. If the sovereign withdraws from association with its confederates in the Union, the allegiance of the citizen requires him to follow the sovereign. Any other course is rebellion or treason—words which, in the cant of the day, have been so grossly misapplied and perverted as to be made worse than unmeaning. His relation to the Union arose from the membership of the State of which he was a citizen, and ceased whenever his State withdrew from it. He can not owe obedience—much less allegiance—to an association from which his sovereign has separated, and thereby withdrawn him.

Every officer of both Federal and State governments is required to take an oath to support the Constitution, a compact the binding force of which is based upon the sovereignty of the States—a sovereignty necessarily carrying with it the principles just stated with regard to allegiance. Every such officer is, therefore, virtually sworn to maintain and support the sovereignty of all the States.

Military and naval officers take, in addition, an oath to obey the lawful orders of their superiors. Such an oath has never been understood to be eternal in its obligations. It is dissolved by the death, dismissal, or resignation of the officer who takes it; and such resignation is not a mere optional right, but becomes an imperative duty when continuance in the service comes to be in conflict with the ultimate allegiance due to the sovereignty of the State to which he belongs.

A little consideration of these plain and irrefutable truths would show how utterly unworthy and false are the vulgar taunts which attribute "treason" to those who, in the late secession of the Southern States, were loyal to the only sovereign entitled to their allegiance, and which still more absurdly prate of the violation of oaths to support "the Government," an oath which nobody ever could have been legally required to take, and which must have been ignorantly confounded with the prescribed oath to support the Constitution.

Nullification and secession are often erroneously treated as if they were one and the same thing. It is true that both ideas spring from the sovereign right of a State to interpose for the protection of its own people, but they are altogether unlike as to both their extent and the character of the means to be employed. The first was a temporary expedient, intended to restrain action until the question at issue could be submitted to a convention of the States. It was a remedy which its supporters sought to apply within the Union; a means to avoid the last resort—separation. If the application for a convention should fail, or if the State making it should suffer an adverse decision, the advocates of that remedy have not revealed what they proposed as the next step—supposing the infraction of the compact to have been of that character which, according to Mr. Webster, dissolved it.

Secession, on the other hand, was the assertion of the inalienable right of a people to change their government, whenever it ceased to fulfill the purposes for which it was ordained and established. Under our form of government, and the cardinal principles upon which it was founded, it should have been a peaceful remedy. The withdrawal of a State from a league has no revolutionary or insurrectionary characteristic. The government of the State remains unchanged as to all internal affairs. It is only its external or confederate relations that are altered. To term this action of a sovereign a "rebellion," is a gross abuse of language. So is the flippant phrase which speaks of it as an appeal to the "arbitrament of the sword." In the late contest, in particular, there was no appeal by the seceding States to the arbitrament of arms. There was on their part no invitation nor provocation to war. They stood in an attitude of self-defense, and were attacked for merely exercising a right guaranteed by the original terms of the compact. They neither tendered nor accepted any challenge to the wager of battle. The man who defends his house against attack can not with any propriety be said to have submitted the question of his right to it to the arbitrament of arms.

Two moral obligations or restrictions upon a seceding State certainly exist: in the first place, not to break up the partnership without good and sufficient cause; and, in the second, to make an equitable settlement with former associates, and, as far as may be to avoid the infliction of loss or damage upon any of them. Neither of these obligations was violated or neglected by the Southern States in their secession.

CHAPTER XIV.

Early Foreshadowings.—Opinions of Mr. Madison and Mr. Rufus King.—Safeguards provided.—Their Failure.—State Interposition.—The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions.—Their Endorsement by the People in the Presidential Elections of 1800 and Ensuing Terms.—South Carolina and Mr. Calhoun.—The Compromise of 1833.—Action of Massachusetts in 1843-'45.—Opinions of John Quincy Adams.—Necessity for Secession.

From the earliest period, it was foreseen by the wisest of our statesmen that a danger to the perpetuity of the Union would arise from the conflicting interests of different sections, and every effort was made to secure each of these classes of interests against aggression by the other. As a proof of this, may be cited the following extract from Mr. Madison's report of a speech made by himself in the Philadelphia Convention on the 30th of June, 1787:

"He admitted that every peculiar interest, whether in any class of citizens or any description of States, ought to be secured as far as possible. Wherever there is danger of attack, there ought to be given a constitutional power of defense. But he contended that the States were divided into different interests, not by their difference of size, but by other circumstances; the most material of which resulted from climate, but principally from the effects of their having or not having slaves. These two causes concurred in forming the great division of interests in the United States. It did not lie between the large and small States; it lay between the Northern and Southern; and, if any defensive power were necessary, it ought to be mutually given to these two interests." *

Mr. Rufus King, a distinguished member of the Convention from Massachusetts, a few days afterward, said, to the same effect: "He was fully convinced that the question concerning a difference of interests did not lie where it had hitherto been discussed, between the great and small States, but between the Southern and Eastern. For this reason he had been ready to yield something, in the proportion of representatives, for the security of the Southern. . . . He was not averse to giving them a still greater security, but did not see how it could be done." †

^{*&#}x27;'Madison Papers,'' p. 1006. † Ibid., pp. 1057, 1058.

The wise men who formed the Constitution were not seeking to bind the States together by the material power of a majority; nor were they so blind to the influences of passion and interest as to believe that paper barriers would suffice to restrain a majority actuated by either or both of these motives. They endeavored, therefore, to prevent the conflicts inevitable from the ascendancy of a sectional or party majority, by so distributing the powers of government that each interest might hold a check upon the other. It was believed that the compromises made with regard to representation—securing to each State an equal vote in the Senate, and in the House of Representatives giving the States a weight in proportion to their respective population, estimating the negroes as equivalent to three fifths of the same number of free whites—would have the effect of giving at an early period a majority in the House of Representatives to the South, while the North would retain the ascendancy in the Senate. Thus it was supposed that the two great sectional interests would be enabled to restrain each other within the limits of purposes and action beneficial to both.

The failure of these expectations need not affect our reverence for the intentions of the fathers, or our respect for the means which they devised to carry them into effect. That they were mistaken, both as to the maintenance of the balance of sectional power and as to the fidelity and integrity with which the Congress was expected to conform to the letter and spirit of its delegated authority, is perhaps to be ascribed less to lack of prophetic foresight, than to that over-sanguine confidence which is the weakness of honest minds, and which was naturally strengthened by the patriotic and fraternal feelings resulting from the great struggle through which they had then but recently passed. They saw, in the sufficiency of the authority delegated to the Federal Government and in the fullness of the sovereignty retained by the States, a system the strict construction of which was so eminently adapted to indefinite expansion of the confederacy as to embrace every variety of production and consequent diversity of pursuit. Carried out in the spirit in which it was devised, there was in this system no element of disintegration, but every facility for an enlargement of the circle of the family of States (or nations), so that it scarcely seemed unreasonable to look forward to a fulfillment of the aspiration of Mr. Hamilton, that it might extend over North America, perhaps over the whole continent.

Not at all incompatible with these views and purposes was the recognition of the right of the States to reassume, if occasion should require it, the powers which they had delegated. On the contrary, the maintenance of this right was the surest guarantee of the perpetuity of the Union, and the denial of it sounded the first serious note of its dissolution. The conservative efficiency of "State interposition," for maintenance of the essential principles of the Union against aggression or decadence, is one of the most conspicuous features in the debates of the various State Conventions by which the Constitution was Perhaps their ideas of the particular form in which this interposition was to be made may have been somewhat indefinite, and left to be reduced to shape by the circumstances when they should arise, but the principle itself was assumed and asserted as fundamental. But for a firm reliance upon it, as a sure resort in case of need, it may safely be said that the Union would never have been formed. It would be unjust to the wisdom and sagacity of the framers of the Constitution to suppose that they entirely relied on paper barriers for the protection of the rights of minorities. Fresh from the defense of violated charters and faithless aggression on inalienable rights, it might, a priori, be assumed that they would require something more potential than mere promises to protect them from human depravity and human ambition. That they did so is to be found in the debates both of the General and the State Conventions. where State interposition was often declared to be the bulwark against usurpation.

At an early period in the history of the Federal Government. the States of Kentucky and Virginia found reason to reassert this right of State interposition. In the first of the famous resolutions drawn by Mr. Jefferson in 1798, and with some modification adopted by the Legislature of Kentucky in November of that year, it is declared that, "whensoever the General Government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthoritative, void, and of no force; that to this compact each State acceded as a State, and is an integral party; that this Government, created by this compact, was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of the powers delegated to itself; since that would have made its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers; but that, as in all other cases of compact among parties having no common judge, each party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of infractions as of the mode and measure of redress."

In the Virginia resolutions, drawn by Mr. Madison, adopted on the 24th of December, 1798, and reaffirmed in 1799, the General Assembly of that State declares that "it views the powers of the Federal Government as resulting from the compact, to which the States are parties, as limited by the plain sense and intention of the instrument constituting that compact, as no further valid than they are authorized by the grants enumerated in that compact; and that, in case of a deliberate, palpable, and dangerous exercise of other powers, not granted by the said compact, the States, who are parties thereto, have the right, and are in duty bound, to interpose, for arresting the progress of the evil, and for maintaining within their respective limits the authorities, rights, and liberties, appertaining to them." Another of the same series of resolutions denounces the indications of a design "to consolidate the States by degrees into one sovereignty."

These, it is true, were only the resolves of two States, and they were dissented from by several other State Legislatures not so much on the ground of opposition to the general principles asserted as on that of their being unnecessary in their application to the alien and sedition laws, which were the immediate occasion of their utterance. Nevertheless, they were the basis of the contest for the Presidency in 1800, which resulted in their approval by the people in the triumphant election of Mr. Jefferson. They became part of the accepted creed of the Republican, Democratic, State-Rights, or Conservative party, as it has been variously termed at different periods, and as such they were ratified by the people in every Presidential election that took place for sixty years, with two exceptions. The last victory obtained under them, and when they were emphasized by adding the construction of them contained in the report of Mr. Madison to the Virginia Legislature in 1799, was at the election of Mr. Buchanan—the last President chosen by vote of a party that could with any propriety be styled "national," in contradistinction to sectional.

At a critical and memorable period, that pure spirit, luminous intellect, and devoted adherent of the Constitution, the great statesman of South Carolina, invoked this remedy of State interposition against the Tariff Act of 1828, which was deemed injurious and oppressive to his State. No purpose was then declared to coerce the State, as such, but measures were taken to break the protective shield of her authority and enforce the laws of Congress upon her citizens, by compelling them to pay outside of her ports the duties on imports, which the State had declared unconstitutional, and had forbidden to be collected in her ports.

There remained at that day enough of the spirit in which the Union had been founded—enough of respect for the sovereignty

of States and of regard for the limitations of the Constitution to prevent a conflict of arms. The compromise of 1833 was adopted, which South Carolina agreed to accept, the principle

for which she contended being virtually conceded.

Meantime there had been no lack, as we have already seen, of assertions of the sovereign rights of the States from other quarters. The declaration of these rights by the New England States and their representatives, on the acquisition of Louisiana in 1803, on the admission of the State of that name in 1811–'12, and on the question of the annexation of Texas in 1843–'45, have been referred to in another place. Among the resolutions of the Massachusetts Legislature, in relation to the proposed annexation of Texas, adopted in February, 1845, were the following:

"2. Resolved, That there has hitherto been no precedent of the admission of a foreign state or foreign territory into the Union by legislation. And as the powers of legislation, granted in the Constitution of the United States to Congress, do not embrace a case of the admission of a foreign state or foreign territory, by legislation, into the Union, such an act of admission would have no binding force whatever on the people of Massachusetts.

"3. Resolved, That the power, never having been granted by the people of Massachusetts, to admit into the Union States and Territories not within the same when the Constitution was adopted, remains with the people, and can only be exercised in such way and manner as the people shall hereafter designate

and appoint." *

To these stanch declarations of principles—with regard to which (leaving out of consideration the particular occasion that called them forth) my only doubt would be whether they do not express too decided a doctrine of nullification—may be added the avowal of one of the most distinguished sons of Massachusetts, John Quincy Adams, in his discourse before the New York Historical Society, in 1839:

"Nations" (says Mr. Adams) "acknowledge no judge between them upon earth; and their governments, from necessity, must, in their intercourse with others, decide when the failure of one party to a contract to perform its obligations absolves the other from the reciprocal fulfillment of its own. But this last of earthly powers is not necessary to the freedom or independence of States connected together by the immediate action of the people of whom they consist. To the people alone is there reserved as well the dissolving as the constituent power, and that

^{* &}quot;Congressional Globe," vol. xiv, p. 299.

power can be exercised by them only under the tie of conscience, binding them to the retributive justice of Heaven.

"With these qualifications, we may admit the same right as vested in the people of every State in the Union, with reference to the General Government, which was exercised by the people of the united colonies with reference to the supreme head of the British Empire, of which they formed a part; and under these limitations have the people of each State in the Union a right to seeede from the confederated Union itself.

"Thus stand the RIGHT. But the indissoluble link of union between the people of the several States of this confederated nation is, after all, not in the RIGHT, but in the HEART. If the day should ever come (may Heaven avert it!) when the affections of the people of these States shall be alienated from each other, when the fraternal spirit shall give way to cold indifference, or collision of interests shall fester into hatred, the bonds of political association will not long hold together parties no longer attracted by the magnetism of conciliated interests and kindly sympathies; and far better will it be for the people of the disunited States to part in friendship with each other than to be held together by constraint. Then will be the time for reverting to the precedents which occurred at the formation and adoption of the Constitution, to form again a more perfect Union, by dissolving that which could no longer bind, and to leave the separated parts to be reunited by the law of political gravitation to the center."

Perhaps it is unfortunate that, in earlier and better times, when the prospect of serious difficulties first arose, a convention of the States was not assembled to consider the relations of the various States and the Government of the Union. As time rolled on, the General Government, gathering with both hands a mass of undelegated powers, reached that position which Mr. Jefferson had pointed out as an intolerable evil—the claim of a right to judge of the extent of its own authority. Of those then participating in public affairs, it was apparently useless to ask that the question should be submitted for decision to the parties to the compact, under the same conditions as those which controlled the formation and adoption of the Constitution; otherwise, a convention would have been utterly fruitless, for at that period, when aggression for sectional aggrandizement had made such rapid advances, it can scarcely be doubted that more than a fourth, if not a majority of States, would have adhered to that policy which had been manifested for years in the legislation of many States, as well as in that of the Federal Government. What course would then have remained to the Southern States? Nothing, except either to submit to a continuation of

what they believed and felt to be violations of the compact of union, breaches of faith, injurious and oppressive usurpation, or else to assert the sovereign right to reassume the grants they had made, since those grants had been perverted from their original and proper purposes.

Surely the right to resume the powers delegated and to judge of the propriety and sufficiency of the causes for doing so are alike inseparable from the possession of sovereignty. Over sovereigns there is no common judge, and between them can be no umpire, except by their own agreement and consent. The necessity or propriety of exercising the right to withdraw from a confederacy or union must be determined by each member for itself. Once determined in favor of withdrawal, all that remains for consideration is the obligation to see that no wanton damage is done to former associates, and to make such fair settlement of common interests as the equity of the case may require.

CHAPTER XV.

A Bond of Union necessary after the Declaration of Independence.—Articles of Confederation.—The Constitution of the United States.—The Same Principle for obtaining Grants of Power in both.—The Constitution an Instrument enumerating the Powers delegated.—The Power of Amendment merely a Power to amend the Delegated Grants.—A Smaller Power was required for Amendment than for a Grant.—The Power of Amendment is confined to Grants of the Constitution.—Limitations on the Power of Amendment.

IN July, 1776, the Congress of the thirteen united colonies declared that "these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States." The denial of this asserted right and the attempted coercion made it manifest that a bond of union was necessary, for the common defense.

In November of the next year, viz., 1777, articles of confederation and perpetual union were entered into by the thirteen States under the style of "The United States of America." The government instituted was to be administered by a congress of delegates from the several States, and each State to have an equal voice in legislation. The Government so formed was to act through and by the States, and, having no power to enforce its requisitions upon the States, embarrassment was early realized in its efforts to provide for the exigencies of war. After the

treaty of peace and recognition of the independence of the States, the difficulty of raising revenue and regulating commerce was so great as to lead to repeated efforts to obtain from the States additional grants of power. Under the Articles of Confederation no amendment of them could be made except by the unanimous consent of the States, and this it had not been found possible to obtain for the powers requisite to the efficient discharge of the functions intrusted to the Congress. Hence arose the proceedings for a convention to amend the articles of confederation. The result was the formation of a new plan of government, entitled "The Constitution of the United States of America."

This was submitted to the Congress, in order that, if approved by them, it might be referred to the States for adoption or rejection by the several conventions thereof, and, if adopted by nine of the States, it was to be the compact of union between the States so ratifying the same.

The new form of government differed in many essential particulars from the old one. The delegates, intent on the purpose to give greater efficiency to the government of the Union, proposed greatly to enlarge its powers, so much so that it was not deemed safe to confide them to a single body, and they were consequently distributed between three independent departments of government, which might be a check upon one another. The Constitution did not, like the Articles of Confederation, declare that the States had agreed to a perpetual union, but distinctly indicated the hope of its perpetuity by the expression in the preamble of the purpose to "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." The circumstances under which the Union of the Constitution was formed justified the hope of its perpetuity, but the brief existence of the Confederation may have been a warning against the renewal of the assertion that the compact should be perpetual.

A remedy for the embarrassment which had been realized, under the Articles of Confederation, in obtaining amendments to correct any defects in grants of power, so as to render them effective for the purpose for which they were given, was provided by its fifth article. It is here to be specially noted that new grants of power, as asked for by the Convention, were under the Articles of Confederation only to be obtained from the unanimous assent of the States. Therefore it followed that two of the States which did not ratify the Constitution were, so long as they retained that attitude, free from its obligations. Thus it is seen that the same principle in regard to obtaining grants

of additional power for the Federal Government formed the rule for the Union as it had done for the Confederation; that is, that the consent of each and every State was a prerequisite. The apprehension which justly existed that several of the States might reject the Constitution, and under the rule of unanimity defeat it, led to the seventh article of the Constitution, which provided that the ratification by the conventions of nine States should be sufficient for the establishment of the Constitution between the States ratifying it, which of course contemplated leaving the others, more or less in number, separate and distinct from the nine States forming a new government. Thus was the Union to be a voluntary compact, and all the powers of its government to be derived from the assent of each of its members.

These powers as proposed by the Constitution were so extensive as to create alarm and opposition by some of the most influential men in many of the States. It is known that the objection of the patriot Samuel Adams was only overcome by an assurance that such an amendment as the tenth would be adopted. Like opposition was by like assurance elsewhere overcome. That article is in these words: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people."

Amendment, however, of the delegated powers was made more easy than it had been under the Confederation. Ratification by three fourths of the States was sufficient under the Constitution for the adoption of an amendment to it. As this power of amendment threatens to be the Aaron's rod which will swallow up the rest, I propose to give it special examination. What is the Constitution of the United States? The whole body of the instrument, the history of its formation and adoption, as well as the tenth amendment, added in an abundance of caution, clearly show it to be an instrument enumerating the powers delegated by the States to the Federal Government, their common agent. It is specifically declared that all which was not so delegated was reserved. On this mass of reserved powers, those which the States declined to grant, the Federal Government was expressly forbidden to intrude. Of what value would this prohibition have been, if three fourths of the States could, without the assent of a particular State, invade the domain which that State had reserved for its own exclusive use and control?

It has heretofore, I hope, been satisfactorily demonstrated that the States were sovereigns before they formed the Union, and that they have never surrendered their sovereignty, but have only intrusted to their common agent certain functions of sovereignty to be used for their common welfare.

Among the powers delegated was one to amend the Constitution, which, it is submitted, was merely the power to amend the delegated grants, and these were obtained by the separate and independent action of each State according to the Union. When we consider how carefully each clause was discussed in the General Convention, and how closely each was scrutinized in the conventions of the several States, the conclusion can not be avoided that all was specified which it was intended to bestow, and not a few of the wisest in that day held that too much power had been conferred.

Aware of the imperfection of everything devised by man, it was foreseen that, in the exercise of the functions intrusted to the General Government, experience might reveal the necessity of modification—i. e., amendment—and power was therefore given to amend, in a certain manner, the delegated trusts so as to make them efficient for the purposes designed, or to prevent their misconstruction or abuse to the injury or oppression of any of the people. In support of this view I refer to the historical fact that the first ten amendments of the Constitution, nearly coeval with it, all refer either to the powers delegated, or are directed to the greater security of the rights which were guarded by express limitations.

The distinction in the mind of the framers of the Constitution between amendment and delegation of power seems to me clearly drawn by the fact that the Constitution itself, which was a proposition to the States to grant enumerated powers, was only to have effect between the ratifying States; but the fifth article provided that amendments to the Constitution might be adopted by three fourths of the States, and thereby be valid as part of the Constitution. It thus appears that a smaller power was required for an amendment than for a grant, and the natural if not necessary conclusion is, that it was because an amendment must belong to, and grow out of, a grant previously made. If a so-called amendment could have been the means of obtaining a new power, is it to be supposed that those watchful guardians of community independence, for which the war of the Revolution had been fought, would have been reconciled to the adoption of the Constitution, by the declaration that the powers not delegated are reserved to the States? Unless the power of amendment be confined to the grants of the Constitution, there can be no security to the reserved rights of a minority less than a fourth of the States. I submit that the word "amendment" necessarily

implies an improvement upon something which is possessed, and can have no proper application to that which did not previously exist.

The apprehension that was felt of this power of amendment by the framers of the Constitution is shown by the restrictions placed upon the exercise of several of the delegated powers. For example: power was given to admit new States, but no new State should be erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of those States: and the power to regulate commerce was limited by the prohibition of an amendment affecting, for a certain time, the migration or importation of persons whom any of the existing States should think proper to admit; and by the very important provision for the protection of the smaller States and the preservation of their equality in the Union, that the compact in regard to the membership of the two Houses of Congress should not be so amended that any "State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate." These limitations and prohibitions on the power of amendment all refer to clauses of the Constitution, to things which existed as part of the General Government; they were not needed, and therefore not to be found in relation to the reserved powers of the States, on which the General Government was forbidden to intrude by the ninth article of the amendments.

In view of the small territory of the New England States, comparatively to that of the Middle and Southern States, and the probability of the creation of new States in the large Territory of some of these latter, it might well have been anticipated that in the course of time the New England States would become less than one fourth of the members of the Union. Nothing is less likely than that the watchful patriots of that region would have consented to a form of government which should give to a majority of three fourths of the States the power to deprive them of their dearest right and privileges. Yet to this extremity the new-born theory of the power of amendment would go. Against this insidious assault, this wooden horse which it is threatened to introduce into the citadel of our liberties, I have sought to warn the inheritors of our free institutions, and earnestly do invoke the resistance of all true patriots.

J. Wm. Jones to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

OFFICE SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY No. 7 Library Floor, State Capitol.

Richmond, Va. Jan. 6,1 1882.

President Davis, My dear Friend:

Pardon my seeming importunity in reference to the matter concerning which I wrote just before your return from Europe, and again some three weeks ago. I am sure you will "hear me for my cause."

Since I wrote you I have had letters from our friends in various directions and the universal verdict is: "If President Davis will consent to speak at prominent points in the South in the interest of the S.H.S. you can raise all of the money you need."

Gen. Geo. D. Johnston of Ala. (a splendid soldier and a hightoned Christian gentleman) who has been canvassing for us in Atlanta, writes the most enthusiastic letters in which he says that if you will consent to make addresses in the chief cities that he can follow them up with a canvass that will raise for the Society from \$50,000. to \$100,000. He may be over sanguine but others are equally so, and I confess that I am of the number. I believe it can be done.

Now I know we are asking a great deal of you, but you have so long sacrificed everything for the cause we love, that I am sure you will help us in this crisis if you can.

You will, I am sure, appreciate the importance of our knowing at an early day whether you can comply with our wishes,

your views as to programme, etc.

I await your reply with deepest anxiety for I am satisfied that if you can serve us in this matter we shall put our Society on a firm financial basis, and set in motion agencies which shall vindicate the truth of Confederate History in years to come.

And I confess that apart from saving and establishing the Southern Historical Society, I should rejoice in the opportunity which the people of the South would have of giving everywhere a grand ovation to their President whom they still cherish with warmest affection in their heart of hearts.

I am collecting material for a paper on "The Confederate

¹ This letter is dated Jan. 6, but is filed under date of Jan. 7.

Treasure," and if you have any newspaper clippings, or can suggest any names of parties who could give me valuable in-

formation, I should be greatly obliged.

There is general disappointment and indignation that Genl. Johnston has not been more explicit and emphatic in denying that he gave even a pretext to the reporter for reviving the miserable slander against you.

Mrs. Jones unites with me in kindest regards, best wishes,

and fervent prayers for you and yours.

Yours truly, (Signed) J. Wm. Jones, Sec'y.

F. C. Randolph 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Montgomery, Ala., Jany. 9, 1882.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Mississippi City,

Dear Sir;

Today twenty one years ago I enlisted as a private in the army of the South, at the age of nineteen years, and after serving throughout the war without ever missing an engagement that my command was in, surrendered with Genl. Forrest, as commanding officer of one of his regiments. And though I have never had the honor of your personal acquaintance, and though in your difficult position as President of the Confederacy, I have recognized that you were not exempt from that fallibility common to all men, I have ever esteemed your loyalty to that cause and your integrity of character as beyond question, no matter from what direction assailed, and on this occasion I cannot refrain from expressing to you my own sentiments of abhorrence of the unjust, wanton, outrageous, and cowardly charges and imputations made against you by Genl. Jos. E. Johnston and to say there is but one opinion on that subject among all true Southern men of my acquaintance, no matter whether friends or foes of your Excellency. If after the publication of his so-called memoirs, anything was wanting to stamp Genl. Johnston as a man of small brain, and still smaller soul, this unmanly assault upon you has supplied that want.

Allways held in high esteem by every true Confederate as the embodiment of the cause he held so dearly, every assault upon

¹ Colonel Seventh Alabama Reg. Cav. C. S. A.

your motives or character only seems to place you firmer in their affections.

I have written this with the hope that it may not be displeasing to you to know the esteem in which you are held by those for whom you have dared and endured so much.

With great respect and esteem, I have the honor to be
Your obedient servant
F. C. RANDOLPH.

James Benagh 1 to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Athens, Ala., Jany. 10th, 1882.

Jefferson Davis,

Ex President of the Confederate States of America, care of Mr. Addison Hayes, Memphis, Tenn.

Honored Sir,

Words fail me to express my regret in reading what may seem to east obloquy upon my honored chief, and through him upon our 'lost cause.' Allow me, personally a stranger to express my sympathy with, and my unshaken confidence in you.

The enclosed slip from my town newspaper, is my testimony to circumstances tending to repel that foul imputation. It is offered for what it may be worth as evidence; but more to show that the prejudices of some General officers are not shared by one, at least of their subalterns.

I have, Sir, the honor to be, Your friend and obdt. servt. JAMES BENAGH.

W. T. Walthall to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Biloxi, Miss. 16 Jan'y, 1882.

My Dear Sir:

The enclosed letter, with the newspaper extracts accompanying it, is sent to you only in compliance (as you will observe) with the expressed wish of its author, Major S. K. Phillips, a Confederate officer. You will of course, have long since seen the extracts, and I would not of my own motion have considered them worthy of your attention.

¹ Lawyer, born at Lynchburg, Va., in 1828; died at Athens, Ala., captain, A.A.G. to Gen. Kirby Smith, C.S.A.

I would, however, have sent you the letter earlier, but for inferring from various newspaper notices, that you have been absent from home in general since it was received.

Very faithfully yours. W. T. WALTHALL.

His Excellency, Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

D. H. Maury to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Knoxville, Jan. 18, 1882.

Hon, Jefferson Davis, My dear Mr. Davis,

On Xmas day I published the enclosed letter in the Richmond Dispatch. Your many friends have expressed so much pleasure with it that I sent you a Copy at the time and now enclose another from a paper that has reproduced it.

The Southern Historical Society will prepare from the abundant data accessible in Richmond and elsewhere a full account

of the "Confederate Treasure."

A great deal of it was taken by Federals and by the disbanded Confederates but the greater part of it can be accounted for.

More than \$100,000 belonging to the Banks of Richmond is now in the vaults of the Treasury in Washington. The balance of the \$200,000 of the Banks was stolen by some disbanded Confederates, and used to establish a Banking house in Kansas. One or more houses in Richmond I am ashamed to say are founded upon this plunder. And one other great firm in Virginia (but all Scotchmen born) is said to have been established on the proceeds of sales of blockade runners; in such times men's ideas of self preservation expanded very widely, and all distinctions of "meum and tuum" were obliterated. The scrupulous, the dutiful men were left to "hold the sack."

The pestilent interviewer "G.A.B." has unintentionally done you a kindness, by showing you how warmly you are cherished by the true Confederates. If our enemies really desire to split the "solid South" they have adopted the wrong means—for this vile slander has rallied us to you very warmly.

I shall be at Youngsboro Lee County Alabama with my daughter Mrs. R. L. Pollard and shall be glad to hear of your health and happiness. You will be received with an ovation in Richmond, where we, now especially, honor what is staunch and true.

With great respect and kind regard

Your friend,

D. H. MAURY.

E. G. W. Butler to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Pass Christian, Miss.

My dear Sir:

January 29, 1882.

During your absence, in Europe, I communicated to your nephew, Col. Davis, for your information, an extract from a letter from Prince Leopold; now, Duke of Albany, thanking me for the copy of "The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government"; which you most kindly presented to me and which I promised to send to his Royal Highness; and, having forwarded the book through my old friend, Alexander Duncan, I have just received a letter of acknowledgment from the Duke, through his private Secretary, saying: "I am desired by the Duke of Albany, to thank you, very much, for your two letters; and, also for Mr. Jefferson Davis' 'Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government', which his Royal Highness is very glad to possess; especially under the circumstances that attend its transmission to him."

He adds: "Since he received your letters, he has taken the important preliminary step of engaging himself in matrimony, so that he is particularly glad to receive, on such an occasion, the good wishes of those who are either directly or indirectly, acquainted with him."

He is the flower of Queen Victoria's large family; but, unfortunately, he is at the foot of the ladder.

I was sorry, on Gen. Johnston's account, that he should have made so gratuitous and ungenerous a charge against you. But, perhaps, it is better so; as the testimony adduced must put the charge forever to rest.

He has, moreover, in his Book charged General Lee with having failed to deliver the commissions for Gen. Johnston, confided to him by you. I do not believe there is a living man who believes General Lee capable of a dishonest act.

I came from St. Louis during last week, to pass some months with our old friend, General Harvey; who speaks often of your fox hunting together, in early days. I find him quite as blind as myself, and very deaf. I am sorry I was not here when his

foreign guests arrived; as I should have been very glad to meet the descendants of Lafayette; who I presume to be the grand children of Madame de Sasteise.

Hoping your health has been benefitted by your visit abroad,

I remain, my dear Sir,

Faithfully and truly yours, (Signed) E. G. W. BUTLER.

Hon. Jeff. Davis, Beauvoir, Mississippi.

From H. Abinger to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

45 Cornwall Gardens, S. W.

My dear Mr. Davis:

Feby. 4th.

I cannot tell you how sorry we were to hear you had been in England without our having had the great pleasure of seeing you.¹ I do hope if you ever come again to London that you will be sure to let us know. We shd have been so pleased had you and Mrs. Davis been able to make us a visit in Scotland, and I shall still hope in the future to welcome you again to the Highlands.

We are reading your book with the greatest interest. It had been lent us by a friend. I shd so much like a few lines from you telling me all about yourself and family, where your home

is at present, and how your children are.

My little people have grown greatly, and the two eldest girls are taller than I am. We have had scarlet fever last autumn, and I suffered great anxiety about my second daughter. However, we have much for which to be thankful. The dreadful disease did not spread, and the child is better than before this illness.

Lord Abinger desires his kindest remembrances to yourself and Mrs. Davis, and begs me say how much he hopes to see you again in England.

I am, dear Mr. Davis, yours most sincerely, (Signed) H. Abinger.

(See Thomas Layton to Hon. Jeff. Davis, Feb. 25, 1882)

¹ On this visit Mr. and Mrs. Davis spent three months in Europe in the fall of 1881, the purpose of the visit being to be with Miss Winnie, their youngest daughter, who had been at Carlsruhe, Germany, in school since 1878 and who returned home with them in November, 1881.

John F. Wheless 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Nashville, Tenn., Feby. 10, 1882.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

Sir,

It gives me pleasure to comply with the request made in yours of the 4th for a statement in regard to the movements of the Confederate States Treasure after the evacuation of Richmond. I was at the time Paymaster in the C.S. Navy and about noon of Apr. 2nd 1865 received orders to accompany the Naval Command under Capt. Wm. H. Parker which had been ordered to escort the Treasury Department. The cars (2 I think) containing the coin, books and a number of officials and clerks and escort was a part of the same train on which you and your cabinet went from Richmond to Danville. My information as to the amount of Gold and Silver (obtained through conversations with gentlemen connected with the Department) was to the effect that it amounted to about two hundred thousand dollars \$200,000 mostly Silver and Silver Bullion.

The Richmond Banks also sent out about Three Hundred thousand dollars \$300,000 mostly gold in charge of their own officials or clerks who continued with the Treasury Department

in order to have the protection of its escort.

To avoid the frequent repetition of the "Treasury Department" I beg simply to refer to it hereafter by the expression "we". After remaining three or four days in Danville we proceeded to Greensboro N. C. remained there a few days and moved to Charlotte (leaving about forty thousand dollars \$40,000 of the Silver at Greensboro), staid there nearly a week and went to Chester S. C., thence to Newbury and thence to Abbeyville where we remained a few days and then moved to Washington, Ga., where we took the cars for Augusta. We reached the Georgia R. Rd. at Barretts Station and I there met friends returning from the vicinity of Atlanta who informed me that they had seen in Federal papers that Genls. Sherman and Johnston had agreed upon an Armistice. I immediately communicated the information to Capt. Parker and assured him of my confidence in the reliability of the report and my conviction that it would end in Genl. Johnston's surrender and that a complete collapse of the Confederacy would immediately follow,

¹ Paymaster C. S. Navy.

and as soon as this became known Confederate money would become valueless, and the thousands of people of Augusta and the large forces of soldiers employed in the Arsenal and other government shops there having no other means with which to purchase supplies would attempt the capture of the Confederate Treasure and in such an event our force was wholly inadequate for its protection, consisting only of the midshipmen and officers formerly of the C. S. S. "Patrick Henry." During the few days we remained in Augusta I invited Judge Crump (the actg. or asst. Treasurer) and Capt. Parker to dine with me at the Planters Hotel, and urged upon them the danger that would be incurred in remaining there (at Augusta), and advised moving to some smaller place or back to the vicinity of the Army, where discipline and organization would be maintained longer than elsewhere.

Soon after that we returned over the route by which we had moved south, and reached Abbeyville about two or three days

before the arrival of yourself and cabinet.

Capt. Parker feeling the great responsibility of his position and satisfied that his command was wholly inadequate to the protection of the Treasure, earnestly requested to be relieved which request was granted and the Treasure was taken in charge by Genl. Basil Duke whose command consisted of about three Brigades of cavalry, and moved that night about twelve o'clock towards Washington Ga. I had for several days been urging Judge Crump to allow me to draw five thousand dollars in gold to pay off the "Escort" they having faithfully discharged that duty for over a month. He was unwilling to assume what he termed "so much responsibility" but it was agreed that when your cabinet arrived Capt. Parker should see Secty. Mallory, and with him call on Secty. Trenholm and get his approval to the payment alluded to but the sickness of Mr. Trenholm prevented the consummation of this arrangement.

In the mode by which we proposed to get the money alluded to we proceeded upon the proper idea that the Secty. of the Treasury was in full controll of that Department and we would have as soon thought of applying to you for Quartermaster or Ordnance Stores as for Money. Of course you had full authority to direct the movement of either department but so far as we knew you had exercised no more controll over the one than the other. In fact most of the time we were out of reach of orders and Capt. Parker had to act upon his own judgment and I have every reason to believe that you had no knowledge of our return to Abbyville untill you arrived there. The morning fol-

lowing the departure of the Treasury from Abbyville I proposed to Capt. Parker that I should try to overtake it at Washington Ga. and endeavor to get sufficient to give the command enough to enable them to get to their Homes. He consented to this and I reached Washington about six o'clock that evening; called at the House where you, your staff, and part of the cabinet were quartered, learned that Judge Reagan had been requested to act as Secty, of the Treasury and had full controll of that Department. I was personally acquainted with Col. Wm. Preston Johnston, Judge Crump and Paymaster Semple, all of whom I met in the parlor also Col. Taylor Wood to whom Capt Parker had given me a letter. I requested the influence of those gentlemen with Judge Reagan, but made no suggestion that they should present the matter to you, and though you were in the parlor that night and the next morning I did not trouble you with any refference to it. Knowing that you had entrusted the Treasury Department to Judge Reagan and was occupied with matters of greater moment, I felt it would be an unwarranted intrusion to approach you with the matter. Judge Reagan gave me an order on Capt. M. H. Clark (a Bonded quartermaster who he had authorized to disburse the funds) for Fifteen Hundred dollars to be paid to the "Naval Escort" and for three hundred dollars to be handed to Lieut. Bradford (your nephew if I am not mistaken) who was under orders for the trans-Mississippi Department, Genl. Bragg, Col. Oladanski Capt. Clark and myself went to the specie train together and Genl. Basil Duke took a small bag of Gold from one of the Boxes and paid us the amounts called for the orders we held. As I returned to town I met you with three of your staff who as I recollect were Cols. Wm. Preston Johnston, Lubbock and Harrison. While in Washington I learned that about One Hundred thousand dollars of the coin had been paid out to the cavalry at or near Savannah River bridge about halfway between Abbyville and Washington and Capt. Clark disbursed the balance at Washington, as I have learned from him since. After drawing the money I turned over the \$300.00 to Lieut. Bradford, and the next morning left for Abbyville and paid off the Naval Command there, and on my return to Washington heard that a considerable amount of Gold had been captured near that place a night or two before, which I took to be that belonging to the Richmond Banks as I heard that the Bank officials who had had it in custody from the time of the Evacuation of Richmond left Washington with it after you took your departure. I was with the Treasury Department continuously from the

Evacuation of Richmond to its final disbursement, with the exception of a few hours, and from personal knowledge can say that any statement which charges or insinuates that you used any part of it for your personal benefit is without the slightest foundation, and considering the ease with which a full knowledge of all the facts could have been had any such statement is not only unwarranted but unjust, if not wickedly malicious.

You are at liberty to use this communication in any way you

may at any time desire.

With assurances of warm regards I have the honor to be Respectfully and Very Truly yours

JOHN F. WHELESS.

John F. Wheless to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Nashville, Tenn., Feby. 10th 1882.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

Sir,

Enclosed please find the statement requested in your esteemed favor of the 2nd inst. The facts are narrated as in the "Printed slip" sent you Dec. 26th but the general phraseology is necessarily somewhat changed to more appropriately meet the pur-

poses for which each was prepared.

Referring to your suggestion as to my publishing it, I beg to say the "slip" was taken from the "American" of Dec. 25th (consequently had already been published) and the Managing Editor informed me at the time that a synopsis of it would be sent through the "Associated Press." Since then the published statements from many reputable gentlemen show the calumny to be not only without the least foundation, but wholly the emanation of a malice that has subverted every sense of justice and propriety. It is eminently proper that your course in regard to it should be marked by the silence of contempt. You can well afford to leave its refutation not only to your friends. but also your enemies, for even the bitterest of the northern press have done themselves credit by promptly and unequivocally condemning the assault, and by it have shown that whatever may be their vindictiveness towards you personally they are compeled to respect your high character for integrity.

The soldiers of the Army of Tennessee (without any less respect for yourself) were and have been sincere admirers of Genl.

Johnston, but not one among them even for a moment attempts to justify the blow he so insidiously aimed at your reputation; on the contrary it is universally and severely criticized. It fills his friends with astonishment and regret for he has inflicted upon his own reputation a wound that cannot be effaced. The student of history will find it difficult to comprehend how any one of such standing could perpetrate so great a wrong, and it will be still more difficult to understand why the stern rule which in popular estimation makes success the test of merit should have been suspended in measuring Genl. Johnston. There is no historical military character so difficult to analyse, of undoubted capacity and courage and unsurpassed as an organizer. He was great up to the point of delivering battle, but in the supreme moment when it would seem true greatness would assert itself most powerfully, he failed, and yielded to extreme caution as if impressed with the idea that his chief duty was to take care of his Army, forgetting that the one great duty of himself and Army was to take care of the country.

Hoping you will excuse the length of this letter and allow me to hope that I may at some time have the pleasure of paying

my respects in person,

I have the honor to

Respectfully and truly yours

John F. Wheless.

W. G. Richardson to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Sherman, Tex., Feb. 14, '82.

Hon. Sir.

I have just risen from the perusal of the most masterly production of the day, "The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government." When you die I want you to will me your goosequill. Your vindication of yourself and of your people is complete. As an exposition of the Constitution it will be assigned to the front rank. It is a most luminous military history. But for my being vaccinated early in life against Jackson democracy by a Kentucky father, a personal and political friend of Mr. Clay, a father the book mark in whose well-thumbed bible was for thirty years the "National Intelligence," and but for my accepting of democracy at the last, (in 1854 I believe,) rather as a choice of evils than ex animo, I should myself be overwhelmingly convinced. I don't very well see what your would

be official critics are going to say. Gen. Jos. E. Johnston has made many a blunder, but surely never a greater one and more damaging to his *character* than his late attempt to vent his spleen upon you in the matter of Confederate *treasure*. That was a *mean* transaction the fruits of which he will be sure to reap.

It is a wonderful and gracious Providence which has spared you to write that book.

I am sorry the Appletons have marred it all with Websterian

spellings.

I take the liberty of calling attention to a few microscopic points which my old schoolmaster eye has discovered. Some of them, however, are mere queries, with your decision of which I shall be entirely content.

Page 2—against all which—Is there something wanting in punctuation?

15—Hewed—hewn.

16-among the wheat-see text.

224—George III and in vol. 2d 304, 622, 681, 686, 731, 752—the authorities say are abbreviations & require the period.

336—In that xxx before that.

362—builded

399—let:—let.

408—Texas rangers—v 2d 418.

438—unalienable is not used in my Worcester but it is not the 4to.—marked rare I think in Webster's 4to. Even if you and the publisher should agree with me as to the other form of the word, it is questionable whether it is worth while to alter the plate, for it occurs in more places than those I have marked, viz., 2d vol. 451 & 2—3—4—60—70—79—96—503 & 720 & 762 & 3 & 4.

2d vol. 13 p. hanged.

26—Is Heiman in for Hindman

38 Edgefield—& ville in text & map

50-Is it shrub or scrub. I have no Gray at my elbow to ask.

124—latter—last.

267—recordant is a very good word, but I can't find it.

321 and 352 prevented from

9

351—eastward (westward)

438—Culpeper—or pepper—qui sait?

448—would.

466—rebel—it's a word I use myself sometimes but do not allow them to use it—nor do I use it in their hearing.

507—686—Jeff.

Rodes in text—Rhodes in map.

544—the cat omitted.

Newton-Newtoun.

648—the then condition of affairs. It may be only the martinets that forbid the use of an adverb as an adjective. Such use is very defensible from the Greek standpoint,

as (Greek phrase)

665—I have had the idea that this expression was nautical (my apposite here) and that it was drawn from weighing anchor—"under weigh." Mrs. R. says no, that you are right. She has fought through the two vols. on a Simon pure democratic Davis platform, thinks all the rest of the ⊕ a set of dolts. My gallantry forbids my trying to prove the point. Indeed it is merely an impression any way. Seems to me the Adullam quotation is a little inaccurate—can be remedied by dele of "——"

681—, after Confederacy.

It is the great love I bear and the desire to close up the very smallest gap in your armor through which a *straw* could be darted, that I have noted these little *slips*, the most of them inquiries, and *some* explicable from the stanpoint of the footnote on last page which I did not see until I took up vol. 2.

By way of confirming Dr. Bachman's letter it would have been

well to insert, opposite Sherman's face.

Your very devoted friend (Signed) W. G. RICHARDSON.

P.S. Our kindest regards to yourself & family.

John F. Wheless to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Nashville, Tenn., Feby. 23rd, 188(2)

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

Sir.

Yours of the 20th with enclosures as stated was received yesterday afternoon and the communications intended for Rev. Dr. Jones went forward by first mail.

Your silence in regard to the insinuations thrown out by Gen. Johns(t) on has certainly been "golden" and is most favorably commented upon, and he (J) would be deeply chagrined if he could realize what a strong current of kindly feeling it has

created in your favor. He should have known that his inability to defend himself from just criticisms did not justify a resort to "dirt throwing" and that public opinion would be quick to condemn it.

For the courteous and complimentary terms in which you have alluded to my services to the Confederate cause please accept assurances of sincere regard and believe me

> Respectfully and Very Truly yours, John F. Wheless.

Jefferson Davis to Marcus J. Wright.

(Davis Letter in Collection of General Marcus J. Wright, Washington, D. C.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Miss., 2nd March 1882.

Gen. Marcus J. Wright, My dear Sir.

A friend has sent to me the first vols. of the recently issued "Official Records of the Union & Confederate Armies" which I suppose was intended to mean the reports published by orders of the two governments. In Vol. II p 484 I find a report of the Battle of Manassas by Genl Beauregard which is not the report published by the Congress. Please look at p. 366 & following of Rise & Fall of Confederate Government where you find a history of the omission by Congress of the preliminary matter of that report which as published by Congress, i. e. official contained nothing which required my endorsement or correspondence in regard to it. I was particularly unwilling to have my letters to Genl Chesnut published & supposed they were in my own keeping & would not knowingly have allowed copies to be furnished to any one for publication.

Will you have the kindness to tell me if you can where the copies of those letters were obtained & from whom?

Respectfully & truly
Yours
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Edwin James to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

March 14, 1882. Sanaju, Alta, Vera Paz, Guatemala.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, New Orleans.

My much esteemed and beloved Cheif,

Still you are our cheif I know full well it is not necessary for an old Soldier to excuse himself for taking the liberty of addressing you especially one who went through the fire of 32 battles from the 18, of July, 61, untill the last of April, 65, for after Gen. Lee announced the surrender of that dreadfull 9th of April, 65, I with others broke away and escaped the Surrender and 9 days afterwards had a fight with the Yankees under Gen. Hotch near Swift Run Gap and as was our way we run (Hotch's) scouts onto Stannardville at Staunton we met Rosser's men and learned the hopelessness of Our beloved Cause was everywhere overwhelmed I took my way home, arriving in New Orleans in September where I remained one year seeing it impossible to live amongst free niggers an carpet beggars and Sherdian and am sorry to write it some of our own people. Just after the July riots I left all this combination of low life and misfortune together and bid adieu to my much loved Louisiana with \$20, in my pocket I started for Mexico and have been an exile ever since finely I settled in these Mountains of Centerel America where I commenced to plant coffee I have been tolerably sucessfull commencing on nothing but my own energy I have now got together a Plantation of 5,000 acres, and have a plantation of some 150,000 coffee trees and export 2,000 bags of coffee anually, I get the New Orleans papers and read a speech of yours to my old comerades in arms every one of which knows me or ought to. That speech made me prouder of you than ever, so I says I will write my old cheif because I know He will answer an old Soldier who fought faithfully to the last and claims to be worthy of such a cheif who has kept a dignified silience amidst all the Vile Slanders of the Yankee press and worse than all some of our own who stood high in our confidence

So that you can find out who I am I give you my name and Regt. in which I served. I left New Orleans on the 13th of April 61 for Camp Moore Was a member of the American Rifles

afterwards Co. G. 7th Regt. Commanded by Harry T. Huger 1st La. Brigade Commanded by Genl. Richard Taylor afterwards by Gen. Hays, attached to Early's Division Ewell's Corps Jackson commanding I claim to have fought in every battle of that famous command, was wounded at Gettysburgh. Captured at Spotsylvania where I preserved the Flag of my Regt. escaped from Elmira Prison 3 weeks coming through the lines but bringing back the Flag of my Regt. which was supposed to be captured to my Regt. then in the Valley at New Market Col. Terry commanding. Col. Pen being a Prisoner at that time.

I only write you these things to show you tis a true Soldier writes to a true Cheif and to let you know of the unaltered love and esteem I am shure every true Soldier who wore the Gray feels today amidst all the Slander of Vulgar tongues and

poisoned Pens.

Believe me my Esteemed old Commander an unrepentent Rebel as the Yankees term it.

(Signed) Edwin James, Sanaju Alta Vera Paz, Guatemala, C. A.

P.S. Have not been in the U.S. for 15 years but expect next year to visit N.O. Am bound to find you out.

Vale.

Jefferson Davis to Marcus J. Wright.

(Davis Letter in Collection of General Marcus J. Wright, Washington, D. C.)

Personal

Beauvoir

Harrison Co Missi 16th March 1882.

Genl M. J. Wright, My dear Sir,

I have received your kind letter of the 7th Inst and thank you for your attention to my enquiry. The person in New York who furnishes copies from Genl Beauregards papers, is I suppose T. J. Jordan under another name, but my surprise is as to how either of them got the letter I wrote to Chesnut, which was personal & which on account of my great regard for Chesnut I am sorry to have had made public. I was much obliged to [you] for sending me the secretly prepared paper on the conference at Fairfax Court House & if the scheme of publication includes other than official papers, I would like to connect with that

underground record, such remarks as are found on p 449-50-51-52 Vol. I, Rise & Fall of the Conf. Govmt. If it would be convenient, agreeable & consistent to have a paper in the form of reflections embodying the substance of those pages which you could have printed with the paper itself I will prepare it for you without delay, as I suppose you would not like to quote from [word illegible] authority as a book written for the defence of the Conf. Govmt.

Respectfully & truly
Your friend
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

P. S.

Official Records p 512 has a foot note to the effect that the answer of J. E. Johnston if any was not found, it may be found at p 363 Rise & Fall of the Confederate government.

J. D.

Wm. Johnston ¹ to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Charlotte, N. C. March 29, 1882.

Honorable Jefferson Davis, My dear Sir,

Your favor of 26th March, referring to two articles in the Charlotte Democrat of June and July 1881, was received today. After going to the Democrat office and seeing the papers, with the editorial and New York correspondent's comments, I referred to page 683, vol. 2d, of my copy of "The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy." You inquire whether my recollection of events corresponds with the historic statement on page 683 (Rise and Fall). It does substantially confirm your concise narration of what transpired on your arrival at Charlotte. But allow me to be more circumstantial—as you dismounted I met you and conducted you to the door of the quarters assigned to you in Bates' house—the door being locked we failed to enter immediately. Major Echols, quartermaster, reporting that Mr. Bates,

¹ Johnston, William. 1817, March 5—1896, May 20. Born in Lincoln County, N. C. Educated at Allison's Academy, Lincoln County, and University of North Carolina class of 1841. Read law under Chief Justice Pearson. Located as lawyer in Charlotte, N. C., 1842. Married Anne Eliza Graham in 1846. President and builder of Atlantic, Tennessee and Ohio Railroad. Delegate to Secession Convention, 1861. Colonel and Commissary General of N. C., 1861-1862. Candidate for Governor 1862. Defeated by Vance, he turned his entire attention to Atlantic, Tennessee and Ohio Railroad, and the Charlotte and South Carolina Railroad.

expecting you by the train, had gone to the depot with carriage to meet you. While the Major went around the house to enter the back door and open the front, a large concourse, principally citizens, had assembled in front of the house, and loudly greeted and called for you. Your address was calm and brief. As you concluded, standing on the second step to the door, Mr. J. C. Courtney, now of Atlanta, then Telegraph agent here, handed to you the dispatch from Genl. Breckinridge, announcing assassination of President Lincoln &c. You read it in perfect silence, and passed it to me (standing on the step with you), remarking only "here is a very extraordinary communication." This remark was heard by a number immediately in front of us, and the cry passed through the assemblage, "read it, read it." Thereupon I read it aloud to a large assemblage—my voice could not reach the limit of spectators—all did not hear it. One or two cheers were uttered on the street, but I do not think their authors had heard or knew the substance of the dispatch. Your presence had excited a lively interest in the Town, and I think the cheers were intended as complimentary to you. The effect of the dispatch on those in hearing was silence and wonder, as Humboldt describes the first effects of an earthquake on men and animals.

In the meantime the graceless scamp Bates, of Mass., appeared, opened the door behind us, and you walked in without making a remark about the contents of the dispatch which he did not hear read, as you state. I suppose that he had gone to the depot for you, as we were not previously advised how you would reach the town.

The N.C.R.R. had been broken by Stoneman's command at Salisbury, 42 miles north east of this place, but one engine and a few freight cars were on this side, and in use. This town was crowded with refugees, quarters were scarce, Bates had ample room, and as Agent of the Express Company commanded resources for supplies &c. Hence your assignment there. But he was an unscrupulous Yankee. Immediately after our cause failed he was eager to conciliate Federal authority, and became a swift witness against you before the Colonel commanding here. who was hunting evidence to connect leading Confederates with the Lincoln assassination. Bates made affidavit that you had exultingly read the dispatch from Genl. Breckingidge, and remarked after, "if it were done it were well that it was well done," misquoting Shakespeare. Fifty men in this community. who were present at the reading of the dispatch, branded him as a perjurer at once. On this account public sentiment was so

intensified against him that, in a very short time, he left and returned to Massachusetts, his native state.

I had occasion to go to New York while you were in prison at Fortress Monroe, went to see Mr. Charles O'Conor, one of your Counsel, and had a full and long talk with him on the proposed trial for treason and assassination; of all that occurred in Charlotte, and especially the testimony of Bates. He could not tell the range the trial would take if it ever came on, but took my address and was to send subpoenas to fill up with witnesses in your behalf, if necessary. Had the trial occurred, and Bates testimony been pertinent, he would have been proven a base perjurer by dozens of witnesses. I have read "The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy' with profound interest, and thank you for having made so lucid and able a defense of the Southern States and people. Time will only sanction and consecrate its pages to the lovers of civil and constitutional liberty in all civilized countries. It may contain some slight errors, but I think none to impair its usefulness to the present and future generations. I have seen but few criticisms upon it, and none that I consider worthy of serious consideration. I would be pleased to say more but this is already too long.

Remembering Mrs. Davis in Richmond, Charlotte, and Memphis, with pleasing recollections, I beg to offer to her my kindest

expressions, while I remain, with the highest regard,

Your friend and obt. servant,

WM. JOHNSTON.

endorsed:

Wm. Johnston, about telegram announcing Lincoln's assassination

S. G. Dennis to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Cañon City, Col. April 3d, 1882.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, My dear Sir:

Perhaps you will remember when you paid the citizens of Rockland, Maine, a short visit and made a deep and lasting impression on their minds—that has never been forgotten.

The writer of these lines was Landlord of the Hotel where you were entertained and well do I remember your pleasant face—every word was full of kindness—and the many interesting

incidents related have to this day been treasured as priceless

gems of history.

And you will remember your health was not the best at that time, and you were seeking rest from your many cares—and wishing to do all in my power for your comfort—I furnished your table with fresh brook trout—and was truly grateful to hear you mentioned it at Augusta a few days afterwards.

Here in Canon City where I have come for my health, I have made the acquaintance of John D. Freeman, a particular friend of yours who thinks every act of your life is perfection (and

we do not disagree, I assure you).

Mr. Freeman has kindly presented to our Library your two volumes of the Rise and Fall of the Confederate Govt. which is

truly interesting to us all.

Wishing you and yours health and happiness with many years as bright as our Colorado sunshine—and would be ever grateful for a line from you.

Yours hopefully, (Signed) S. G. Dennis.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

W. D. Northend to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

My dear Sir:

Salem, Mass. April 3, 1882.

Your very kind letter was reed. The article of which I wrote you is finished awaiting directions from Col. George and others as to where it shall be published.

In the course of my examination into the subject I came across

some singular facts which may interest you.

A fierce attack is being made on "Old John Brown" by Dr. George W. Brown of Rockford, Ill. formerly editor of the Free State Nation in Kansas, Eli Thayer one of the Trustees of the Emigrant Aid Company and Gov. Robinson of Kansas now President of the Kansas Historical Society. They are all now democrats so called, but it is very difficult to define that term today. They are attempting to show, and it seems an easy task, that old John Brown was a scoundrel and an assassin, and that the difficulties in Kansas were largely owing to him and his immediate followers—that they went to Kansas not to settle but to fight. This is resented by the Ganisonians, to which sect John Brown belonged.

When in New York few weeks since I spent an evening with Eli Thayer, by appointment.—I formed an acquaintance with him some few years since—He gave me a very full account from his stand point. The next day I met Wendell P. Ganison son of W. L. who is one of the editors of the Nation. He referred to the subject and stated that Dr. Brown and his associates were attempting to appropriate to themselves old John Brown's laurels. It is very plain that this severe antagonism will result in a pretty thorough airing on both sides. It reminds me of an anecdote. In our neighboring town of Marblehead lived two brothers, will call them Thomas and John, both capable men but of unsavory reputations. Thomas was appointed Justice of the Peace. This was discussed in a knot of his neighbors. Some expressed great surprise, but a philosophic gentleman said. It is exactly right—now let the Governor appoint John, and then they will try each other, and both will get their deserts.

In my article I make no discriminations between these parties. Old John Brown's deviltries were largely performed after Gen. Pierce's time. I have no doubt the old fellow brought a great

deal of trouble to the bona fide settlers from the North.

I have recd, from Dr. Brown a copy of a pamphlet on the subject published by him. I can procure another copy and will mail this to you. There is a good deal of rubbish in it, and he has not got over the habit of laying all evil at the door of the Prest, and of the Confederate Govt. I will mark with a few stricking passages as you will not wish to wade through it all.

My son, who claims your book as an inheritance, is very desirous that you shall write me a line with your signature showing that the book came from you, that he may paste in the 1st Vol. It will gratify him very much as it will me. The book came direct from the publishers, but the presentation was not in your handwriting.

Yours very truly, (Signed) Wm. D. Northend.

Sally G. Billups to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Columbus, April 13th, 1882.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Dear Friend:

Years have passed since we met, and our lives have drifted far asunder, still I hope it will give you a pleasant surprise,

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to hear from one so sincerely attached to you and yours as I have long been. I see from the Times Democrat that the Mexican veterans are to have a reunion on the 15th in New Orleans. While visiting the Exposition last month, I placed at the Mississippi headquarters, the flag borne in the battles of Monterey and Buena Vista by your gallant Regt., 1st Mississippi. Ah! what tender memories it will bring back and as you look upon its silken folds forget not the young soldier, Kit Mott, who gave his life for a country he loved so well.

My warmest love to Mrs. Davis, and kind remembrance to your daughters. It would give me great pleasure to welcome you all at my home in Columbus and come when you will a

cordial greeting awaits you.

God bless you and yours is the prayer of
Your sincere friend,
(Signed) SALLY G. BILLUPS.

An address made by Jefferson Davis in behalf of the Southern Historical Society in the French Opera House, New Orleans, April 25, 1882.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—It would be more than superfluous to address to a New Orleans audience any argument in favor of the preservation of the history of our Confederate struggle. Your course is too well known, marked by too many deeds both in war and in peace, to render it at all doubtful that your hearts beat time to the cause for which so many of your bravest and best have died.

The early colony of Louisiana consisted of men who were refugees from conquest, and who, guided by patriotism and sustained by valor, plunged into the wilderness to make for themselves a new home. Their descendants have shown from that day to this the same characteristics which marked their fathers.

I believe it has been generally conceded, and I think most truly, that never was a people more universally gallant than

the Creoles of Louisiana. (Applause.)

At the very first call of the late war your citizens rushed forth to the defense of their country, and you gave of your sons the first who reduced the fort that threatened to blockade a Southern harbor. And he, in the first great battle of Manassas, so distinguished himself as to be promoted on the field to the highest grade in the Confederate army. Such was your Beauregard. (Applause.)

It would consume the whole evening were I to attempt to

enumerate the list. You have seen standing before you here to introduce me one who went forth to the battle in the vigor of manhood, who lost a limb, and waited but for convalescence,* when he again hastened to the field, and sacrificed another limb. (Applause.) What is left of him is more precious to you still, like Sibylline leaves, growing in value as they were reduced in bulk.

But when the war was over, then the fair daughters of Louisiana (it is always the women who are first in good work), originated that plan of decorating the graves of the Confederate dead, paying to them annually a tribute of flowers, which, in their beauty and recurring vitality, best express the everlasting love you bear toward the dead.

Then here, in New Orleans, was organized the Historical Society, with a view to preserving the records of the Confederate war. That Society has been removed, but still looks back to this the place of its birth. Here, where more than in any other city, you had been swept by the besom of desolation—where you had been more terribly pillaged than any other town that had been overrun-here have arisen more monuments to the Confederate heroes than in any other city of the South. Glorious New Orleans! You have the right to be proud of the past, and we have the right to be expectant of you in the future, for there is yet a higher and more immediate duty to perform. Monuments may crumble, their inscriptions may be defaced by time, but the records, the little slips of paper which contain the memorial of what is past will live forever. To collect and preserve these records is, therefore, our highest duty. They are said to be in danger. The Southern Historical Society appeals to you now. They appeal to you in the midst of your disaster, when your country has been overwhelmed by a flood, and when there is a want of means to supply the necessities of your people. Still the Historical Society comes to Louisiana as the first place, in which they ask that the Confederate records should be perfeeted and protected. I do not doubt that you will respond to the extent of your ability; that you will here inaugurate a movement which, growing and extending from city to city and year to year, will render certain the preservation of those archives, the value of which it is impossible to compute. It is a duty we owe to the dead—the dead who died for us, but whose memories can never die. It is a duty we owe to posterity to see that our children shall know the virtues and rise worthy of their sires;

^{*} Reference here was to General Nicholls, subsequently Governor of Louisiana.

to see that the sons grow up worthy of their noble mothers—those mothers who never faltered through all the hours of trial

through which we passed. (Applause.)

They who now sleep in the grave cannot be benefitted, it is true, by anything we may do; their cause has gone before a higher tribunal than any earthly judgment-seat, but their children and children's children are to be benefitted by preserving the record of what they did, and, more than all, the moral with which they did it. As for me—I speak only for myself—our cause was so just, so sacred, that had I known all that has come to pass, had I known what was to be inflicted upon me, all that my country was to suffer, all that our posterity was to endure, I would do it all over again. (Great applause.)

It is to me most desirable that the conduct of our men in defense of that cause should be so presented to the world as to leave no stain upon it. They went through trials which might have corrupted weaker men, and yet throughout the war I never went into an army without finding their camp engaged in prayer. After the war was over, see how many of these men who bore muskets in the ranks became ministers of the Gospel. It is your good fortune to have one presiding over your diocese now, and who is the successor of one who drew his last breath on the field

of battle, the glorious holv Bishop Polk!

It is not necessary that we should have recorded what is conceded by all the world, that our men were brave, that they had a power of endurance and self-denial which was remarkable, but if you would have your children rise to the high plane you desire them to occupy, you must add the evidence of their father's chivalry and forbearance from that staining erime of the soldier, plunder, under all the circumstances of the war. True that we did not invade to any great extent, though we did to some. It is a fact which I am happy to remember that when our army invaded the enemy's country, their property was safe. I draw no comparisons, as I am speaking now of our people and of our country. If somebody else did not behave as well, let it rest. (Laughter.)

We had no army at the opening of the war; our defenders were not professional soldiers. They were men who left their wives, children and peaceful occupations, and, at the first call of their country, seized such arms as they could gather, and rallied around their flag like a wall of fire to defend the rights their fathers left them. Could there be cause more sacred than this? If there be anything that justifies human war, it is defense of country, of family, of constitutional rights. (Applause.)

If I be asked, as is possible, why do you wish to perpetuate these bitter memories? I say, in no spirit of vengeance, with no desire for vainglory, with no wish for sectional exaltation, but that the posterity of men such as I have described, may rise equal to their parents, higher if possible, and that the South may exhibit for all time to come the noble qualities which her sons have heretofore manifested. (Applause.)

Examples to posterity of the cardinal virtues of mankind they lived for humanity, and it is only by preserving your records, by gathering those incidents which are apt to be forgotten, that you can hope to convey to future generations an exact idea of the men who served through our struggle. It is not enough to say that some General won a battle; that does not teach you his character. It is not enough to say where some army displayed great valor, stormed a work or defended one. Show the character of the men, how they behaved in the field and in the camp. For this you should collect and collate such evidence as our worthy friend, General Nicholls, has said it was the object of this Society to gather.

The highest quality of man is self-sacrifice.

The man who gives his life for another, who surrenders all his earthly prospects that his fellow men may be benefitted, has most followed that grand exemplar who was given as a model for weak humanity. That we had many men in the Confederate service who forgot self in the defence of right, it is the purpose of this Society, by collecting the evidence, to show to the world.

I constantly find myself impelled to drift into comparative narration, which I wish to avoid. Let it suffice to say that I would have our children's children to know not only that our cause was just, (that may be historically established), but to have them know that the men who sustained it were worthy of the cause for which they fought. These are the great objects for which your co-operation is invoked.

The other side has written, and is writing, their statement of the case. We wish to present ours also, that the future historian by considering both may deduce the unbiased statement, which no contemporary could make.

I will frankly acknowledge that I would distrust the man who served the Confederate cause and was capable of giving a disinterested account of it. (Applause.) If he had any heart it must be on his own side. I would not give twopence for a man whose heart was so cold that he could be quite impartial. You remember the fable of the lion who, seeing a statue which

represented a lion prostrate, and a man victorious, bending over him, said that if a lion had made the statue, the figures would have been reversed. We want our side of the war so fully and exactly stated, that the men who come after us may compare and do justice in the case.

You all know how utterly unprepared we were when we engaged in the war, without money, without an army, without credit, without arms or ammunition, or factories to make them. We went into the struggle relying solely on brave hearts, strong arms, and, unfortunately many relying on deciding the issue by argument. When they found they were mistaken—that it was the dread ordeal of battle by which the question was to be settled-they shrank not from it, and I do contend their valor was equaled only by the moral of their conduct throughout the struggle. The unanimity of our people and the heroism of our soldiers has caused us to be the admiration of the world. They know the disadvantages under which we fought; they know the great achievements which we did. But there is much that is not known. You may ask the school-boy in the lowest form, who commanded at the Pass of Thermopylae. He can tell you. But my friends there are few in this audience who, if I asked them. could tell me who commanded at Sabine Pass. And yet, that battle of Sabine Pass was more remarkable than the battle of Thermopylae, and when it has orators and poets to celebrate it, will be so esteemed by mankind.

The disparity of numbers was greater, the inequality of arms was greater. When an iron-clad fleet came to pass the Sabine so as to invade the interior of Texas, an Irish Lieutenant, with forty-two men behind a little mud fort, having only field guns for its armament, held them in check. When he asked for instructions he was told he had better retire. But this gallant

man said: "We will never retire!"

(The speaker went on to relate how the Irish Lieutenant, Dowling, had captured two of the war vessels on September 9,

1863, and taken a great number of prisoners.)

It is our duty to keep the memory of our heroes green. Yet they belong not to us alone; they belong to the whole country; they belong to America. And we do not seek to deprive "Americans" of the glory of such heroes as we have produced. Nor were their services rendered in our war those only which claim grateful remembrance. There was pious Jackson, the man, who, when he was waiting for the troops to move up would, under a storm of bullets, be lost in ejaculatory prayer: the man who, when he bent over a wounded comrade, would feel a woman's

weakness creep into his eyes: the man who came like a thunder-bolt when his friends most needed him, and his enemies least expected his coming, was the same who had marched into the valley of Mexico to sustain the flag of the United States. That man who had been the terror of the enemy in the hour of battle but was as peaceful as a lamb after the conflict, when he found he was on a bed of death, calmly folded his arms, resigning his soul to God and saying: "Let us cross over the river and rest under the shade of the trees." We do not claim to appropriate all his glory, but we hold dear every part of him that nobody else wants.

And there was Lee, the calm, faithful, far-seeing, dauntless Lee. As a soldier and engineer he penetrated the Mexican pedrigal and discovered a route by which the army must be led. To him more than to anybody else must be ascribed the capture of the city of Mexico.

We do not wish to wholly appropriate the glory of Lee but will willingly share it with those who have an equal right to it, and we would rather they should claim some share of the grand conduct of Lee at Chancellorsville, Fredericksburg, the Wilderness, and everywhere that soldiers met soldiers against mighty odds.

There was the great General Sidney Johnston, distinguished in the Black Hawk war and the siege of Monterey, holding a position in the army with a rank beyond his age and prospects the most inviting to a soldier, he surrendered everything in order to vindicate the principles he believed to be true, and came with nothing but his right arm and his good sword to offer his services to the Confederacy.

Never was man more true to his duty, more devoted to his cause, or more sincere in his purpose, as was shown in the hour of his death, when, on the field of Shiloh, having driven the enemy from every position before him save one, which he saw must be carried to make the victory complete, he led a column to storm it, receiving a death wound from which the life-blood was pouring, he recked not of himself, but thinking, feeling only of his country and its cause, rode on until he fell lifeless from his horse.

May not the Genius of Patriotism as she bent over the form of the soldier so pure, so true, so devoted, have dropped a tear on a sacrifice so untimely slain upon her altar? Then I repeat it, such men do not belong to us alone. Shall their memories fade, and rising generations not feel the influence of such grand examples? May it not well come to pass that in some hour of

the country's need, future generations, aware of the grandeur and the virtue of those men, will in a moment of disaster cry out like the ancient Scot:

> "O for an hour of Wallace wight Or well-trained Bruce To lead the fight, And cry St. Andrew and our right."

In some future struggle when the energy of the country may be taxed to its utmost, will you then find such men as those who have illustrated our recent history? They may arise, and that result will certainly be promoted by the course which has been advocated here to-night. Let the rising generation learn what their fathers did, and let them learn the still better lesson to emulate not only the deeds, but the motives which prompted them. May God grant that sons even greater than their fathers may rise whenever their country needs them to defend her cause.

(Applause.)

Though the gallantry and capacity of the Confederate troops was so often and so brilliantly exhibited as to be undeniable and undenied, yet we have been inconsistently charged with cruelty to prisoners. I say inconsistently, because brave men are never cruel to those who are helpless and in their power. The fact is, we used our best efforts to alleviate the sufferings of the prisoners held by us. That they languished and died in prison was their misfortune and ours also. There were physical and climatic causes which we could not alter. We were wanting in supplies of the proper medicines and the kind of food to which the prisoners were accustomed. As the number of prisoners accumulated beyond what could have been anticipated, there was not a sufficient shelter for them. Disease was the consequence, and the medicine required could not be obtained because the enemy had made it contraband. It is a burning shame that the slander was ever circulated which imputed to us cruelty to those who were in our power. Enough has been collected and published on this subject to convince any fair, disinterested mind, but let us not stop until the facts have been so established that not even malignity and slanderous falsehood can fail to be silenced and abashed. Let the testimony of reliable persons who were in our prisons be taken, especially the evidence of those who came to me as a delegation from the prisoners at Andersonville, and whom I sent on parole to Washington to plead for the execution of the cartel for the exchange of prisoners. In due time they came back to report that they could not get an

audience. Their conduct in observing their parole proved their honorable character, and must entitle them to credence. Let these and all other pertinent facts be added to the testimony already of record, so that the odious accusations about Andersonville shall not be thrown in the faces of our children and our children's children.

Time's mellowing influence has been felt on both sides of the Susquehanna, and our people sincerely appreciate the kindness shown them in time of pestilence, and more recently in time of flood. It is the characteristic of the brave and generous always gratefully to acknowledge any kindness they receive.

I trust that these mellowing influences may grow stronger and that at no distant day those offensive epithets which, in view of our history, it was an abuse of the English language to employ, may cease to be part of the Northern vocabulary. Those who must live together should cultivate cointelligence and mutual respect, in order to which not one side only but both must be heard. The Southern people are not revengeful, the fact is they are not capable of lasting hate which is the child of fear, therefore brave men do not hate like cowards. (Applause.)

Here, where the Historical Society began, in an hour of utter desolation, it is here also in another period of disaster that I find you assembled to determine what can be done to preserve this Society and increase its usefulness.

If you succeed in giving impulse to such an organization as will preserve this Society, you will add another feather to the wing which I trust will bear you to prosperity and happiness. You will have another claim to the admiration of those who honor virtue, and who feel gratitude for your generosity, and to us Confederates you will be, if possible, doubly dear. Here in the neighborhood of the Southern cross, that emblem in the skies of our sign upon earth, that likeness of the battle flag which our men so often followed, here where the Society began, it is meet that the Society should be preserved. In any event you are entitled to much credit, and now I bear a free testimony in your favor.

My friends, it is somewhat difficult for a Confederate whose heart-love lies buried in the grave of our cause, to speak to you on a subject which revives the memories of that period, and to speak with that forbearance which the occasion requires.

I have tried to do so, and all I can say is that, if I have exceeded the proper limit, you don't know how hard I have tried to keep within it. (Applause.)

Now, my friends, ladies and gentlemen, let me assure you that the same affectionate regard, the same hope for you, the same belief in your prosperity, the same high expectations of New Orleans, which I have so often declared, will follow me in the few remaining days I may yet live among you. (Great applause.)

Mr. Davis was frequently applauded throughout the delivery of his address, and was cheered to the echo as he took his seat. He was also presented with a magnificent floral tribute, which he gracefully received amid the tumultuous applause of the crowd.

W. S. Winder to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

131 Park ave. Baltimore, May 15/82

Hon. Jefferson Davis.

My dear Sir,

Your favor of the 11th inst. (with the envelope cut open about two inches) was received this morning. I am very much obliged to you for your prompt answer, and for the information vou have given me.

I have read the letter you enclosed; there are many such cowardly fellows, who take pleasure in writing anonymous letters; his letter has however suggested to me the importance of keeping always prominent this fact that the proportion of deaths in Northern Prisons was very much greater than in Southern Prisons, and even at Elmira New York remote from the scene of war in the midst of plenty, the ratio of deaths was greater than at Andersonville; whenever I have had the opportunity. I have always stated these facts, and had them published.

Many of our own people have doubted this, and many at the North have been amazed and astounded, when they have reluctantly been convinced that such is the case. If the Historical Society would collect the statistics on that point, and prepare a short article that could be guickly read, and easily understood. it would accomplish a good work, not only in the North but in the South.

Excuse me for writing so much; when I commenced, I only intended to acknowledge the recept of your letter.

Wishing you a continuance of good health, I remain Yours respectfully,

W. SIDNEY WINDER endorsed: W. S. Winder; about C. S. Prisons;

Jefferson Davis to The New Orleans Picayune. (From Southern Historical Society Papers, Vol. II, 181-184.)

> BEAUVOIR, Harrison Co., Miss., June 21 1882

The *Picayune* of yesterday, in its column of "Personal and General Notes," has the following:

"General William Raymond Lee, of Boston, carries in his pocket-book a little slip of paper bearing the single word 'Death.' It is the ballot he drew, when a prisoner of war in a jail at Richmond, when he and two others were chosen by lot to be hanged, in retaliation for the sentencing to death of certain Confederate officers charged with piracy. The sentence of the pirates was happily commuted, and General Lee and his comrades were subsequently exchanged."

During the war a persistent effort was made to misrepresent our cause, and its defenders, by the use of inappropriate terms. Our privateers were called "pirates," our cruisers were called "privateers," and Admiral Semmes, though regularly commissioned, was sometimes called "a pirate," by Northern officials and writers. I find this word even now, when time and reflection should have corrected the misnomer, is used in the paragraph copied into your paper. I know nothing of the person referred to, but the story of a ballot having been drawn with a premature sentence of death is refuted by the statement of the course pursued by the Confederate Government on the question of retaliation, in the event of the threat to execute some of our privateersmen who had been captured when cruising, with letters of mark, in 1861.

On pages 10, 11, 12, Vol. 2, of the "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government," the case is fully stated as follows:

"Reference has been made to our want of a navy, and the efforts made to supply the deficiency. The usual resort under such circumstances to privateers was, in our case, without the ordinary incentive of gain, as all foreign ports were closed against our prizes and, our own ports being soon blockaded, our vessels, public or private, had but the alternative of burning or bonding their captures. To those who, nevertheless, desired them, letters of marque were granted by us, and there was soon a small fleet of vessels composed of those which had taken out these letters, and others which had been purchased and fitted out by the Navy Department. They hovered on the coast of the Northern States, capturing and destroying their vessels, and

filling the enemy with consternation. The President of the United States had already declared in his proclamation of April 19th, as above stated, that 'any person, who, under the pretended authority of the said (Confederate) States, should molest a vessel of the United States, or the persons or cargo on board,' should be held amenable to the laws of the United States for the prevention of piracy. This was another violation of international law, another instance of arrogant disregard for universal opinion. The threat, if meant for intimidation, and to deprive the Confederacy of one of the usual weapons of war, was unbecoming the head of a government. To have executed it upon a helpless prisoner, would have been a crime intensified by its cowardice. Happily for the United States, the threat was not executed, but the failure to carry out the declared purpose was coupled with humiliation, because it was the result of a notice to retaliate as fully as might need be to stop such a barbarous practice. To yield to the notice thus served was a practical admission by the United States government that the

Confederacy had become a power among the nations.

"On June 3, 1861, the little schooner Savannah, previously a pilot boat in Charleston harbor and sailing under a commission issued by authority of the Confederate States, was captured by the United States brig Perry. The crew were placed in irons and sent to New York. It appeared, from statements made without contradiction, that they were not treated as prisoners of war, whereupon a letter was addresed by me to President Lincoln, dated July 6, stating explicitly that 'painful as will be the necessity, this Government will deal out to the prisoners held by it the same treatment and the same fate as shall be experienced by those captured on the Savannah; and if driven to the terrible necessity of retaliation by your execution of any of the officers or crew of the Savannah, that retaliation will be extended so far as shall be requisite to secure the abandonment of a practice unknown to the warfare of civilized man, and so barbarous as to disgrace the nation which shall be guilty of inaugurating it.' A reply was promised to this letter, but none came. Still later in the year the privateer Jefferson Davis was captured, the captain and crew brought into Philadelphia, and the captain tried and found guilty of piracy and threatened with death. Immediately I instructed General Winder, at Richmond, to select one prisoner of the highest rank, to be confined in a cell appropriated to convicted felons, and treated in all respects as if convicted, and to be held for execution in the same manner as might be adopted for the execution of the prisoner of war in Philadelphia. He was further instructed to select thirteen other prisoners of the highest rank, to be held in the same manner as hostages for the thirteen prisoners held in New York for trial as pirates. By this course the infamous attempt made by the United States Government to commit judicial murder on

prisoners of war was arrested.

"The attention of the British House of Lords was also attracted to the proclamation of President Lincoln threatening the officers and crews of privateers with the punishment of piracy. It led to a discussion, in which the Earl of Derby said, he 'apprehended that if one thing was clearer than another, it was that privateering was not piracy, and that no law could make that piracy, as regarded the subjects of one nation, which was not piracy by the law of nations. Consequently, the United States must not be allowed to entertain this doctrine, and to call upon her Majesty's Government not to interfere.' Lord Chancellor said, there was 'no doubt, that if an Englishman engaged in the service of the Southern States, he violated the laws of his country, and rendered himself liable to punishment, and that he had no right to trust to the protection of his native country to shield him from the consequences of his act. But, though that individual would be guilty of a breach of the law of his own country, he could not be treated as a pirate, and those who treated him as a pirate would be guilty of murder."

This narration of facts, and the opinions of two disinterested and distinguished foreigners, must be conclusive to every fair mind, that to term the prisoners "pirates," was an inexcusable pretext, and that the conduct of the Confederate Government was in strict accordance with the usages of civilized war, and that the desire to protect its citizens, was marked by no stain of inhumanity.

Respectfully yours,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

William M. Browne to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Athens, Ga. June 26th, 1882.

My dear Mr. President,

I have made inquiry, immediately on receipt of your letter, from those of Genl. Howell Cobb's family who live here, as to the sending of supplies from his plantations to the Andersonville prisoners. Neither Mrs. Cobb, Major Lamar Cobb (the Genl's. Adjt. Genl.) nor Howell Jr. (his father's A. D. C.) have any recollection of his having done so, and they think that the statement which reached you is a mistake originating in Genl. C's kindness to the U. S. officers who during the summer of 1864, were confined in a camp near Macon. To these men, of whom there was a large number, he sent vegetables and other comforts

from his plantations near Macon or bought in the market out

of his private purse.

To be quite sure, however, I write by this mail to his eldest son, John A. Cobb, who managed the plantations and who must know whether or not supplies as alleged were forwarded to the Andersonville prisoners. If it be true as stated, it will give me sincere pleasure to send the facts to the Editor of the So. Hist. Sociy, papers for publication.

I had no personal observation of Andersonville and can, therefore, say nothing of my own knowledge. I do know however that Genl. C. visited the stockade more than once, and nobody who ever knew him, however slightly, can be made to believe that he witnessed the cruelties said to have been perpetrated there, and with power to prevent, sanctioned and suffered their continuance.

For those who come after us, we should make the record as complete as possible; but it is utterly vain to attempt to convince such people as the author of the article in the Michigan paper. If they believe not Moses and the Prophets, neither could they be persuaded tho' one rose from the dead. They will not believe. They will not be persuaded. They lie consistently persistently and all the time, because they find it pays. But, notwithstanding this, we should all carefully and diligently record the truth so that it may be found hereafter without going to look for it at the bottom of the figurative well.

I read Father Ryan's poem with great delight. It is a long time-since I felt so stirred in all my being. It was not read, and your speech was mutilated, because our own people bow the knee to expediency ignoring or forgetting principle. It disgusts me almost daily to see the spread of this apostasy, among men too, who ought to be the most stedfast. "We must not offend our friends at the North." "The war is over." "The sooner we forget it the better." "We need their money." "It is bad policy to justify what we did." I hear this often and because I always advocate the "bad policy" am looked on as an impracticable "Bourbon."

Look at Mahone, look at Chalmers; Yes, indeed, my dear Sir, if my lameness will permit locomotion of any sort, I will visit you this summer, and renew and strengthen my faith by converse with its greatest, and most earnest apostle. I have suffered and still suffer from my sprained ankle and instep in March last. I get about with much difficulty, and at night whenever I make any exertion during the day, my foot becomes so inflamed and swollen as to cause intense pain.

Do you propose to spend the entire summer at Beauvoir? The papers say you are going to Morehead City.

With very affectionate regards to Mrs. Davis and your daugh-

ter, I am always with profund respect

Your friend, Wm. M. Browne

Hon. Jefferson Davis.

William M. Browne to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

University of Georgia,
Dept. of Agriculture and
Horticulture.
Athens, Ga. July 1st, 1882.

Dear Mr. President.

I have just received a reply to my letter to John A. Cobb, in which he says:

"My Father never gave any order that I know of, for wagons to go from the Andersonville prison to his plantations for supplies of vegetables &c. for no necessity existed for his doing so. At the time the prisoners were at Andersonville, the 'tax in kind' was being collected, and the prisoners could not consume the potatoes that were collected at the different stations on the So. Western R. R."

This is as I feared when I wrote you a few days ago. I thought that had Genl. C. done as you were informed I should have heard something of it.

It is well for us to make the record good that the truth may be established hereafter; but the men who charge us with cruelty to prisoners know that they lie. They do it to uphold and serve the infamous party of which Arthur, Keifer, Robeson, and Kelly, are the representative men, and a miserable wretch like Watkins Hicks will be ostensibly believed, while a statement, even from you, would be discredited.

Kelly's bill to relieve the people from the burden of taxation, and the Arthur Tariff Commission, are samples of the good faith of the men who rule the country. In the one case the stamp is taken off lucifer matches, and in the other a lot of men identified with protected monopolies, pledged to maintain protective duties, are commissioned to revise the tariff!

In Georgia, we are on the eve of a bitter political contest, which promises to be quite as angry as the Colquitt-Norwood canvass of 1880.

Mr. Stephens imagines, or was led to imagine, that the people were crazy to make him Governor, without distinction of age sex or previous condition. This is a very great mistake. The old soldiers have not forgot 1861-5; his eulogies of Grant, his apologies for the Louisiana usurpations; his independentism, his Casev letter two or three years ago. Feelings are waxing warm as the day of the Convention draws near, and I should not be surprised if it turns out that a majority of the Convention will oppose him bitterly, personally I am for our good friend, Martin J. Crawford, a true man through and through. Colquitt, Joe Brown and all the Expediency men, are for S. but the people are impatient of Joe Brown's role of Warwick in Ga. But he has a million of money, controls the W. & Atlantic R.R., is in the Senate, commands patronage and appropriations, and is not as much controlled by scruples as may be thought desirable. One good thing, Longstreet's attempt to radicalize the State by the distribution of a few two and a half cent post offices has proved a ridiculous failure.

With sincerest regards to Mrs. Davis and your family, I remain ever

Most respectfully and truly,

WM. M. BROWNE

Hon. Jefferson Davis, endorsed:

W. M. Browne; About Genl. Cobb and Andersonville; ansd. 6th July '82.

Hiram H. Carver to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Donaldsonville La. July 8th 1882.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss. My Dear Sir:

To-day, I was asked by several of your friends and mine, (among whom I claim to be a sincere and devoted one) information as to the reason for the change of Ex-U. S. Senator D. L. Yulee's name, and also the *modus operandi* by which the change from David Levy to David Levy Yulee, was effected.

I have an indistinct recollection that, at the time of the change, the Senate of the U. S. took some action in the matter, but of

what character I cannot say.

Thinking that you may have served with him in the Senate both under the names of Levy and Yulee, I take this method of troubling you for the information desired by my friends and myself.

I beg to subscribe myself

Your sincere friend

HIRAM H. CARVER Attorney at Law.

Formerly Capt. of Cavalry C. S. A. in Brent's Brigade. endorsed: Hiram H. Carver, inq. about Yulee's change of name. ansd. 10th Aug. '82.

W. N. Pendleton to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Lexington, Virginia.
July 15th, 1882.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Mississippi. My Dear and Honoured Friend.

Your very gratifying letter of 2nd inst, in reply to mine of 24th ult., was duly received. And I now write again, under special instructions of the Executive Committee of our Lee Memorial Association, and as Chairman of said Committee, to convey to you the Committee's cordial thanks for the measure of promise, in your letter, respecting the Memorial Address desired of you next summer.

Col. William Preston Johnston, so truly valued by us all is with us just now, on a little excursion from his at least supposed Malarial Scene of Service in Louisiana. And as he is a member of our Committee, we yesterday held a meeting to profit by his presence. Had he been communicated with, as my last to you supposed, he would gladly have visited you, and delivered more urgently in person, our heartfelt invitation. Mine seems to have been the mistake, in supposing such communication to him, and his mediation for us with yourself. Now we wish to have all made as clear as possible.

As said, it is our united and most earnest request, that you will deliver the Lee Memorial Address, at the inauguration of the Genl's Mausoleum here, and statue therein, on the 28th June, 1883: the Mausoleum being a rear-structure, entered from the Chapel of Washington and Lee University. For controlling reasons we judge and feel, that Providence permitting, as we

trust and pray, the just tribute to Genl. Lee on the occasion, can be more fitly rendered by yourself than by any other mortal.

The time for the Ceremonies has to be adjusted by Washington and Lee University Commencement. Or, more than ready would we be to arrange it for Spring or Fall, to be less trying to yourself. But as we have to avail of that fixed day, 28th June, we cherish the hope, that the visit then to our cooler mountain district will prove to you rather bracing than otherwise.

All the while however we do not forget, that, several years beyond three score and ten, leave more or less precarious your actual performance of the great undertaking; for such, with the power and wisdom you can exercise, it will really prove. Still, looking upward, we trust you will be spared; and enabled so to set forth the well nigh unerring character and course of Genl. Lee, as to secure for him fair estimate through all the U. S. and prove of benefit to mankind.

Meantime, in the entire view may I not, as an honouring friend, ask you to set about at once preparing the address desired? So as to have it ready, if granted life and vigour to deliver it. Or to let us have it for other use, should the Lord

remove or disable you.

Decided as is our hope, that, you will be kept in strength for the important service, your definitive assurance, that, you will prepare the address, and deliver it, if by Divine Providence permitted so to do, will be to us a great gratification. Please therefore reply as soon and assuringly, as you find you rightly can.

Of course, if we have the happiness of your coming, Mrs. Davis and any other home-mate, must come with you. And while Genl. Custis Lee will press for you, lonely as he is, my plain household will, as would several others, longingly open heart, and arms and doors. God bless you all.

Your attached friend,

(Signed) W. N. PENDLETON.

Jefferson Davis to Marcus J. Wright.

(Davis Letter in Collection of General Marcus J. Wright, Washington, D. C.)

Personal & Private

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Miss., 29th July 1882

Genl. M. J. Wright My dear Sir.

Various circumstances have delayed the preparation and copying of the accompanying paper; reviewing the secret plot,

as I must consider, to make up a record for themselves by officers to whom I showed confidence and with whom I hoped to cooperate for our country in the unequal contest forced upon it. You need not to be told how entirely the mass of our people sunk all private considerations in their zeal for our cause.

That those to whom the lives and liberties of their countrymen were specially entrusted should have been exceptions to the general spirit of the Confederates, must equally be the cause

of surprise and regret.

I trust if the poison is circulated by publication among the records, that you will be able to [give] the antidote [word illegible with it. If the other is not published, please add another to your many kind attentions, by returning my Ms, that I may put it away like fixed ammunition, to be used whenever an occasion may require.

> Truly your friend JEFFERSON DAVIS

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Memorial Hall,)

Minor Oreus (Va.) July 1882.

My dear friend Davis,

I am happy to receive yours of the 11th and puzzled to discover what there is in me to attract such steady affection as you have retained through so many years. That you are able to go abroad when needed by business assures me of abiding strength, which your salubrious home on the gulf will I hope long sustain. May your young daughter love you as I did my mother, and be convinced that your love is inestimable, and can never be equalled by that of any other being but God. My wife is a loveable person, but nothing but Perfection can satisfy the cravings of an upright soul. I am resigned, but nothing on earth will ever content me-and should not.

You want to know the "ins and outs" of my life, all details are comprehended in the above. However I will give a few,— Bernaben who was born a soldier, thought he could be a dealer. I sold \$5000 of property, and it has been long lost. He is now a division engineer on the Texas & St. Louis R.Rwy., and seems to be competent, as he has had 3 successive divisions given him.

My two sweetest daughters, are I believe happy, though I pray for them daily, the other two are what is called settled in life by becoming wives and mothers, which means, being entangled

inextricably with consuming cares, added to the most difficult of

all, the controll of themselves.

I have some "fine horses" but cannot afford to train them and will work race horses. On the election last Nov. some patriot, to influence voters, bribe them I suppose, stole one from my stable 16½ hands high, rode him all over the county and put him in my gate 36 hours after, to drop dead. Never have I seen such a noble and sweet a riding horse. He was to have carried me till my death; of course no other patriot would betray the first patriot.

I am quite lame in my right knee, have had exema for 3 years with slight remissions, have had to give up the use of suspenders, which chafe, and sleep as I was born, for a shirt worries me at night. My lungs are fine, which enables me to throw aside flannel, and keep cold all the time, which relieves irritation, and I am as much contented as I ever was, and am consoled with the hope of a shorter Purgatory, and by saying sincerely "Magna opera Domini exquisita in omnes voluntates ejus."

You are one of those for whom I pray specially every night, and if I get to see God before you leave here, will continue it.

Your remark that you avoid public gatherings and that our cause is "buried deeply" but "not lost" invites some comment. Even if "enfeebling age" did not forbid it, your position should. Men should consider what is becoming to themselves. 2d. It is natural that one who has produced such a book, evincing such knowledge and logic, with military and civil qualities surpassing all other americans, combined with integrity and heart should have a "hope," in the forces of reason to bring back a return to sound principles and honest practices in other men. Our cause as I viewed it, depended not on written constitutions or received rights, it was the natural and indestructible right of self defense, demanded by past conspiracies * and immediate and impending attacks, on our customs institutions, social life and property. The practices of the Northern people and government, before, during, and after the war, and the subsequent assimilation of the southern people, excludes all hope. Experience, history, and "a priori" considerations, satisfy me that no people who have lost the generating principles of public and private life, can return to them. Men are not governed by reason, but by desires passions lusts; if conscience is not submerged, reason brings remorse; and conscience, and all authority. that is not present and potential, is banished, and avoided. The

^{*} Before the war a northern agent was in the swamps on the Combahee and Ashepoo rivers intriguing with the negroes.

degradation of our people, public and private is appalling and ominous, and these omens appear all over the world. All the great nations of antiquity believed in Divine authority—personified in many subordinate gods, and grew up with a respect to a sense of duty. When lusts self love and luxury governed the rulers, national ruin ensued.

The present era is worse than the pagan, now, the philosophers teach, that man has no free will, therefore no responsibility. and no future life, or hope of compensation for inequalities here—hence everything is destructive, and present desires the law of life, investing the obvious law of moral free agents, which is that the present is introductory and subsidiary to the future and final. The ignorant and vulgar greedily imbibe these teachings, and will brutally practice on them, when fraud and cunning no longer satisfy their demands and licentious desires.

If I could travel and arrange to leave home I would pay you a visit this winter; but it is not practicable. I will tell you again however, that I was never more contented than I am now, for I have reasonable and elevating answers to all the problems of life—even to the sneer that the selfish desire of salvation is the essential motive in christianity. "Au contraire." Co-operation with the Perfect is demanded by reason and heart, and indefinite confidence in that principle includes all that is generous and noble and attractive in its final result, and everything finite must have a finite resultant end. Nothing like forms of words suitably to each mind, I hear them and enjoy them.

My wife enjoyed your letter and sends love; (she) showed it to a visitor (a niece) who wanted to cut off the autograph, as I learned by an application for several. I have not seen any answers to your book, before I saw it Ruffin wrote that he knew that Johnston could not have got supplies and had to disobey your order and would show it forth. I replied that I knew better, from letters received from offices in Ga. Alabama and N. C. and would maintain it. Kind greetings to Mrs. D. and the

Yours affectionately, young lady.

L. B. NORTHROP.

endorsed: Col. Northrop. Robt. N. Scott ¹ to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Publication Office,

War Records 1861-65.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Washington, Aug. 3d, 1882.

Beauvoir. Miss.

Dear Sir: Your letter of Oct. 15th 1880 was given to me yesterday by Genl. Marcus J. Wright, and has been read by me with great

interest. I return it to Genl. Wright.

G. W. Smith's statement, indorsed by Beauregard and Johnston, your letter of Aug. 1st 1861 to Johnston, and your letter of Oct. 10th 1861 to G. W. Smith, appear in Series I, Vol. 5 of the Rebellion Records (pp. 884, 766, 893) which has been completed, so far as this office is concerned, for some months. It will, probably be issued from the Public Printing Office soon after adjournment of Congress.

Very respectfully yours,
ROBT. N. SCOTT

endorsed: ansd. over.

Jefferson Davis to Robt. N. Scott. (From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Missi. 6th Aug. 1882.

Col. Robt., N. Scott, Dear Sir,

I have this morning received yours of the 3d Inst. and regret to learn that the review I forwarded of the statement of G. W. Smith, endorsed by G. T. Beauregard and J. E. Johnston was not received until after the statement to which it belonged had been incorporated in the "Official records of the Union and Confederate Armies." You will readily understand why I desire that my reply should be in juxtaposition to the statement, and will probably agree with me, that as well for the justice of the case, as for the interest it may excite, the two papers should be read in connection. Marcus J. Wright, of your office, can explain how my paper came to be so long delayed.

Accept my thanks for your courteous letter, and believe me Respectfully yours,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

¹ Lt. Col. U. S. A. compiler Union and Confederate Records.

Jefferson Davis to Marcus J. Wright.

(Davis Letter in Collection of General Marcus J. Wright, Washington, D. C.)

Personal

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Miss.,

6th Aug. 1882

Genl. M. J. Wright

My dear Sir,

I have this morning received a courteous letter from Col. Scott informing me that the statement of G. W. Smith, endorsed by G. T. Beauregard & J. E. Johnston, would with two letters of mine, appear in Series I Vol. 5 of the Records, which was complete as far as his office was concerned. This settles the question as to the acceptance of that "statement" for publication, and I fear also excludes the insertion of my remarks on the statement in the same part of the records. The doubt as to whether such a paper as that of Smith would be placed among the official records, delayed the copying and transmitting my notice of it; but accepting all the blame, I am not the less sorry that my answer should not be in juxtaposition with the secret concoction of their self laudatory & [word illegible] production.

I do not know whether the expression is Col. Scotts letter "completed so far as this office is concerned" may not mean that additional matter might be added if sent to the printer, and I write to request your good offices in that regard, if such addi-

tion be now practicable.

Please give my thanks to Col. Scott for his kind consideration in writing to me, and believe me, as ever, faithfully yours,

JEFFERSON DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to George W. Jones.

(From Iowa Historical Department.)

Private

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Miss., 8th Aug. 1882

My very dear Friend:—

Please accept my thanks for the columns of the "DuBuque Independent," Nos. 1. 2. 3. 5 two copies of the last. One of them probably sent by mistake for No. 4.

If convenient I wish you would send to me the No. 4. and also the letter of Geo. Wilson, to which reference is made as having

been recently published in the "Independent."

I found the sketch of the early history of DuBuque very interesting, as reviving my recollection of persons Known in former

times. It is however, replete with errors, in what relates to the Indians and the Military; had the writer consulted you, or Capt. Langworthy, or my good friend Mrs. Dean, now Mrs. Lawrence, or any of the Jordan family, he might have avoided many of his errors. He is quite at fault in regard to the expedition under Genl. Gaines in 1831, and it was in consequence of the council he held at Rock Island, that Black Hawk went to the West side of the Mississippi. When in 1832 he returned to the east side of the river, it was regarded as a violation of the agreement of the previous year, and as indicating a purpose to reassert his claim to the village on Rock river. This led to the expedition under Stillman, and that inaugurated the war of '32. In 1831 the Sauks sent a war party against the Sioux, and this breach of peace, they found would bring upon them punish-ment by the U. S., such at least was then understood to be the cause of their abandonment of their settlement at the lead mines of DuBuque. I was sent there by Col. W. Morgan in the fall of that year, to watch the Indians who were semi hostile, and to prevent trespassing on the Indian territory. Smith, of Bates & Smith, had a smelting establishment on the east bank just above Mr. Jordan's residence, where they smelted the mineral brought to them by the Indians, but when the Indians left, their operations were confined to smelting the "ashes." I remained on duty there until the spring of 1832, and though I made frequent reconnaissance into the country, never saw an Indian, or any indication of their presence in that neighborhood. In the spring of 1832 I was relieved by Lieut. J. R. B. Gardinier, as private matters required me to go to Mississippi, my home.

In a short time reports of Indian hostilities caused the withdrawal of Lieut. Gardinier, and soon followed the crossing of the river by the little war party mentioned in the sketch. After the campaign of 1832 Lieut. Geo. Wilson with a few soldiers was sent to DuBuque, for the same purpose as that for which I had been sent there in the previous year; but on his reporting to the commanding officer at Prairie du Chien, that trespassers were in despite of his prohibition, crossing the river, a larger force was despatched to enforce the orders of the government, and the laws relating to intercourse with the Indian tribes. Lieut. J. J. Abercrombie & I were the officers of this reenforcement. It was in the winter, so cold that we went all the way on the ice. I had known many of the miners, when they were on the east side of the river, and on me mainly devolved negociation with them, to induce them peaceably to retire. I went to their residences, explained the entire absence of any power on our part to modify, or delay the execution of our orders; and being an intimate friend of Capt. Legate, the superintendent of the lead mines, volunteered my services to secure through him to every man, the lead or prospect then held; if, and as soon as, the treaty should be ratified, to extinguish the Indian title. It has always been to me a happy memory, that the removal was accomplished without resort to force; and as I learned afterwards that each miner in due time came to his own.

Please give my affectionate remembrance to your good Wife, whose gentle smile of welcome at Sinsinnewa, has not been clouded by the many and sad years which have intervened. May God bless you and yours, is the sincere prayer of one who through all the changes of life has faithfully loved you.

Jefferson Davis

Hon. Geo. W. Jones

P.S. The romantic story of how DuBuque got the gift from the Indians, if true is worthy of a place in a history The captives gave as the reason for crossing the river in "32 that the "Prophet" a nephew of Black Hawk offered them land and they wanted to leave Keokuk & be rid of the Fox tribe.

Marcus J. Wright to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

WAR DEPARTMENT,
PUBLICATION OFFICE, WAR RECORDS 1861-'65,
Washington, Aug. 14, 1882.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

My dear Sir,

Until I received your letter of 6th. inst., I did not know that the Johnston-Smith-Beauregard letter was to be published.

It seems that an "official" copy of the same letter was found, (previous to the time that the Beauregard copy was sent here) among the papers of Gen. J. E. Johnston, and it was decided to be an official paper.

In a long interview with Col. Scott, urging the publication of your statement he declined on the ground, that the rule was adopted from the beginning to publish nothing in the records written after the surrender of the Confederate Armies. He called my attention to a resolution introduced in the House of Representatives at its late session, providing that Genl. Officers of the Union Army might make corrections of dates or names in their reports which was overwhelmingly defeated.

He expressed regret at his inability to comply with your re-

I therefore return you the paper, regretting very much my

want of success.

Very truly your friend, Marcus J. Wright

Jefferson Davis to Marcus J. Wright.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Miss., 17th Aug. 1882.

Genl. M. J. Wright, My dear Sir,

I have this day received your kind letter of the 14th Inst. enclosing the rejected copy of my review of the secretly concocted paper of Genls. J. E. Johnston, G. T. Beauregard and G. W. Smith.

I can readily understand and appreciate the rule which excludes the review, but not the reasoning which makes the underground work of a cabal an "official" paper, because found among the offerings of J. E. Johnston.

Accept my thanks for your endeavors to have the antidote issued with the posion as soon as you found the poison was to be put in circulation.

> Truly your friend, (signed) Jefferson Davis.

endorsed:

Copy of letter to Gen. M. J. Wright; about Confd. Archives and refusal to publish statement of J. D. versus Genls. J. E. Johnston and G. T. Beauregard

J. A. Early to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

New Orleans September 13th, 1882.

My Dear Sir:

Last night I read, very carefully, the statement prepared by General G. W. Smith, and endorsed by Generals Beauregard and Johnston, your letter reviewing the said Statement, and all the other letters which you submitted to me.

I am placed in rather a delicate and difficult position, by being called on to give my opinion as to the proper course to be pursued by yourself in regard to this matter, and fully realize the necessity of being diffident in giving you my views.

I shall nevertheless speak plainly, though from want of time I shall have to be brief.

In the first place, I must say that I regard it as fortunate that your view of the Statement by Smith was not published by the parties having charge of the war records. Of course I have no knowledge of the facts referred to in said statement, and while, in your review, you say: "It does not in some important respects agree with my recollection of what occurred and is wanting in consistency, that infallible of truth;" you do not set forth very distinctly the particulars in which it disagrees with the facts, so as to make them apparent to one who gets all his information from the statement and your review.

I can well conceive that the purpose of those who furnished the statement to the officers having charge of the Archives relating to the late war, was not friendly to you, yet it occurs to me that they have overshot the mark, and that the said statement, even taken to be literally true, is calculated to show that you, as President of the Confederate States, had a clearer and better conception of the military situation than the generals in the field. In fact, Mr. Davis, I think that this paper, so far from damaging you in public estimation, in the South or North, is calculated to show that you had a true conception of the difficulties of the situation and the duties of your position. As I have indicated, I can well conceive that such was not the purpose of those who furnished the paper for publication. The views, sentiments and statements attributed to you, considering them in the light of circumstances then existing or subsequent events, are eminently wise and judicious.

There is no man who was connected with the Army of Northern Virginia (then styled the "Army of the Potomac"), who is capable of forming a correct opinion, who will not realize the absurdity of the proposition, in September 1861, a little more than two months after the battle of Manassas (1st), to abandon the protection of all other points in the Confederacy, and stake all on a raid across the Potomac, especially under the military leaders we then had. If I had time, I could illustrate this idea, but I must be brief. In fact, Mr. Davis, those of us who belonged to that army and had some appreciation of the military situation, would be much more disposed to complain of you for not furnishing us with a suitable commander sooner than you did, than for not furnishing the reinforcements to undertake an impracticable campaign across the Potomac.

You well know the difficulties under which General Lee labored, in 1862, when having defeated McClellan and compelled

him to abandon the siege of Richmond, and then having defeated Pope, and run the combined armies of the latter and McClellan into the defenses of Washington, he undertook to cross the Potomac. Also, those which beset him when, having inflicted a great defeat on Hooker at Chancellorsville in 1863, he passed him and crossed the Potomac in the month of June, with an army far better "seasoned" than that which Johnston had in September 1861. How then was it possible for Johnston to accomplish anything in the Fall of 1861, with 50,000 or 60,000 men, inefficiently armed, when McClellan had more than 100,000 men along the Potomac, and watching all its crossings, who would have been quite as much "seasoned" as any troops you could have furnished?

If, at the first battle of Manassas, it was impossible to advance against Washington, because of the want of transportation and supplies for an army of perhaps less than 30,000 men, where were the transportation and supplies for 50,000 or 60,000 men to come from in two months thereafter? Do you think it necessary to defend yourself against any such charges as those implied in Smith's paper, though endorsed by his superiors? If you do, I don't. Then too, I don't think it quite becoming for the President of the Confederate States to enter into a controversy with his subordinates about what occurred in a consultation more than twenty years ago. I think there are some expressions in your review, which, while they might be warranted by the facts on the part of another, had better be omitted by one occupying your position.

At all events, it would be much better to await the appearance of the volume in which Smith's statement is incorporated, before you write or publish any thing, and then what you will have

to say, should be said calmly and with deliberation.

I have written this in a great hurry, and must now close, for time presses me. I beg you to excuse the freedom with which I have spoken, and to attribute it solely to the deep interest I feel in seeing you assume that stand and position becoming the President of the Confederate States.

I must now conclude, with the expression of my continued regard and esteem.

Most Truly and faithfully, Yours,

Hon. Jefferson Davis. endorsed: Gen. Early; Sept. '82.

J. A. EARLY.

Jefferson Davis to L. B. Northrop. (From The New York Sun of June 22, 1890.)

Oct. 15, 1882.

I sent to you a few days since an article from a New Orleans paper, called forth by the inane declaration of Stephens that his idea was, after the organization of the Confederate Government, to buy and ship the cotton crop of 1860-1 to Europe, and thus have a fund abroad to purchase arms &c. The article sufficiently exposes the idealism of the suggestion and rested there. It might have gone on to show that our difficulty in getting arms and munitions of war from abroad was not the want of money. The supplies we collected in England were not allowed to be shipped, and that St. George's, the principal port at which such supplies as we got were collected, was blockaded more closely than either Charleston or Wilmington.

It appears not to be enough to disprove a fallacy, as every vain glorious empyric can announce something as proposed or as possible, however empty it may be, and find people who will accept it as evidence of a great light having been smothered under a bushel. About few things are our people further wrong than the management of the commissary department. I have been hoping to hear that you had completed your history of that department, and then it would constitute a record for a generation whose ears are more open to truth than the time-servers of to-day. The department deserves much credit for the manner in which it overcame extraordinary difficulties, and I was desirous to give it, but wanted such exact information as the Chief of Ordnance furnished in regard to the working of that department.

I have not been well for some time, and as I feel myself going down hill, my mind naturally inquires how it fares with you, my dear friends.

¹The above excerpt of a letter from Mr. Davis to Col. Northrop appears in a special from Baltimore to the New York Sun written by Eugene L. Didier, who states that the original letter was in his possession at the time the special was sent. The present whereabouts of the original is not known.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Minor Oreus (Va.) Nov. 13th 1882.

My dear Friend,

Yours of the 15th ult. arrived duly, and found me with but one ruling desire, i.e. of being on my bed, which had reigned for a month previous. About the middle of Sept. great weakness overpowered my "physical condition" of which you wish specially to be informed. And allthough it set my thoughts very specially on my spiritual condition, I will be governed by the rule "expressio unius exclusio alterius" and confine my remarks to the former.

I had been worn down by 3 years explosions of exema, my red blood seemed to have ceased formation. I had Anaemia, head heavy, abdomen tympanetic, action of the heart weak, and loosing strokes occasionally. I medicated myself,—which with drinking and eating night and day, has improved me some, but old age with its infirmities has got possession, and the end cannot be very remote, while the tedious task of supporting life has set in. I infer that the same burden of self support is on you, and decline before you.

The N. O. papers were received. I met Stephens once—in Meminger's office—never thought much of him before and became averted to him then, though would not have expected him guilty of the folly which the papers expose—at so late a period; his vanity might have made him accept the theory when first ventilated. I heard it early in Richd. Your comments about the "vain glorious empirics" of today were applicable throughout the country, during the war. More than half of my time was expended in exposing their nonsense—mixed largely with selfishness, or springing from vanity, and ambition of bettering their condition. I never knew Dr. Moore untill I met him in Richd. I observed a sort of coarse roughness, but thought him an upright man, with enough of savoir faire to act with propriety—when he had time for thought given him by the receipt of a letter.

His family lived in Charleston, but we never had any sort of communication, and I do not know anything of their connections means or history. It is possible though I know not, that he may have felt aggrieved somehow. It is perhaps always safe to assume that of American sovereigns.

St. Augustine of Hippo who is rather popular among many

protestants—who think that he was Presbyterian, and a friend of general depravity in the human family,—which Rome scouts, is quoted somewhere as having said that "no Govt. can endure wherein public justice does not prevail." This rule is fatal to the whole country, State municipal and "National" as it is now called. So I think your hope that the future will produce rising generations whose ears will be more open to the truth than the time servers of today is delusive. Your nature is indomitable and when there is no field for present action you abide the future possibilities.

You write—"About few things are our people further wrong than the management of the Commissariat. I have been hoping that you had completed your history of that Dept."

My predominant inclination for several years has been to seek rest and avoid effort—without which I do nothing, whenever I can gratify it, my proclivity is to lay down.

As you know I had determined never to trouble myself about Confederate matters, or to be concerned about american or other public opinions. When you asked me to look at Johnston's book of which I had not heard, I did, and seeing how I could show a very careless and spiteful disregard of facts in other matters than in conflict with you, I thought it right to set these things forth as in conflict with me. Hood's book put you in possession. I had collected many things but wanted many more, and stopped, and have neither strength or time from my obligations to go on.

My wife always delicate, is now old sick and much disabled, and we two are entirely alone on a cold hill side for the winter begun.

Bernaben was a division engineer in Texas and he invited his brother, and believing it well that he should be thrown on his own resources, I took the chance, sent him off, and have to be robbed where I can not see to things personally,—which is now the case. I have a man and a boy and they have to see to horses and feeding a few hogs until I get some strength. It matters not I hope but for my wife, for she can't do as well alone as I can. I hope your eye does not disturb you. I am quite content, having nothing to disturb me except a condition of body that is annoying, but not to be avoided, must be encountered, and finally overthrown by it. If there are any things pleasanter with you, I shall gladly hear of them.

affectionately yours

endorsed:
L. B. Northrop.

L. B. NORTHROP.

Jefferson Davis to Marcus J. Wright.

(Davis Letter in Collection of General Marcus J. Wright, Washington, D. C.)

Private

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Miss., 6th Dec. 1882

Genl. M. J. Wright: My dear Sir,

Col. Scott kindly offered to send to me the published volumes of the official records, and I replied by accepting the offer for the 5th vol., the four first having been sent to me by one of our Members of Congress. The 5th vol. has arrived and promptly looking for the secret paper of Johnston, Beauregard and Smith, I was surprised to find at the head of the paper a date, not existing on the copy you sent to me and which was verified as a true copy by Genl. G. T. Beauregard, his sign manual, I think; but that was not the only difference between the printed paper and the Ms. you sent to me. In the latter the paper closes thus

- "Centreville Va Jany 31st 1862] Signed G. W. Smith Maj. Genl. C. S. A. "Signed in Triplicate
- "Our recollections of that conference agree fully with this state-
- "ment of Genl. G. W. Smith.

"Centreville Va Jany 31st 1862 | Signed, G. T. Beauregard

"Signed in Triplicate

Genl. C. S. A.

Signed, J. E. Johnston Genl. C. S. A."

Then follows the verification which from the word "late" has evidently been made since the war.

"A true copy

"G. T. Beauregard

"late Genl. C. S. Army"

Will you have the goodness to inform me how this deviation

from the certified copy occurred?

My recollection is that the Army was not at Centreville, on Oct 1st 1861. If Genl. Smith as early as the 1st of Oct. was engaged in a combination to undermine, his subsequent correspondence and intercourse intensify by the hypocrisy the baseness of the act. I however think it more probable that he was inspired and wrote the paper about the date of his signature as set forth in the Mss. viz 31st Jany 1862.

One purpose would be served by the early date, i. e. to make it

appear to have been written very soon after the conference. Believing a fraud has been practised. I desire to learn the facts of the case. I did not feel willing to write to Col. Scott about this matter, and therefore trouble you as one of the family, C. S. A.

> Ever truly your friend JEFFERSON DAVIS

Indorsed

The date "Oct 1, 1861" is that of the meeting and does not appear on the document. See note at foot of page 884. The date of the paper ([word illegible] completion of it by signature) is shown on p. 887 to have been Jany 31, 1862.

The record is printed from triplicate copy turned in by Genl Jos. E. Johnston. Copy sent to Mr. Davis must have been from

Beauregard's copy.

R. N. S.

James R. Cox to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Mobile —— Dec. 11, 1882.

Honl. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

My Dear Sir,

Believing that you can afford me valuable information, upon the subject of Fort Brown, in Texas, and its present relations to the Govt., I take the liberty of addressing you, at the suggestion of my son, Wm. C. Cox of this City, who claims the honor of your personal acquaintance; but whom it is not unlikely you may fail to recollect.

For the past 10 years, I have had important business at Brownsville, Texas, the character of which you may see from the reported case of "The City of Brownsville vs. Cavazos & als.

in (about the) 102 U.S. Supreme Ct. Reports.

In the year 1853, the Govt. of U. S. acting by Genl. Stewart Van Vliet now of Washington, commenced proceedings to condemn the site of Ft. B. under Texas Statutes, in the Dist. Court

of Cameron County.

By the verdict of the jury, assessing value at that time at \$50,000.—which subsequently passed into judgement of that Court, the land was condemned to the use of the U.S. as a Military Reserven, and Ft. upon payment &c &c. But inasmuch as at that time an important litigation was pending, between the

City of Brownsville Plff. and Claimant, and various Defendants, the award of the Court, as to whom the money shd. be paid, was suspended, to await the final determination of that litigation.

My first introduction into that litigation was in the winter of 1873, as supplementary and ancillary to the late Wm. G. Hale of New Orleans; and after his death (Jany. 1876) and in June 1876 the case was tried at Galveston (J. J. Bradley of Washington and Morrill of G.) resulting in the complete vindication of my client's rights—(the ('avazos Family)—and carried to Washington by Writ of Error was then affirmed as you will see by Reported Case.

During all this time, from 1853 to the present time, the Govt. has been in the actual possession and occupancy of those lands—350 acres adjoining the City of B.—paying no taxes, or rent, or anything, but wh. have been collected all the time from my impoverished clients—it being claimed by the Assg. Officers and Collectors, that so long as the consideration was unpaid, the private title remained unaffected by those proceedings, and that the lands were assessable to their private owners.

For the past 3 years, I have been laboring with the successive Secretaries of War, and other Officials, for some redress, but

entirely in vain.

The present See'y.—Mr. Lincoln, possesses the vis inertiæ in an eminent degree, and apparently unable to act, (even so far as to call the attention of Congress to the facts) without the concurrence and approval of Genl. Sherman; and he, Gen'l. Sherman, seems entirely indifferent to the claims of right and justice, but proposes to recommend the payment of \$25,000 only; saying, cooly, that the property is worth no more.

Upon my return home, (for my residence is at Auburn N. Y.), I shall send you a copy of a "Memorial" which was prepared and sent to the late Predt. Hayes; asking for his interposition, by a recommendation to Congress: but of course,—he did

nothing.

Pardon this lengthy Preamble: but it brings me to the point,

which I wish to present to you; and it is this.—

Gen'l. Sherman affirms that the said Stewart Van Vliet was not authorized by the Secretary of War (yourself) to take any steps for the condemnation of those premises; and hence that those proceedings being without the authority of the Department at that time, were unauthorized and void.

And conferring, or endeavoring to confer with Gen'l. Van Vliet, (yet in the service in some capacity at the War Dept. at Washington), he refuses to give me any information as to the

facts, claiming to have forgotten about it; which I am unable to believe.

This brings me to ask of you, if you have any recollection as to the facts.

It seems extremely improbable that a suburdinate Officer would dare to institute such proceedings, without the authority and direction of his superiors.

Now, my Dear Sir, if it is in your power, as an act of justice, to give me any information as to this matter, I believe you will be ready to do it; especially after reading the "Memorial" which I shall shortly send you; and I shall be greatly obliged.

Nor shall I wonder, if amid the great responsibilities and the stirring scenes which have intervened, your memory may fail to serve you as to such matters as this.

I am now starting for N. Y., expecting to go to Texas next Spring; and hoping to have the pleasure then, (which is denied me now) of calling upon you at Beauvoir.

With great respect, I am, very truly,

Your obt. servt.

Jas. R. Cox,

endorsed: of Auburn, N. Y.

About condemnation of site of Fort Brown, Tex. ansd. 19th Dec. 1882.

W. G. Mann to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Savannah. Dec. 15, '82.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss. My dear Sir:

You will I hope excuse my delay in answering your kind letter of condolence of the 25th Oct.— My wretchedness and loneliness in the old home hallowed by so many happy memories of the past, are such that I can hardly summon courage to keep up intercourse by letter or otherwise with my friends.

As soon as I shall be able to wind up the business which compelled my return this winter, to Savannah, I shall return to Chantilly to take up my permanent abode there, at least as long as my father shall live. He is the only tie that now binds me to earth and it will be my duty as well as pleasure to soothe his declining years.

I have found, from eareful observation last summer that your

opinion of Marie's fidelity was correct, and she has promised me not to leave him as long as he lives.

I was very much interested in revising his memoirs which you are correct in saying will be very interesting reading. I hope they will be ready for publication next summer.

If you or Mrs. Davis should find it convenient to visit Savannah this winter I need not tell you how much pleasure it would

afford me to welcome you under my roof.

My father's last letter shows great improvement in his health. The gout is now again descending to his feet, and altho' the pain is acute it is not attended with danger.

Is there any hope of your paying him the promised visit next

summer?

With kindest regards to Mrs. Davis and Miss Winnie believe me,

Faithfully Yours, (Signed) W. Grayson Mann.

Jefferson Davis to Marcus J. Wright.

(Davis Letter in Collection of General Marcus J. Wright, Washington, D. C.)

Genl. M. J. Wright

Beauvoir, Dec 20 1882.

Dear Sir,

Please accept my thanks for your attention to my inquiry about the printed letter of S. J. & B. found in Vol. 5. The explanation, you must permit me to say, does not quite cover the case. The date at the top is added to the certified copy of the original, and the date of Smith's signature near the close of the paper is omitted, and substituted by the date for the joint signatures of the three, that being after the endorsement by J. & B. whereas in the original the date of Smith's signature was before it, though you inform me that the letter as printed was taken from the copy turned over by Genl. J. E. Johnston, you do not say whether the addition & omission was made by him or the printer.

Very truly your's,

Endorsed:

JEFFERSON DAVIS

The date "Oct. 1, 1861" does not appear in Genl Johnston's copy or Smith's Mem. That date is that of the meeting. The date "Jany 31, 1862" appears in the Johnston copy as date of signatures of Smith, Beauregard & Johnston.

In 2d edition I'll have that "Oct 1, 1861" so displayed as to prevent misunderstanding. It should have been in the italic caption.

J. Wm. Jones to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Museum.)

Richmond, Va. Dec. 23, 1882.

President Jefferson Davis, My dear Sir:

I have been intending to write you ever since your return home, my cordial congratulations on your safe return, and my best wishes and most fervent prayers for your continued health and happiness. But I have been very closely occupied with pressing work for our Society.

I wrote to you several weeks ago a letter giving you a statement of our affairs, telling you our plans, etc., and asking if you could not help us in this crisis by lecturing for us at some of the chief points in the South? I presume you received that letter and I need not repeat its contents; but we are naturally anxious to hear whether we may count on you for this service, and at what point and at what time it would be agreeable for you to begin the work.

One of our creditors, having a claim for about \$600., has brought suit against the Society, but if we can satisfy that claim by 1st of Feby, we can get more time on our other debts, amounting to some \$1,400.

We are now trying various plans to work out of these old debts which have lapped over since '76-'77 and then to push for a permanent endowment which shall place us on a firm financial basis.

I am thoroughly satisfied that if you can lecture for us in some of our chief cities such as New Orleans, Mobile, Charleston, Atlanta, Richmond, Baltimore, Louisville, and Memphis, and then let it be followed up by Genl. Geo. D. Johnston, of Ala., or (Ex-U. S. Senator) Col. R. E. Withers, of Va. (both of whom agree to canvass for us) in a canvass for subscriptions, that we will raise all of the money we need. Please let me hear from you at your early convenience.

I need not tell you how indignant your friends here feel at the revival of the stale calumny concerning the Confederate gold, and although Genl. Johnston denies the accuracy of the interview, we are awaiting his promised card to see what he *did* say that the interviewer could have twisted into this wretched slander.

Mrs. Jones joins me in kindest regards and best wishes.

Very truly yours,

(Signed) J. Wm. Jones.

Thos. C. Reynolds to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

405 North 6th Street St. Louis Mo. 4th January 1883.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Mississippi My dear Sir:

I trust that you have not attributed to any want of zeal my long delay in attending to the matter mentioned in your letter of 12th ulto, received on 14th ulto, I concluded not to use your letter to the Globe-Democrat, partly because I thought it beneath your position to notice directly an anonymous libel, and partly because, (as was seen in the Republican press's perversion of the mere courtesy of Senator Hampton's informing Senator Sherman of his address.) your call in that letter for the "real name and residence of the writer" of the libel would very certainly be made a pretext for further assaults, in representing you as intending either to hold him to "responsibility" as a gentleman, or procuring his indictment for libel,—and that by a grand jury of Abolitionist Galena. As for St. Louis, our law is so defective, and the administration of it so timid, that such an indictment here has so invariably led to a farce of a trial, for the amusement of readers of sensational newspapers, that the remedy has become entirely obsolete.

When I succeeded in meeting the editor of the Globe-Democrat, he informed me of the letter of Gen Jones, in denunciation of the libel on you, but was unable to give me a copy of it: he offered to publish anything I might write in refutation of the libel and, from the tenor of his conversation, rather than from any explicit statement, I inferred that the libeller himself would soon publish a retraction. I accordingly waited for it, and on its appearance in the Globe-Democrat of 1st. inst, I mailed to you a copy of the paper. That retraction was a complete, although graceless, back-down: but I thought that the detailed statement in your letter to me would not only "clinch the nail," but gratify your innumerable friends. I accordingly published it in the Globe-Democrat of vesterday, and mailed to you a copy of the paper. As the Galena libeller, would seem, from his own account, to have been amply castigated by Gen. Jones, and had also effectually refuted his own second-hand charges, I omitted. in my communication, to stigmatize him as he deserved. The editor of the Globe-Democrat told me who he was: he is a subordinate in some Republican journal of Galena, and seems to eke out additions to his salary by contributions to other newspapers. He contributes to each Sunday St. Louis Globe-Democrat an article on the Origin of Familiar Phrases, entertaining and instructive, but often inaccurate, but indicating that he is some poverty-stricken book worm, struggling for a subsistence, and gaining it in the low-toned methods almost universal in the American press. He is too small a worm for you to crush,

The editor of the Globe-Democrat expressed a decided desire to remedy the wrong his journal had done to you, and according to the very peculiar journalistic code of ethics, he has so remedied it. The Code of Honor being obsolete in the editorial fraternity,—and indeed not "recognizing many of the subordinates, as they refuse to "recognize" it,—the law of libel being a delusion, and Franklin's suggestion of "liberty of the press with liberty of the cudgel" being out of date, such a thing as an apology, (except to avoid an expensive libel suit,) is never expected of a newspaper, and a sensible person, now-a-days, is satisfied with the newspaper's correction, as ample as practicable, of the lie, however atrocious. In the present case, while the original libel, as well as the refutation of it by its author, were published, in small print on a page least likely to attract general attention,—as it did not, at least here,—my communication, giving extracts from your letter, appeared on the editorial page, and attention was directed to it in an editorial, although the editor's propensity towards small wit led him into the usual Republican fling at the Southern cause. At any rate he has doubtless succeeded in attracting to your statement probably ten times the attention given to the original libel, as is evidenced by the extracts I enclose from the Globe-Democrat of today. So completely is that libel buried that all that remains of it is the all important question whether "draw poker" was known fifty vears ago. The discussion will doubtless amuse you, and if it should continue, the disputants may have to call in Gen. Schenck or his work on the game, to decide it. So far the "sporting" authorities sustain your accuracy.

As the Globe-Democrats mailed to you may not reach you safely, I enclose, clipt from them, the articles I have referred to, also the slip you sent me, copying the libel (which originally appeared in the St. Louis Globe-Democrat of Deer. 4th, 1882.) and your letter to the Editor of the G.D., which I did not deliver.

Hoping that you will be satisfied with my management of this matter, I remain, Mr. President, as ever,

Your sincerely devoted friend, (Signed) Thos. C. Reynolds.

There are six clippings enclosed with this letter, the subject of which is, I believe, covered in Gen. Jones' correspondence.

Jefferson Davis to Thos. C. Reynolds.

(From Missouri Historical Society.)

Beauvoir, Missi. 5th Jany 1883

Hon. Thos. C. Reynolds,

My dear Sir,

Yours of the 30th Ulto, and a number of the Globe-Democrat have been received. Please accept grateful acknowledgement of your friendly intervention in an affair which I could not have brought to so satisfactory a conclusion.

The point made by the Editor as to the date of the game "Poker" is one on which I only expressed an opinion connected with the avowal of my ignorance of the game. Though not a participant I knew that many officers at Prairie de chien and at other posts played "Brag" frequently, but never having heard of "Poker" while I was in the army, the opinion hazarded was probably correct as to the officers of that period.

With best wishes for you and yours, I am as ever faithfully

your friend,

(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS

James Mitchell to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Atlanta, Georgia, Jan. 23, 1883.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Dear Sir:

Pardon the liberty I take in making the following inquiry. Whilst in Washington some years ago, a circumstance was related to me touching the statue of America that crowns the dome of the Capitol the verification of which I desire.

That during your administration of the War Department in President Pierce's time, the draft and possibly the full model of that statue was prepared and submitted to you, with the French "Liberty cap," as the head dress; and that you rejected it, and ordered the existing head dress with eagles wings, and thereby placed the imprint of your Convictions (anti-communistic) in an enduring form.

Will you be so kind as to state whether such a head dress was at first proposed; and if so whether you ordered the change.

In giving this information you will gratify the writer and likewise a friend Hon. N. J. Hammond our Congressional Delegate, from the Atlanta District, Ga. to whom I had stated the above as a recollection of Washington in the truth of which we are both somewhat interested, and through whose hand I send this note; an answer given him will be sufficient as he can inform me.

I have the honor to remain,

Your obedient servant,
(Signed) James Mitchell
P.O.Box 481, Atlanta, Ga.

P. S. I was formerly General Agent of the American Colonization Society in the North West: to whom Mr. Pierce and his Administration very kindly offered National measures of Colonization but Messrs Clayton and Seward affected to fear the reopening of the African Slave Trade, and used their influence with the Executive Committee of the Colonization Society to discredit my action. See the Congressional Globe of July 1854. "African Slave Trade" The N.W. proposed Colonization of the West coast of Africa, as our plan; and the abrogation of the Ashburton Treaty, England's plan which required us to spend money in keeping ships of war, (40 guns afloat) on that coast. This brief note may refresh your memory of that to me painful struggle.

(Signed) J. M.

The following is written on the back of this letter:

The writer is one of my constituents and while I am unwilling to trouble Mr. Davis I can not decline to forward his request. 3 Feby. 1883.

(Signed) N. J. HAMMOND, M. C. Ga.

Jefferson Davis to W. L. Jones.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Missi. Jan. 29th, 1883.

The Revd. W. L. Jones, Fort Valley, Ga. Sir:

Enclosed I send you a slip relating to a saddle, which it is represented, has fallen into your hands, and in regard to which Mr. Geo. M. Feagin, in whose custody, I am informed, the saddle was left, wrote to me that he had corresponded with you, but had received no reply.

However time may have impaired the intrinsic value of the saddle, it has not destroyed the desire to possess it because of associations connected with it, and I hope, Sir, if, as represented, it is under your control, you will not fail to recognize the right of property and restore the saddle to its proper owner.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) Jefferson Davis.

(Filed with this letter is the one which follows.)

Wellborn's Mills, Houston Co., Ga. April 27th, 1880.

His Excellency, Mr. Jefferson Davis. Dear Sir:

In regard to your saddle, again, I wrote Dr. W. L. Jones but he refuses to answer my letter. I learned however from his brother-in-law, that he said if you were to write him for the saddle he would then send it, I presume he feels ashamed for having kept it so long and never in any way conferred with you in regard to it, he being acquainted with all the Circumstances and Conditions under which you left it. I intend however to go to see him in person, and have him send it if I can induce him to do so.

Most truly yours, (Signed) Geo. M. Feagin.

Jefferson Davis to Mrs. John Dement.

(From "The Black Hawk War" by Frank E. Stevens, p. 302.)

Beauvoir, Miss., Feb. 4th, 1883.

"My Dear Friend: Of the many who will offer you condolence in your recent bereavement, there is not one who sympathizes more deeply with you than he who long years ago claimed the privilege of the sacred name of friend.

"Widely and long we have been separated, but your image

has not been dimmed by time and distance.

"The gallantry and noble bearing of your deceased husband was known to all who, like myself, were on the frontier of Illinois during the campaign against Black Hawk, and from your brother, Augustus, and your friend, General Jones, I heard of him in after years.

"As your husband, he was to me the object of special interest, and it was a great gratification to me to learn that he was so

worthy to be your life companion.

"If you have preserved enough of the pleasant memories of one springtime to care for one who flitted with you over the flowers of youth's happy garden, it will give me sincere gratification to hear from you and to learn of the welfare of yourself and children.

"With cordial regard for you and yours, and renewed assurance of my deep sympathy, I am ever,

"Faithfully your friend,

"JEFFERSON DAVIS."

J. J. White ² to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

,

Lexington, Va., March 13th, 1883.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

My Dear Sir,

The death of our lamented friend, Gen. Pendleton, who was chairman of the Executive Committee of the Lee Memorial Association, leaves the active membership of the committee, residing at this place, without a representative specially fitted, by past associations and intimate acquaintance, for correspondence

¹ Widow of Col. John Dement of Dixon, Illinois. Col. Dement was one of the foremost men of Illinois. Mrs. Dement was a daughter of Gen. Henry Dodge, Governor of Wisconsin and United States Senator from that State.

² A member of the faculty of Washington and Lee University.

with you in regard to the approaching Inauguration of the Lee Monument.

The surviving members of our committee have done me the honour to instruct me to address you, giving such information in regard to their work and the ceremonies to be held on the 28th June next as you may desire to have.

The Lee Memorial Association was organized and commenced its work in Oct. 1870, within a few days after the death of

Gen. Lee.

The Legislature, at its ensuing session in Jan. 1871, granted a charter under which the organization was completed, Gen. John C. Breckinridge being elected President of the Association and Gen. W. N. Pendleton Chairman of the Ex. Com. The work thus inaugurated was carried forward by the aid of funds contributed by citizens of the country at large, and by citizens of Great Britain, mainly of Scotland.

When the Association had the misfortune to lose its President, in the death of Gen. Breckingidge, and it became necessary to fill the vacancy. Gen. Joseph E. Johnston was chosen as his successor and has continued to act up to the present time. On the occasion of laying the corner-stone of the Mausoleum, Gen. Johnston presided and conducted the ceremonies, and it is expected that he will preside at the Inauguration of the Monument in June.

Your address will be delivered about 11 A.M. and afterwards, perhaps with a brief interval, Maj. Jno. W. Daniel, of Va., will deliver an address, in which he will specially consider the life of Gen. Lee since the war.

The formal invitations and announcements will be issued about the first of April.

I have gone some what into detail, as I do not know how fully Gen. Pendleton may have written, and if you should desire any further information in regard to the approaching ceremonies, it will afford me pleasure to furnish it, as far as I may be able.

Hoping that your health may be such as to admit of your rendering this very important service, and anticipating great pleasure in hearing you on an occasion of such absorbing interest, I have the honour to be, with very high regard and esteem, Your obedt. servt.

J. J. WHITE

endorsed:

J. J. White to announce that J. E. Johnston is to preside at the inauguration of the Lee Statue; ansd. on day of receipt 21st March '83; copy within.

Jefferson Davis to J. J. White. (From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Copy.

Beauvoir, Missi.

March

J. J. White, Esqr.

I this day received yours of the 13th inst. giving me in detail information in regard to the inauguration of the statue of my honored friend, Genl. R. E. Lee.

Among the items so communicated is the statement that Genl. J. E. Johnston is to preside over the meeting. That fact not previously communicated or anticipated, causes me promptly on the receipt of your letter, to withdraw my consent heretofore given to deliver an address on that occasion.

Respectfully, (Signed) Jefferson Davis.

J. A. Early to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

My Dear Sir: Lynchburg, Va. April 1st, 1883.

Your letter of the 21st ultimo to Professor White of Washington and Lee University, withdrawing your consent to deliver an address on the occasion of the inauguration of the recumbent statue which is to surmount the tomb of General Lee in the new Mausoleum at Lexington, has greatly disturbed and embarrassed the persons having the matter in charge; and, if you persist in that withdrawal, there will be very great disappointment and regret on the part of the large assemblage which will participate in the ceremonies.

A committee has been sent to me with an appeal to use my best efforts to make some arrangement by which your attendance can be secured. I can well understand the feelings and motives which prompted your letter of withdrawal, and I must say that I fully sympathize with them. But, at the grave of General Lee, all of us are called upon to sacrifice personal feelings and considerations; and you, as President of the Confederate States, have higher inducements for doing so than the rest of us.

I am, as I have been reminded, the first Vice President of the Association which has caused this Mausoleum and statue to be prepared, and I think an arrangement can be made by which I shall preside during the delivery of your address. I cannot, in a

letter, urge all that I desire to say on the subject, and, as I start for New Orleans on the 6th instant, I will stop over at Beauvoir on the morning of the 8th as the train passes, when we can talk the matter over. In the meantime, I beg that you will hold your final determination in abeyance. I will only add more that the committee of the Association was so situated that it could not avoid asking General Johnston to preside on the occasion, as he was appointed President of the Association when it organized under its charter in 1873.

With the assurance of my highest regard and esteem Very truly and respectfully, Yours.

Hon. Jefferson Davis. J. A. Early. endorsed: J. A. Early; in reference to J. D. attending the Lee ceremonies.

Albert Sidney Johnston.

An impromptu address made by Jefferson Davis at the laying of the corner stone of the monument tomb of the Army of Tennessee Association at Metairie Cemetery New Orleans April 6, 1883.

(From Southern Historical Society Papers Vol. II, pp. 269-270.)

You have heard the eloquent orator just speak of Albert Sidney Johnston, an orator whose eloquence is intensified by his sleeveless arm, and I can add but little to what has already been said. It was from Louisiana that Albert Sidney Johnston received his first commission in the army; and there is no State so appropriate as Louisiana, and no city so appropriate as New Orleans for a monument to his memory; here, among the people who followed the fortunes of the Confederacy with such devotion. I knew him well. He immediately preceded me to the United States Military Academy, and when I came there he received me as an elder brother might do. Together we served on the Indian frontier, together we served in Mexico. I have seen him in the most trying situations, and I never saw a man whose mind worked so quickly, whose voice was so calm, whose purpose was so fixed, and whose bearing was so great. Physically grand, intellectually great, morally sublime, his life was devoted to duty. Indeed, in the conscientious discharge of that

¹Mr. Davis made the above address in response to continued calls from the vast crowd after the delivery of a speech by Col. Charles E. Hooker, the orator of the occasion.

duty he died upon the field of Shiloh in a moment of victory, when I firmly believe had he lived but half an hour longer, Grant would have been a prisoner. I loved him so that I dare not trust myself to speak of him as my heart would prompt me. As I have said on another occasion, when he came to us it appeared to me that a great pillar had been put under the Confederacy; and when he fell on the field of Shiloh, that ruin stared before us.

You have heard how he was left without a command in Mexico; and yet General Zachary Taylor, the best judge of human nature I ever saw, said that Albert Sidney Johnston had more sterling qualities than any officer he knew. I know not why it was; but I suppose that in those days, as in these, men were taken not so much for their capacity as for their position in some political organization. I do not know how we shall ever correct that; the civil service reform, I am afraid, will not do it. I will not detain you, my friends. I am sure there is nothing I could say to you that you do not feel or know of the great man whom you have assembled here to-day to honor. Thanks be to your generous natures, that bring you annually to decorate the graves of the Confederate dead, that has caused you to erect two monuments to two great Confederate leaders. And now you are about to erect a third. Very few eras of history have been marked by great soldiers. It is seldom that a generation produces one: but I think I may defy criticism when I say that the Confederacy had three great soldiers—three who would compare with the greatest soldiers of ancient or modern times. Struggling as they were without the proper means of carrying on the war-fighting, I may say, the whole world without arms-when the history of it all shall be truly written it will show the greatest record of human resistance, of the power of intellect to combat matter, that the world has ever seen.

E. G. W. Butler 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

St. Louis, Missouri. April 11, 1883

My dear Sir:

Hearing of your delivering an address at New Orleans and being invited to deliver another at Nashville, I please myself with the belief that you are alive and flourishing; and, tho' you have not replied to my last letter to you; as Gen. Cullum is in want of information which I fancy you can aid in affording him; I write,

¹ Graduate of West Point in 1820; resigned from army in 1831; colonel 3rd dragoons War with Mexico, honorably discharged in 1848; died in 1888.

to inquire if you know any thing of the existence and whereabouts of John T. Pratt, of Kentucky, and Joseph Strong; both of the West Point Class of 1818; John R. Bowes, class of 1819; Wm. H. Bell, and Aaron B. Shurnn, class of 1820; Joseph Pentland, James Henshaw and David M. Porter, class of 1821; John I. Schules and George W. Folger, Class of 1822; Thomas McNamara and Aaron M. Wright, class of 1822.

They were all my contemporaries, and I have a distinct recollection of them; but, I fancy they are all dead; and that I, 83 years old on the 22nd of February last, with the exception of Andrew Talcott, class of 1818; Joshua Baker, class of 1819; and John M. Tufts, class of 1820; am the oldest living graduate of

the U.S. Military Academy.

Have you read Payane's last book, "Aufert Dulenget or the Two Sister Republics"? His descriptions of the men and women of the French Revolution are splendid.

I have also read Josiah Quincey's "Figures of the Past," and tho I knew most of the persons who figure in it, it has but little

to recomment it.

I am nearly thro' Bancroft's 1st Vol. of his "History of the Constitution of the U. States," and find it exceedingly interesting. The attempt of the States "to paddle their own canoes" made "confusion worse confounded." It is inconceivable how they got along without a Federal Head but, their fear of "Centralization" is now being justified. Dr. Murray, of Carlisle, has published in the "Historical Register" of Harrisburg; a sketch of the life of my gallant and ill-fated Uncle, Gen. Richard Butler; oldest of the "Five Revolutionary Butler Brothers"; who fell at "St. Claire's Depot," in 1791. It is very interesting. I found, in "The Olden Time," his journal of his voyage down the Ohio, in 1785; to treat with the Indians; when he was "accompanied by Col. Monroe; a young member of Congress." At p. 451, Bancroft gives a letter from Monroe to Jefferson of August 25, 1785. saying: "I have merely to inform you of my departure hence. in two hours for the Treaty with the Indians, on the Ohio. I pass through —— and Carlisle; at the latter of which forts I join Gen. Butler."

Fitzhugh Lee (son of Smith Lee) is making speeches around the country; and made a fool of himself at Brooklyn by his

rather late discovery, "that Secession was wrong."

My son, and myself, who are "solitary and alone." unite in kind regards and abiding good wishes for you and yours.

Faithfully and truly yours,

(Signed) E. G. W. BUTLER.

Dabney H. Maury to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Montgomery, Ala., April 19, 1883.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Dear Mr. Davis,

I wrote Mr. Benjamin as you advised—no reply yet—but Miss Virginia Mason responded with the grace and dignity of a Southern woman.

I can well understand that her Father's papers must be of very great value, and when I think of her poverty, I feel inclined to advise her to sell them to the U. States. But were I to do so, she would feel hurt by such a suggestion—and I should be acting contrary to my duty as Custodian of the Southern archives. But I do wish some good fairy would put it into Mr. Corcoran's good heart to buy them from her and present them to us. I'll write Fitz Lee her cousin about it at once.

From Dr. Jones I learn that Lee's tour netted us \$4,000 which with his previous earnings and Gen. Geo. Johnston's must give us about 7,000 or 8,000 cash—besides the Texas appropriation of 5,000.

One year ago we were *sued* for an old debt, incurred in part by the discussion of the treatment of prisoners. I had a very large edition of that printed, and many copies were sent to Libraries in Europe. (Colonel Perkins then in England sent me, on my request, a list of many libraries)—and thus we had staggered on with this debt for several years; our very existence seemed imperilled, but we rose to the occasion and have in the past 12 mos. paid \$2,400.00 of debt,—all of our working expenses—greatly increased our paying membership—and have in our treasury funds to justify us in preparing to erect our fire-proof office.

Just 15 years ago I conceived and organized this work in New Orleans. Dick Taylor was the first to encourage me. But for many years we languished there, and it was not until we got to Richmond that we began our real career.

I feel now that the object which has occupied my constant thoughts and has received more of my interest than my own personal affairs has been accomplished.

When croakers in New Orleans used to say to me "no conquered people ever yet wrote their own history"—I replied "no such people were ever before conquered"—"we can and will write and establish our history."

In Jackson every body assured me that beyond any doubt,

Mississippi will give us an appropriation.

I hope you can be there about the time of the opening session next winter. Powers told me he has large and valuable papers he will turn over to us so soon as we have a safe place for them.

And now Mr. Davis can't you come to Richmond in the month of May and let us all see and hear you? Our people respect you and love you beyond any living man, and I am confident you will feel amply repaid by their reception of you for any fatigue of so long a journey.

Believe me as always with high respect

Your friend, DABNEY H. MAURY.

endorsed:

Dabney H. Maury; to be answered; slip vindicating elemency to convicts in war; ansd. 6th Oct. 1883.

A. T. McNeal ¹ to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Bolivar, Tennessee. April 25, 1883.

Hon. Jefferson Davis. My dear Sir:

I write you upon a matter that is perhaps of little consequence,

yet I wish to call it to your attention—

A short time since at the session of our circuit court Daniel B. Wright of Tippah Co. Miss. was in attendance for a week representing a client, and the old gentleman dropped into my office frequently at night and talked a great deal about things of the Past— Among other things he told of an interview with you shortly before the war when he was a member of Congress and you were Secy. of War and narrated much that you said with wonderful perfection of detail (if accurate) — It was in connection with some proposition for the distribution of arms and the conversation between you covered the idea of possible civil war-As stated by him, I felt at the time it was worthy to be preserved and had he not gone away at once I would have reduced it to writing, for I thought it contained an answer to much that has been alleged against your breadth and conservatism— As he is an old acquaintance and even friend perhaps of yours I think it not out of taste to mention the matter to you so that Mr.

¹ An able lawyer of the Tennessee Bar.

Wright may contribute his statement which after examination by yourself may be filed if worthy of preservation— I am sure that it is, if stated as to me—

My excuse for addressing you thus is this only— That I passed from the boy into the man while in the confederate service; the memories of those Four years are no small part of my manhood and will be with me always— There is nothing that in the slightest degree affects your character or career which I do not feel an interest in and I assume that in this I am a mere type of thousands of others who feel as strongly always, yet make no sign—

In every effort to preserve all that is important for future Judgment as to those four years I am much concerned and for 17 years no matter how busy I might be I have let nothing interfere with aught I could do in that direction.

Sincerely yours (Signed) Albert T. McNeal

Jefferson Davis to William G. McAdoo, Jr. (The original letter now in possession of William G. McAdoo.)

Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Miss. 1st May, 1883.

William G. McAdoo, Jun., K. S. W. G. S.

Most worthy Sir and Brother:

I have received your very kind letter and a similar one from the Supreme Exec. Comm. inviting me to visit the Lambda chapter when passing Knoxville en route to Lexington, Virginia.

Circumstances connected with the arrangements for the inauguration of the Lee Statue caused me to decline the invitation to deliver the address on that occasion, which had been previously accepted under a different understanding of the matter.

My health and many engagements requiring more physical exertion than I am well able to bear, necessarily restrict my traveling to cases of imperative necessity. Were it otherwise I would gladly accept the invitation to visit your chapter and

¹ Jefferson Davis Jr. was a member of the now extinct chapter of the Kappa Sigma Fraternity at Virginia Military Institute. After his death Oct. 16, 1878, the Fraternity elected Mr. Davis to honorary membership, an honor conferred on no other person. This letter was written to Mr. McAdoo, W. G. S. of Lambda Chapter Kappa Sigma. The Fraternity also presented Miss 'Winnie' Davis, 'The Daughter of the Confederacy,' with its jeweled badge, which is preserved and exhibited in the Confederate Museum at Richmond.

avail myself of other opportunities to become better acquainted with my brethren of the K. S.

Please make my grateful acknowledgements to your Associates

and believe me.

Fraternally yours, (Signed) Jefferson Davis.

J. A. Early to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Lynchburg, Va. May 2nd, 1883.

My dear Sir:

I communicated in person to the committee of the Lee Memorial Association, at Lexington, your determination not to be present at the inauguration of the Mausoleum on the 28th Proximo; and I am commissioned by the Committee to express to you the deep regret of all the members at the untoward turn the affair has taken. It will be a very great disappointment to the Committee, as well as to all persons who propose attending the ceremonies, not to have you present.

I found the Committee very much concerned for fear you might think they had not treated you with entire courtesy and good faith. While I personally very deeply regret that you have found it necessary to withdraw your consent to deliver an oration on the occasion, yet on reflection after I left you, I came

to the conclusion that you could not well do otherwise.

I shall send along with this a note to Mrs. Davis, in which I will make a proposition to her, that I trust will meet with no opposition from you.

With the assurance of my highest esteem, and most sincere

wishes for your health and happiness, I am,

Very truly and sincerely yours,

(Signed) J. A. EARLY.

Hon. Jefferson Davis.

E. Barksdale to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Clarion Office. Jackson, Miss. May 6th, 1883.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, My dear Sir:

Touching the Chancellorship, the Governor has said that he was embarassed in making a selection from the Seashore counties by the number of applicants and the absence of harmonious action. Believing that political justice and especially public conveniences, required that the selection would be made from those counties, I was sanguine in the hope that the deputate [deputation] from the several aspirants notify the Governor that the appointment of either would satisfy the demands of the people of that section—would remove the obstacle in the way of such appointment. I am apprehensive however, that it has not had that effect. If my apprehension should be verified I will be greatly disappointed, and I have said to the Governor with the candor which my friendship for him has always prompted that I would regard such apprehended course as so unjustifiable that I could not vindicate it if assailed.

I have a letter from Rev. Dr. Johnson, President of Whiteworth College Brookhaven, the most successful Female school in our State, asking me to join him in urging you to accept his invitation to you to attend the ceremonies of laying the corner stone of a new building on the 19th of June. I do so most heartily. I trust you will find it convenient to be present. You will meet many old friends and form many new acquaintances, who would all be rejoiced to greet you. Mrs. Davis would also find the occasion enjoyable, I am sure. Expecting to be present myself, I would contemplate my visit with more pleasure if assured you would both be of the company.

I remain ever yours,

(Signed) E. BARKSDALE.

Green A. Chaires to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Memphis, Tenn. June 14th 1883.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

Dr Sir.

If you recollect I wrote you when you were confined in Fortress Monroe, offering you money, which I felt to be a duty as you were a Martyr for our cause as well as a pleasure to offer any assistance that was in my power and I have always felt proud of the offer and prize your answer to my letter very highly and will hand it down to my children with pride.

After reception of your answer, in which you stated you had no use for money and could not use it if you had it, I decided that I might assist you by writing to Reverdy Johnson of Maryland to defend you and draw on me for pay. He wrote me very

kindly of you and said that if you wished he would do so. I thought you might like to see his answer. If so I will send it when I return to Tallahassee, Florida.

I am yours very kindly

GREEN A. CHAIRES.

endorsed: Green A. Chaires, refers to his service when I was in prison; desires answer.

E. V. Murphy 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

UNITED STATES SENATE, Washington, D.C., June 23, 1883.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

My dear Sir:

A lady of this city came into possession a few years ago of two fine engravings, which are said to have belonged to you. One is the Battle between Constantine and Maxentius and the other the Triumphal Entry into Rome after the battle. At a sale of the effects of Francis Lamb, formerly a picture dealer on Penna. Ave. in this city, the engravings were purchased by a Mr. Wyeth, an art collector, and at his death they passed into the possession of a lady friend of mine, Miss Sallie Hood, who, being at present in straitened circumstances, is desirous of selling them. I have requested her to discontinue her efforts in that direction until I could communicate with you and ascertain whether you desired to regain possession of them, and she has consented to wait until your wishes can be expressed.

Now having disposed of the business which caused me to trespass upon your attention, I cannot refrain from thanking you for the very kind terms in which (in two or three published interviews with you in recent years) you have been pleased to speak of my brothers and their faithful reports of the speeches of yourself and other Senators of the "olden time." I had been here but a year and was only a boy of 18 when, in obedience to your convictions of duty to your honored State and people, you withdrew from the Senate, but I have a lively recollection of many acts of thoughtful kindness on your part towards me and us all.

But few of the faces that were so familiar in the good old days remain. Senator Anthony is the only Senator in office who was here when I came. Capt. Bassett, the old doorkeeper, is

¹ Reporter of the proceedings of the U. S. Senate.

the only employe of the Senate in those days now living and in office, except my oldest brother, D. F. Murphy, who is at the head of the Reporting Corps, and myself. My next oldest brother James J. died in 1874. The former chief of our corps, Mr. Sutton, retired in 1869 and died in 1878.

Remembering always your kindness I have never ceased to feel an interest in your welfare. Having been born at the North and raised with different ideas from those inculcated at the South, of course my sympathies for four years were the opposite of those of you and your people, but in all the intensity and bitterness of the struggle I never doubted the honesty of your convictions nor the purity and integrity of the motives which inspired you to risk all for the land and the people whom I know you loved with all the warmth of your soul.

Asking pardon for having trespassed on your patience at such length, I am with sincere respect.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) E. V. MURPHY.

E. G. W. Butler to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

St. Louis, Missouri. July 16, 1883.

My dear Sir:

Tho' you have not responded to my last letter to you, I was thinking of offering you my sincere congratulations on your recovery from your recent serious illness; when I received a letter from Senator M. C. Butler, of South Carolina, making complimentary mention of you, and, as it is pleasant to impart such intelligence, and you may have it in your power as a Quondam Secretary of War, to throw some light on the matter referred to; I write to offer you my congratulations, and to remark that, in conferring Brevets for gallant and distinguished services in the battles of New Orleans, President Madison Brevetted Colonel and Adjutant General Robert Butler (to use the expression of the late Adj. Gen. R. Jones: "then in the exercise of the rank and command of a Colonel") a Lieutenant Colonel—which he returned and requested to have "cancelled", and soon after retired from the Army.

On the 3rd of March, 1837, before surrendering the Government to President Van Buren; President Jackson issued an Order directing the cancellation of the Brevet; complimenting

Col. Butler on his gallant and distinguished services; and expressing his regret at his inability to confer upon him the Brevet of Brig. General—he being then in civil life. This Order, of which I have a printed copy; is signed B. F. Butler, Sec. of War, ad interim; is neither on file nor record, in the War Department; and not being among the papers of B. F. Butler; who turned over the War Department to I. R. Poinsett, on 7th of March 1837; I wrote to Senator Butler, and requested him to examine the papers of Mr. Poinsett.

Senator Butler replies: "Mr. Poinsett left no children; and, I think, there is not one of his name remaining in South Carolina, I had occasion to examine some of his Reports as Sec. of War, while I was a member of a commission of Congress; to suggest reforms in the Organization of the Army; and, in the course of our investigations, I was struck with the fact that those men who, as Secretaries of War, had done most to give system and character to the military establishment of the government, were southern men: John C. Calhoun, Joel R. Poinsett and Jefferson Davis; and the efficiency of their respective services in behalf of the Army, I believe, is genuinely admitted."

He might have included Southern Presidents.

I am getting to be an old man, my dear Sir, having been born on the 22nd of Feb. 1800; and Joshua Baker, John M. Tufts and myself are now the oldest remaining graduates of the U. S. Military Academy. I have an interminable correspondence, on both sides of the waters, and keep up my daily walks of 3 to 4 miles. Duncan writes: I am all right again; have taken passage for Sept 22, and will take a look at you, in October''; and Lord Dunboyne writes: The Informers have done far more to quiet Ireland than Gladstone's administration''. I wish they would put Lord Derby at the head of their Government.

Have you seen Major Daniel's Address, on the unveiling of Gen. Lee's Statue? It is beautiful and merited. I was invited to be present, and likewise, at the unveiling of Gen. Thayer's statue at West Point; and am glad I was not at the latter; for I should have felt obliged to dissent to Gen. Cullum's laudations of Thayer, and reflections on Andrew Jackson. The truth is Gen. Thayer played his old game of "getting into the pants", and suggesting the substitution of another, and "Old Hickory" took him at his word. Thayer was entitled to great credit for his organization of the Academy but, his dismissals of Cadets, with and without his drum-head Courts Martial; with other arbitrary acts, were unauthorized by Law and unjustifiable. The general Society of the Cincinnatti presented me their beautiful centen-

nial anniversary Medal, and invitation to dine with them on

the 4th of July; but Philadelphia was too far away.

The Rev. Dr. Murray, of Carlisle, has written a "History of the Butlers, of Cumberland Valley" and has discovered in the County Records, that my grand parents, Thomas and Eleanor Butler came from Ireland to Carlisle, in 1740; and not in 1748 as we supposed and that all "The 5 Revolutionary Butler Brothers" were here then.

We were under the impression that Gen. Richard was born in England, and Colonels Wm. and Thomas in Ireland. My son unites in friendly regards and best wishes.

Very truly yours, (Signed) E. G. W. BUTLER.

Hon. Jeff. Davis

John W. Daniel 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Lynchburg, Va. July 18th, 1883.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, My dear Sir:

I was much gratified and honored to receive your valued letter in reference to my address on the Life and character of Gen. Lee; and I beg to express my cordial thanks for your kind and courteous consideration.

Your absence on the occasion of the unveiling of the monument was much regretted. No man could fail to have felt the depth of emotion excited by the references to your name, which found fitting, spontaneous, and seemingly irrepressible approbation.

I thank you for calling my attention to the sentence in the address in allusion to Gen. Lee's declination to promote his son; Gen. Custis Lee being as you infer, the son referred to. I got

¹ Daniel, John Warwick (1842-1910), a lawyer and political leader, was born in Lynchburg, Va., September 5, 1842. He fought for the Confederacy in the Civil War in the first battle of Manassas, and in the battles of Antietam and the Wilderness. In the last of these he was adjutant general of Early's division with the rank of major and had a leg shattered. He studied law while the wound was healing; was a member of the Virginia House of Delegates, 1869-1872; a member of the State Senate, 1875-1881; a member of the national House of Representatives from March 4, 1885, to March 3, 1887; and U. S. Senator from March 4, 1887 until his death in Lynchburg, Va., June 29, 1910. Daniel wrote The Elements of the Law of Negotiable Instruments (1903).

the information on which the statement was based from Rev. Mr. Jones' Reminiscences of Gen. Lee,¹ and I have transcribed and enclose the passage that you may observe how circumstantially, and with what apparent authenticity, the matter is related. I have written Mr. Jones touching it and I will change my language to conform strictly to the actual occurrence. If on reading Mr. Jones' version you should recall anything which might render a modification of your letter desirable I would be very much obliged to you to give me the benefit of it.

At Lexington, my little daughter, Carrie, aged 10 years was honored by Gen Early in being chosen by him to lay upon Gen. Jackson's tomb the beautiful flowers sent by Miss Davis; and she, as well as her mother and myself, were no little gratified that this privilege befell her. For it is our unceasing endeavor, and abiding intention, to train our children to hold in highest love and veneration the great and worthy Leaders of the Confederacy; and such an incident will leave a deep and indelible

impression upon her throughout life.

Your approval of my address is the highest honor that could be paid it, or that I could have desired or did desire; and it receives my profound appreciation and gratitude.

With heartfelt wishes for your health, and happiness, I am
Most Respectfully and Truly Yours,
(Signed) JOHN W. DANIEL.

Andrew Bates to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Denver, Colorado. August 1st, 1883.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Mississippi. My dear President:

I hope you will excuse the liberty taken in addressing you this note. But before you pass away with Jackson and Lee, I desire a sentiment from you, over your own signature. It matters not how brief the sentiment, it will not only be prized by myself individually but by those who come after, taught to love and honor your name and memory, long after you go to receive the reward of the brave and honest. I am a native of Eufaula, Alabama, went with an Ala. Co. joined the "Jeff Davis Legion"

¹The passage mentioned above is taken from Rev. J. Wm. Jones' "Personal Reminiscences of Gen. Lee," pp. 182 and 183.

P. M. Young's Brigade, Hampton's Cavalry. Did not go in service until latter part of 1864, consequently did not experience very much service, as I was surrendered by Gen. Jos. E. Johnston at Greensboro, April 1865. I was a mere boy at the time. The assembling of the "Grand Army of the Republic" here a few days since, with their bombastic military ardor, hurrah and parade, kinder brought back my old rebel feelings, with a tear at the thought of my loved South being over come and devastated by millions of brute force. Poor miserable tools of a political faction, although they claim there is no politics in this Grand Army, still candidates for political power, for presidential honor, come to their reunions, make speeches and play the agreeable. But of course you know all these things and you are posted on all these intrigues.

I saw in the papers your sentiment to the reunion of Morgan's men, in Kentucky, so characteristic, pithy, brief and

pointed and meant a great deal.

I have met Gov. Gilpin and family and am on quite friendly terms. While he talks as though he does not admire you much personally or politically, he cannot disguise the fact that he feels honored at your having visited his house at one time here in Denver. His wife is quite a rebel, but was married to a union officer who fought in the Union Army, before she married Gov. G.

There are a great many Southern people in this State, and are the best citizens here, and doing more to develope the country, than any others. We have a democratic Governor, an Alabamian, who participated in the Confederate service. Southern genius, Southern talent, and Southern intellect will yet shape and form the Government I hope as you would like to see it, and I hope you will live long enough to see it and a just judgment passed upon you by men and nations, which should be accorded, and for the cause contended for. But it may be long after your day and time.

I have written more than I intended but an ardent admiration and love for you, is my excuse. May the God of mankind and Nations bless you is my prayer. If it is consistent for you to grant my request, it will be a sacred memento, I assure you, and not a relic to be profaned by the gaze of the curious. I am, my

dear President

Your most humble, devoted servant, (Signed) Andrew Bates.

41 Crandall Block, Denver, Colo.

A. K. McClure to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

THE TIMES PHILADELPHIA

August 6.*

Hon. Jefferson Davis Dear Sir—

Your Ms. in reply to Black is at hand and will appear in a day or two.

Please draw on *The Times Publishing Company* at sight for your compensation. We want your draft for preservation among the private archives of the Times.

With thanks for your attention to the request of this journal,

believe me

Truly yours, etc., (Signed) A. K. McClure.

$A.\ A.\ Humphreys$ 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Ocean House, Newport, R. I. Augt. 13th, 1883.

Dear Mr. Davis,

Your letter of the 5th of Augt. was forwarded to me here. I am unable to reply fully and exactly to your enquiries without access to several printed reports which are to be found in the Engr. Dept., copies of which I have also among my books and papers stored there.

As I may not return to Washington for some time yet I will send your letter and enclosure to Genl. Parke and ask him to collect the information you wish and send it to you.

* Date of post mark on envelope to this letter is Aug. 6. '83. . . . Typist. ¹ Humphreys, Andrew Atkinson (1810-1883), a soldier, was born in Philadelphia, Pa., November 2, 1810, graduated at West Point in 1831, and was assigned to the artillery. He resigned his commission in September, 1836; was a civil engineer employed on government work, 1836-1838; reentered the army as first lieutenant, in 1838, and was assigned to the corps of topographical engineers; was in charge of the Coast Survey office, 1844-1849; was engaged in the survey of the Mississippi River delta and in Europe procuring information with regard to the engineering of deltas, 1850-1854. In the Civil War he was the chief topographical engineer of the Army of the Potomac. He was made a brigadier general in 1862 and a major general in July 1863. He fought at Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville and Gettysburg, and became chief of Staff of General Meade. After the war he was placed in command of the engineer corps with the regular rank of brigadier general. He retired from the army June 30, 1879, and died in Washington, D. C. December 27, 1883.

Some brief account of the expenditure of the appropriation of \$75,000, made in 1851-52 together with that of \$325,000, made in 1855 or '56 or '57 (I cannot recall the date exactly) will be found in the report of myself and Abbot upon the Hydraulics of the Miss. river.

The \$75,000 Appn. was expended in the manner and with the result Genl. Beauregard states, and I think, under Mr. Conrad's administration of the War Dept. Genl. Beauregard is correct in the date of that appn. but not in that of the \$325,000, appn. which was made later than the date he gives and during the time you were Secr'y. of War. When it was made you organized a Board to consider the subject, (after proposals had been invited and received) of which Major Chase, Capt. Wright and myself were members; perhaps there were others also. That Board recommended the expenditure of the greater part of the appn. in dredging the S. W. Pass bar by contract with the Tow Boat Association, which was not the lowest bidder; and at the same time a small part of the appn. by contract with the lowest bidder for the whole work, on another Pass, this bidder proposing to apply jetties.

You disapproved the recommendations and decided that the lowest responsible bidder must have the contract, and that lowest bidder intended to try Jetties. The details of the work as it progressed I cannot recall. A large part of the appn. was expended while Mr. Floyd was Secry. of War and Col. Long had charge of the work. As I have already said the Rept. of myself and Abbot upon the Hydraulies of the Miss. will give you much of the information you need, and probably Genl. Parke will be able to send you a copy of it, and whatever additional informa-

tion may appear to be required.

With kindest regards to Mrs. Davis I am sincerely yours
(Signed) A. A. HUMPHREYS.

W. D. Northend to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Salem, Mass. Aug. 23, 1883.

My dear Sir:

Messrs George T. W. Pierce, Judge Minot and other friends of Prest. Pierce have requested me to write his biography, which I have under consideration.

I wrote an article upon his relations to the slavery question

which was published in a New Hampshire Magazine. I mailed you several copies. I feared not hearing from you that there might be points which did not meet your approval particularly regarding the repeal of the Missouri compromise so called. If this is so you will confer on me a very great favor and if I shall attempt the work a public service if you will dictate a few lines stating in general terms your grounds of dissent, not to use the letter publicly but that I may review my own grounds and make any modification that shall seem proper, and there is no one whose opinion would be nearly so valuable as yours.

I feel this is asking much of you with your various cares, but

if you can do it I shall esteem it a very great kindness.

I have today had a very pleasant interview with Mr. Winchester of Natchez a lawyer and personally known to you. I think he married a relative of Mrs. Davis.

With great respect
Yours truly,
(Signed) W. D. NORTHEND.

Burton N. Harrison to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

120 Broadway New York August 24, '83.

My dear Mr. Davis:

If not taxing you overmuch, won't you oblige me by carefully reading the enclosed and by annotating it in the margin with such suggestions as to expressions, fact or opinion as may occur to you to be likely to be useful?

It is something which I wrote some years ago without any intention that it be published with the intention indeed that it be

not published.

It is, you see, story-telling merely gossip and does not aspire to the dignity of history tho' it recites the drama of our escape from Richmond and capture in Georgia, in a way to make the condition of the country at the time and all the circumstances of our capture explain themselves.

I furnished a copy of the material part of it to Major Walthall when he was at work for you and afterwards another copy to the old man the Appletons sent down to you suggesting to each of them that, if you desire to make any reference to such matters in your book, you would perhaps prefer not then to speak of them yourself but to use in a note a recital by another.

Since then, I have been repeatedly urged by friends here to publish this story—finally the Editor of "the Century Magazine," after reading it in MS, and expressing the opinion that it is interesting and puts our party in an attitude of dignity in all our wanderings and misfortunes, has cajoled me into allowing him to set it up in type. He desires to publish it in the November No. tho' I have not yet promised to allow the publication to be made.

Several alterations of the original text of the MS. make it speak as of today and as tho' written but just now—and I am to insert several paragraphs in the text, and to add several more, if it is decided to publish it.

Of course it must be accurate as to facts and I must, by reference to other papers, verify the accuracy of my memory before I can let it be made public. If you can refer to Sheridan's Report of his operations at the Battle of Five Forks, I shall be greatly obliged by your doing so and by a memo. as to whether it is correctly set forth on the first of the enclosed slips.

When, if at all, you shall have read it and annotated it, I shall be glad to have it returned to me, at your early convenience.

I am sure, my dear Mr. Davis, that you know that I hold you always in the most affectionate regard, and that it would afford me sincere pleasure to be able to visit you; for Mrs. Davis I cherish an affection which is with my whole heart.

My wife and boys are at Lenox, in Massachusetts, where we have a summer home, and are all very well. They are attached to you as always.

Very truly,

BURTON N. HARRISON

Endorsed: B. N. Harrison, about capture in Ga. ansd. 28th Aug. 1883.

James D. Bulloch to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

63 upper Parliament St. Liverpool 24th Aug. '83.

My dear Mr. Davis,

I was much gratified by the receipt of your kind letters of July 2d, and was pleased to learn that you approve of my proposed publication, and wish it success. I expect no pecuniary profit. The subject has in great part lost its interest with the general public, and the time has not yet come when a Southern

man can write of matters appertaining to the war in a style to court favour at the North. Mr. Seward's diplomatic correspondence in respect to the Confederate cruizers was made the medium for disseminating his own views as to the origin of the war, and he indulged in much invective and used epithets which greatly marred the dignity of American state-craft. I have been compelled to review his dispatches in so far as they reflect upon the naval policy of the Confederate Government, and it was impossible to wholly ignore those statements which were of a more general character, and which were manifestly intended to prejudice the neutral Powers against the South. I have written without heat and have carefully avoided all approach to mere recrimination, but still I have pointed out Mr. Seward's fallacies, and have demonstrated that his management of foreign affairs brought some discredit upon American institutions, and that in pursuing his claims against Great Britain, he founded some precedents which will be awkward for the United States when they happen to be neutral in the future war between two maritime Powers. I cannot expect that this treatment of the subject will be acceptable at the North, and I expect the work to be severely handled by the critics on that side. I have tried to discuss all the questions with dignity, and have stated all the facts upon which the conclusions are based. My purpose has been to give a true account of the efforts made by the Confederate Government to create a Navy, and to defend their naval policy. The work is really a report to the Southern people on those subjects, and if they are content with this statement, I will not much mind what is thought of it elsewhere. I have given a full account of the operations in France, and the conduct of the Imperial Government. Finally I have reviewed the negotiations between the United States and Great Britain, the Treaty of Washington, and the Geneva Arbitration, and have demonstrated the fallacy of the common belief that the award of that International Tribunal has settled any question of maritime law in a manner which ever will be generally accepted. You will perceive that I have gone over much ground. and will not be surprised to learn that the work comprises 2 vols. of 440 pages each. The title is "The Secret Service of the Confederate States in Europe, or, How the Confederate Cruizers were equipped." The English Edition is in print and will be issued soon. An American Edition has also been printed in England, and will be shipped in sheets, to be bound and issued by G. P. Putnam's Sons of New York. I suppose they will have it out in October. I will request my friends in New York

to send you a copy as soon as the binding is complete, and before the issue to the public if possible. If you can do anything to make the publication known among your old friends who are still true to the principles of the "lost cause," I will be much obliged. I mean in a private way only.

I am glad to have such favourable accounts of your health, and hope Mrs. Davis has recovered from the ill effects of her

carriage accident.

My wife joins me in kindest regards.

Believe me

Yours most sincerely,

JAMES D. BULLOCH.

endorsed: Capt. J. D. Bulloch

Jefferson Davis to Burton N. Harrison.
(From Mansucripts Division, Library of Congress.)

Beauvoir, Missi. 28th Aug 1883.

My dear Mr Harrison,

Your's of the 24th with accompanying enclosure has been received. It gave me sincere pleasure to hear directly from you and of your wife and children. Mrs Harrison had the kindness to call on me some years ago while I was in N. York and to show me your beautiful boy Fairfax. I hope he has grown to fulfil the promise of his earlier years. When you write to them please present the affectionate regards of Mrs Davis and myself, and believe me, ever

truly your friend

JEFFERSON DAVIS
(over)

P.S. Accepting your invitation to note on the margin of the slips sent to me, such modifications as should seem to me needful, I have gone beyond the limit indicated, by adding more extended notes than the margin would accommodate. Our common interest in the subject and our equal desire to present an accurate recital, will I hope be to you a sufficient excuse for the liberty I have taken with the text. The notes are marked with letters corresponding to those on the margin of the text to which the notes refer.

Ever truly yours
JEFFERSON DAVIS

note.

Please read pp. 700-1-2-3-4-5 of Vol II. of "The rise and fall of the Confederate govt."

J.D.

Notes.

[In Mr. Davis's hand. To accompany the article of Burton N. Harrison.]

Capture of Jefferson Davis.

From the Burton N. Harrison Collection. Library of Congress. [The old envelope which contained the galley proof here copied, is endorsed:

Capture of Jefferson Davis

Article published by me in the Century Magazine November 1883

Annotations by Mr. Davis himself—and with other annotations by Mrs Davis before publication]

EXTRACTS FROM A NARRATIVE,

WRITTEN NOT FOR PUBLICATION, BUT FOR THE ENTERTAINMENT OF MY CHILDREN ONLY.

In anticipation of the capture of Richmond, the President had decided to remove his family to a place of probable security. He desired, however, to keep them as near as might be to the position General Lee intended to occupy when obliged to withdraw from the lines around Richmond and Petersburg. Charlotte, North Carolina, was selected for the purpose; and I was requested to accompany Mrs. Davis and the children on their journey.*

We started from Richmond in the evening of the Friday before the city was evacuated. The President accompanied us to the cars; and after the ladies had taken their seats, but while we were still at the station of the Danville railroad, awaiting the signal for the train to move, he walked a short distance aside with me, and gave his final instructions in nearly or quite these words:

^{*} to a house there which Mr Davis had provided for them by the friendly aid of Maj. Echols.

Penciled note on galley 1: Mem: this article, as finally corrected, appeared in the Century Magazine, November, 1883 B. N. H.]

"My latest information from General Lee is, that Sheridan has been ordered to move with his cavalry, to turn our right flank and to tear up the railroad; he is to remain there, destroying as much of the railroad as he can, until driven off by Hampton or by the lack of supplies; he is then to rejoin Grant in front of Petersburg if possible; otherwise to join Sherman in North Carolina. After establishing Mrs. Davis at Charlotte, you will return to Richmond as soon as you can."

I may here remark that, when a prisoner in Washington, in the following July. I one day got possession of a piece of a newspaper containing a part of the report, made by General Sheridan, of the operations conducted under his command and known as the "Battle of Five Forks." I have never since seen a copy of that report, but distinctly remember the impression it gave me of the accuracy and freshness of General Lee's intelligence from General Grant's headquarters, when I read, that day in prison, General Sheridan's own statement that, when he left General Grant's quarters, his orders were to move with cavalry only, to tear up the railroad on and in the rear of General Lee's right flank, to remain there as long as possible, and, when driven off, to rejoin Grant in front of Petersburg if he could; otherwise, to join Sherman; and that it was only when he had (or had nearly) reached his own quarters, and was about to move with the cavalry only, that he was overtaken by an order from General Grant to take with him Wright's corps of infantry and to bring on the fight as it afterward occurred!

Bidding good-bye to the President, we got off from Richmond about ten o'clock. It was a special train. Our party consisted of Mrs. Davis, Miss Howell (her sister), the four children, Ellen (the mulatto maid-servant) and James Jones (the mulatto coachman). With us were also several daughters of Mr. Trenholm, the Secretary of the Treasury, on their way to South Carolina, under escort of Midshipman James M. Morgan. That young gentleman was then engaged to and afterward married Miss Trenholm. There were no other passengers, and the train consisted of only two or three cars. In one of them, the coachman had the two carriage horses then recently presented to Mrs.

^{*}I have not been able to find Sheridan's report but Genl. Warren, who was in the battle of Five-forks and censured by Sheridan, answered him with a good deal of severity, and the detached sentences quoted by Warren is all I can find.

Davis, by several gentlemen of Richmond.° She had used them for several years; but during the last winter, the President's household had felt the pressure of the "hard times" even more than before, and, being in great need of the money the horses would fetch, Mrs. Davis had sold them through a dealer. The same afternoon, however, the horses were returned to the stable with a kind letter to her, signed by Mr. James Lyons and a number of other gentlemen as well known, the purchasers, begging her to accept them as a gift in token of their regard. The price they had paid for the horses was, I think, twelve thousand dollars.—a sum which dwindles somewhat when stated to have been in Confederate currency, then worth only about fifty for one in gold, and representing but two hundred and forty dollars in good money.

It illustrates the then condition of the railways and means of transportation in the Confederate States, that, after proceeding some ten or fifteen miles, our locomotive proved unable to take us over a slight up grade. We came to a dead halt, and remained there all night. The next day was well advanced when Burksville Junction was reached; and I there telegraphed to the President the accounts received from the battle between

Sheridan and Pickett.

It was Sunday morning before we arrived at Danville. While preparations were making there to send on our train toward Charlotte, Morgan and I took a walk through the town and made a visit to the residence of Major Sutherlin, the most conspicuous house in Danville. The train got off by midday, but did not reach Charlotte until Tuesday. At Charlotte, we were courteously entertained for several days by Mr. Weil, an Israelite, a merchant of the town.

Communication had been so interrupted that we did not hear of the evacuation of Richmond until Mrs. Davis received a telegram, on Wednesday, from the President at Danville, merely announcing that he was there.

As soon as I could do so, and when we had comfortably established Mrs. Davis and her family in the house provided for them, I returned to Danville and joined the President.

c they were the same Mr Davis had purchased in Western Virginia and

which had been used for several years.

^e Without signature

d the expense of supplying forage for the horses having become embarrassing, Mr Davis sold all of his except the one he usually rode and Mrs Davis' carriage horses and after his departure to visit the Army of the West she offered these for sale through a Dealer.

foccupied the house rented for the family and were kindly aided

With several members of his cabinet, he was a guest at Major Sutherlin's house, where I arrived late in the evening, and spent the night.

A report coming in that the enemy's cavalry was approaching from the westward, the hills around Danville, where earth-works had already been thrown up, were manned by the officers and men that had constituted the Confederate navy in and near Richmond; and command of the force was given to Admiral Semmes (of the Alabama), who was made a brigadier-general, for the nonce.

The several bureaus of the War Department, and perhaps several of the other departments, had arranged quarters for themselves in the town, and were organizing for regular work. A separate and commodious house had been provided (I think by the town authorities) as a headquarters for the President and his personal staff; and Mr. M. H. Clark, my chief clerk, had already established himself there and was getting things in order. It was only the next afternoon, however, after my return to Danville, when the President received from General Lee a communication s informing him of the surrender of the army of Northern Virginia, and gave orders for an immediate withdrawal into North Carolina. Under his directions, we set to work at once to arrange for a railway train to convey the more important officers of the Government and such others as could be got aboard, with our luggage and as much material as it was desired to carry along, including the boxes of papers that had belonged to the executive office in Richmond. With the cooperation of the officers of the Quartermaster's Department, the train was, with difficulty, got ready; and the guards I placed upon it excluded all persons and material not specially allowed by me to go aboard. Of course, a multitude was anxious to embark, and the guards were kept busy in repelling them.

As I stood in front of our headquarters, superintending the removal of luggage and boxes to the train, two officers rode up,—their horses spattered with mud,—and asked for the news. I told them of the surrender of General Lee's army, and inquired who they were and whence they had come. They had ridden from Richmond, and were just arrived, having made a wide detour from the direct road, to avoid capture by the enemy. One of them was Colonel (blank in the proof, with the query in margin "What is his name?"), from Tennessee. He expressed great

^{*}The information was not by a communication from Genl. Lee, but by those who fled to escape being surrounded. I think the first who came was a son of Gen. H. A. Wise

eagerness to get on as rapidly as possible toward home. I remarked upon the freshness and spirit of his horse, and asked where he had got so good a steed. The Colonel said the horse belonged to a gentleman in Richmond, whose name he did not recollect, but who had asked him, in the confusion of the evacuation, to take the horse out to his son—then serving on General Ewell's staff. He added that, as General Ewell and staff had all been captured, he did not know what to do with the horse and should be glad to turn him over to some responsible person —exacting an obligation to account to the owner. I said I should be glad to have the horse and would cheerfully assume all responsibilities. The Colonel rode off, but returned in a short time. He had tried to get on the railway train, but found he couldn't do it without an order from me; whereby, he remarked, that if I would furnish such an order he would accept my proposition about the horse. The arrangement was made immediately, the Colonel became a passenger on the train, which also conveyed my horse, with others belonging to the President and his staff.

That horse did me noble service, and I became very much attached to him. Further on I shall tell the sad fate which befell him. Long afterward I ascertained that the owner was Mr. Edmond, of Richmond, and had a conversation with him on the subject, when there attending upon the proceedings in the United States court for the release of Mr. Davis from prison upon bail. I told Mr. Edmond the story of the adventures of his steed, and offered to pay for him; but that gentleman very promptly and generously said he could not think of taking pay for the horse, that his loss was but an incident to the loss of everything else we had all suffered in the result of the war, and that his inquiries had been made only because the animal was a great pet with his children, and they were all anxious to know what became of him.

Among the people who besieged me for permits to get on the train, was General Raines, with several daughters and one or more of his staff officers. He had been on duty in the "torpedo bureau," and had with him what he considered a valuable collection of fuses and other explosives. I distrusted such luggage as that, though the General confidently asserted the things were quite harmless. I told him he couldn't go with us—there was no room for him. He succeeded at last, however, in getting access to the President, who had served with him, long years before, in the army; and, in kindness to an old friend, Mr. Davis finally said I had better make room for the General—actually taking one of the daughters to share his own seat. That young

lady was of a loquacity irrepressible; she discoursed her neighbor diligently-about the weather, and upon every other topic of common interest—asking him, too, a thousand trivial questions. The train could not yet be got to move; the fires in the locomotive wouldn't burn well, or some other difficulty delayed us; and there we all were in our seats—crowded together—waiting to be off-full of gloom at the situation-wondering what would happen next—and all as silent as mourners at a funeral; all except. indeed, the General's daughter, who prattled on in a voice everybody heard. In the midst of it all, a sharp explosion occurred very near the President, and a young man was seen to bounce into the air, clapping both hands to the seat of his trousers. We all sprang to our feet in alarm; but presently found that it was only an officer of General Raines' staff, who had sat down rather abruptly upon the flat top of a stove (still standing in the car but without a fire), and that the explosion was made by one of the torpedo appliances he had had in his coat-tail pocket.

Among the servants, at the President's house in Richmond, had been one called Spencer. He was the slave of somebody in the town, but made himself a member of our household, and couldn't be got rid of. Spencer was inefficient, unsightly, and unclean—a black Caliban,—and had the manners of a corn-field darky. He always called the President "Marse Jeff"; and was the only one of the domestics who used that style of address. I fancy the amusement Mr. Davis felt at that was the real explanation of the continued sufferance extended to the fellow in the family for a year or more. Spencer would sometimes go to the door to answer the bell, and almost invariably denied that the President was at home. The visitor sometimes entered the hall, notwithstanding, and asked to have his name sent up; whereupon Spencer generally lost his temper and remarked, "I tell you, sir, Marse Jeff 'clines to see you," and unless somebody came to the rescue, the intruder rarely got any further. This Spencer had accompanied the party from Richmond to Danville, but had made the journey in a box car with a drunken member of the staff, who beat him. The African was overwhelmed with disgust at such treatment, and announced in Danville that he should go no further if — was to be of the party. When he had learned, however, that his enemy (being in a delirium and unable to be moved) was to be left behind at Danville, Spencer cheerfully reported at the train, and asked for transportation. I assigned him to a box-car with the parcels of fuses, etc., put aboard by General Raines; and he had not yet made himself comfortable there, when somebody mischievously told him those things would certainly explode and blow him to "kingdom come." The darky fled in fright immediately, and demanded of me other quarters; I told him he couldn't travel in any other car. Mournfully remarking "Den Marse Jeff'll have to take keer of hisself," Spencer, the valiant and faithful, bade me good-bye, and said he should return to Richmond. (Written in pencil on the proof, in Mr. Davis's hand—He however went on to Greensboro N. C. and there engaged to serve the family of Col. Jno Taylor Wood.)

We halted for several days at Greensboro' for consultation with General Joseph E. Johnston, whose army was then con-

fronting Sherman.

The people in that part of North Carolina had not been zealous supporters of the Confederate Government; and, as long as we remained in the State, we observed their indifference to what should become of us. It was rarely that anybody asked one of us to his house, and but few of them had the grace even to explain their fear that, if they entertained us, their houses would be burned by the enemy, when his cavalry should get there.

During the halt at Greensboro' most of us lodged day and night in the very uncomfortable railway cars we had arrived in. The possessor of a large house in the town, and perhaps the richest and most conspicuous of the residents, came indeed effusively to the train, but carried off only Mr. Trenholm, the Secretary of the Treasury. This hospitality was explained by the information that the wealthy gentleman [in Davis's hand, was the alarmed owner of many of the bonds, and much of the currency, of the Confederate States, and that he hoped to cajole the Secretary into exchanging a part of the "Treasury gold" for some of those very desirable securities. It appeared that we were reputed to have many millions of gold with us. Good Mr. Trenholm was ill during most or all of the time at the house of his warm-hearted host, and the symptoms were said to be greatly aggravated, if not caused, by importunities with regard to that gold.

Colonel John Taylor Wood, of our staff, had, some time before, removed his family to Greensboro' from Richmond, and took the President (who would otherwise have probably been left with us in the cars) to share his quarters near by. The Woods were boarding. They had but few and small rooms. The entertainment they were able to offer their guests was meager, and was distinguished by very little comfort either to him or to them, the people of the house continually and vigorously insisting to the Colonel and his wife, the while, that the President must go away, saying they were unwilling to have the vengeance of Stoneman's cavalry brought upon them by the presence of Mr. Davis in their house.

The alarm of these good people was not allayed when they ascertained, one day, that General Joseph E. Johnston, with General Breckinridge (Secretary of War), and perhaps one or two other members of the cabinet and officers of the army whose names I do not now recall, were with the President, in Colonel Wood's rooms, holding a council of war there! (In pencil on the margin in Mr. Harrison's hand, "Was Beauregard there who else yes—In Mr. Davis's hand—& Sectys. Benjamin, Mallory, Reagan, Breckindidge,")

That route through North Carolina had been for some time the only line of communication between Virginia and Georgia and the Gulf States. The roads and towns were full of men (officers and privates: from those Southern States, belonging to the army of Northern Virginia. Many of them had been home on furlough, and were returning to the army when met by the news of General Lee's surrender; others were stragglers from their commands. All were now going home, and as some of the bridges south of Greensboro' had been burned by the enemy's cavalry, and the railways throughout the southern country generally were interrupted, of course everybody wanted the assistance of a horse or mule on his journey. Few had any scruples as to how to get one.

I remember that a band of eight or ten young Mississippians, at least one of them an officer (now a conspicuous lawyer in New Orleans), and several of them personally known to me, offered themselves at Greensboro' as an escort for the President; until something definite should be known, however, as to our future movements, I was unable to say whether they could be of service in that capacity. After several days of waiting, they decided their plans for themselves. Arousing me in the small hours of the night, their self-constituted commander said, if I had any orders or suggestions to give they should be glad to have them on the spot, as, otherwise it had become expedient to move on immediately. I asked what had happened. He showed me the horses they had that night secured by "pressing" them from neighboring farmers, and particularly his own mount, a large and handsome dappled grav stallion, fresh and in excellent condition. I congratulated him on his thrift, and in an instant

they were off in a gallop through the mud. The President's horses, my own, and those belonging to the other gentlemen of our immediate party were tied within a secure inclosure, while we remained at Greensboro', and were guarded by the men, about a dozen, who had after being discharged for wounds disabling them for field service, acted as sentinels during the last year at the President's house in Richmond, under the command

of a gallant young officer with but one arm.

The utmost vigilance was necessary, from this time on, in keeping possession of a good horse. I remember that at Charlotte, some days after the time I have just been speaking of, Colonel Burnett, Senator from Kentucky, told me he had just come very near losing his mare. He had left her for a little while at a large stable occupied by many other horses. Going back there after a short absence. Burnett noticed a rakish looking fellow walking along the stalls, and carefully observing the various horses until he came to the mare, when after a moment's consideration, he called out to a negro rubbing down a neighboring horse: "Boy, saddle my mare here, and be quick about it." The negro answered, "Aye, aye, sir," and was about to obey, when the Senator stepped up, saying: "My friend, you are evidently a judge of horseflesh; and I feel rather complimented that, after looking through the whole lot, you have selected my mare!" The chap coolly replied, "Oh! is that your mare, Colonel?" and walked off. When we had laughed over the story, I asked Burnett, "Well, and where is the mare now?" "Oh," said he, "I shan't trust her out of my sight again; and Gus Henry is holding her for me down here at the corner until I can get back there." The person thus familiarly spoken of as "Gus" Henry, then acting as a hostler for his friend, was the venerable and distinguished Senator from Tennessee, with all of the stateliness and much of the eloquence of his grandfather, [pencil mark around this with the query in the marginwas he not a distant relative? | Patrick Henry, the great orator of Virginia during the Revolution!

At Greensboro' were large stores of supplies belonging to the quartermaster and commissary departments. These were to be kept together until it could be ascertained whether General Johnston's army would need them. I recollect, as one of the incidents of our sojourn there, that, after many threats during several days to do so, a formidable attack was made by men belonging to a cavalry regiment upon one of the depots where woolen cloths (I think) were stored. They charged, with yells

and an occasional shot, down the road in considerable force; but the "Home Guards," stationed at the store-house, stood firm, and received the attack with a well directed volley. I saw a number of saddles emptied, and with that the cavalry retreated in confusion. Notwithstanding the utmost vigilance of the officers, however, pilfering from the stores went on briskly all the time; and I fancy that, immediately after we left, there was a

general scramble for what remained of the supplies.

From Greensboro', at this time, a railway train was dispatched toward Raleigh with a number of prisoners—to be exchanged, if possible, for some of our own men then in General Sherman's hands. They were in charge of Major William H. Norris, of Baltimore (Chief of the Signal Corps) and Major W. D. Hennen. The latter had, before the war, been a distinguished member of the New Orleans bar—and has since been at the bar in New York. Those two officers were at Yale College together in their youth: and had afterward shared in many a frolic in Paris and other gay places. They evidently regarded this expedition with the prisoners as a huge "lark." The train moved off with a flag of truce flying from the locomotive. When, a day or two afterward, they approached the enemy's lines, the prisoners all got out of the cars and ran off to their friends, and Norris and Hennen were themselves made prisoners! Indignant at such treatment, they addressed a communication to the commanding officer (Schofield, I think) demanding to know why they were treated as prisoners, and why their flag had not been respected. Schofield evidently considered the Confederate Government was now no more, and asked what flag they referred to. This gave Hennen a great opportunity, and he overpowered the enemy with a reply full of his most fervid eloquence: "What flag? The flag before which the 'star-spangled banner' has been ignominously trailed in the dust of a thousand battle-fields! The flag that has driven from the oceans the commerce of the United States! The flag which will live in history as long as the heroic achievements of patriotic men are spoken of among the nations! The glorious, victorious, and immortal flag of the Confederate States of America!"

We moved southward on, I think, the day following the council of war held with General Johnston—starting from Greensboro' in the afternoon. The President, those of us who constituted his immediate staff, and some members of the cabinet, were mounted. Others rode in ambulances, army wagons, or such conveyances as could be got. Almost at the last minute

I was told I must provide an ambulance for Mr. Judah P. Benjamin, Secretary of State. His figure was not well adapted for protracted use of the saddle, and he had firmly announced that he should not mount a horse until obliged to. That he could handle a steed in an emergency, was very well known—and was afterward shown when at Abbeville, South Carolina (I think), sniffing the danger of longer continuance with a large party, he dexterously got himself into a saddle upon a tall horse, and with short legs hanging but an inconsiderable distance toward the ground, rode gavly off to the sea-coast, whence he escaped (to Bermuda and Havana, I think, and finally) to England. I am told that in his pocket, when he started, was a document from the Adjutant-General of the army, certifying the bearer to be a French citizen, entitled to travel without hinderance, and ordering all Confederate officers and pickets to let him pass freely, and it was understood that if he should fall in with inquisitive detachments of the United States forces, he was to be unable to talk any other language than French. He speaks that like a native! As long as he remained with us his cheery good humor and readiness to adapt himself to the requirements of all emergencies, made him a most agreeable comrade. He is now a queen's counsel in London, and has just retired from the active work of a great and lucrative practice in all the courts there, after a career of singular interest! Born in one of the British West India possessions, where the ship conveying his parents had put in, in 1812, when, on their way to this country from England, they had heard at sea of the declaration of war; at Yale College when a boy; at the bar in New Orleans; in the Senate of the United States, from Louisiana; at first Attorney General, next Secretary of War, and finally Secretary of State of the Confederate States, at Richmond.

By good fortune, I was able to secure an ambulance; but the horses were old and broken down, of a dirty gray color, and with spots like fly-bites all over them,—and the harness was not

h Mr Benjamin did not leave us at Abbeville, but went on horseback in the night ride we made to cross the Savannah river, and at a house where we stopped for breakfast about 14 miles from Washington he told me that he was suffering so much from travelling on horseback that he felt he would be unable to continue with me and that he proposed to buy a gig from the man at whose house we had stopped and to go to the Coast where he would take the first practicable mode of going to Matamoros or Tampico & thence proceed to join me in the Transmississippi Department whither he knew it was my fixed purpose to go. He did expect to pass as a frenchman, if he fell in with any of the enemy's detachments, but of course he had no certificate from the Adjt. Genl. & indeed we had no such Officer then with us. Genl Cooper having been left sick on the road.

good. There was no choice, however, and into that ambulance got Mr. Benjamin, General Samuel Cooper (Adjutant General, and ranking officer of the whole army), Mr. George Davis (of North Carolina, Attorney General), and Mr. Jules St. Martin, Benjamin's brother-in-law.

By the time they got off, the front of our column had been some time in motion, and the President had ridden down the road. Heavy rains had recently fallen, the earth was saturated with water, the soil was a sticky red clay, the mud was awful. and the road, in places, almost impracticable. The wheeled vehicles could move but slowly; and it was only by sometimes turning into the fields and having St. Martin and the Attorney General lighten the ambulance, getting out and helping the horses with an occasional fence rail under the axles, that their party got along at all; so difficult was the road because of the mud, and so formidable were the holes made in it during the winter, and deepened by the artillery and heavy wagons that day. I was near them from time to time, however, and rendered what assistance I could. It came on to be dark after a while, and nearly or quite everybody in the column passed ahead of that ambulance. Having been kept latterly in the rear by something detaining me, I observed, as I rode forward, the tilted hinder parts of an ambulance stuck in the mud in the middle of the road, and recognized the voices inside, as I drew rein for a moment to chuckle at their misfortunes. The horses were blowing like two rusty fog-horns; Benjamin was scolding the driver for not going on; that functionary was stoically insisting they could proceed no whit farther, because the horses were broken down; and General Cooper poor [Davis's hand] (faithful old gentleman, he had been in Richmond all during the war, and had since the Seminole War not known for many years if ever, what it was to "rough it") was grumbling and swearing [this word underlined and written in the margin in Davis's hand "not swearing he was pious & patient] about the impudence of a subordinate officer ("only a brigadier general, sir"). It seems the offender had thrust himself into the seat in another ambulance drawn by good horses, intended for the Adjutant General. Getting alongside, I could see the front wheels were over the hubs in a hole: the hind legs of the horses were in the same hole, up to the hocks; and the feet of the driver hung down almost into the mud. Mud and water were deep all around them, and their plight was pitiful, indeed! They plucked up their spirits only when I offered to find somebody to get them out of the trouble. Riding forward, I found an artillery camp where some of the men volunteered to go back with horses and pull the ambulance up the hill; and, returning to them again, I could see from afar the occasional bright glow of Benjamin's cheerful cigar. While the ambulance remained exactly as I had left it, and the others of the party were perfectly silent, the notes of Benjamin's silvery voice were presently heard as he rhythmically intoned, for their comfort, verse after verse, of Tennyson's ode on the death of the Duke of Wellington! The Laureate would have enjoyed the situation could he have beheld the scene, and could he have heard the appreciative rendering of his noble poem—under the circumstances of that moment!

Reaching the house at the top of the hill, we were halted by the intelligence that the President and his party, including General Breckinridge, were the guests of the hospitable owner, and that we were expected to join them. There we had the first good meal encountered since leaving Virginia, and when bedtime came a great bustling was made to enable us all to sleep within doors, though the house was too small to afford many beds. A big negro man, with a candle in hand, then came into the room where we were gathered about a huge fire. Looking us over, he solemnly selected General Cooper; and, with much deference, escorted that officer into the "guest chamber," through a door opening from the room we occupied. We could see the great soft bed and snowy white linen the old gentleman was to enjoy, and all rejoiced in the comfort they promised to aged bones racked for a week in the cars. The negro gravely shut the door upon his guest, and, walking through our company, disappeared. He came back after a while with wood for our fire; and one of us asked him: "Aren't you going to give the President a room?" "Yes, sir, I done put him in thar," pointing to the "guest chamber," where General Cooper was luxuriating in delights procured for him by the mistaken notion of the darky that he was the President! The President and one or two others were presently provided for elsewhere, and the rest of us bestowed ourselves to slumber on the floor, before a roaring fire.

I furnished a better team for Benjamin's party next morning; and, just as we were about to start, our host generously insisted upon presenting to the President a filly, already broken to saddle. She was a beauty, and the owner had kept her for several days locked in the cellar, the only place he considered safe against horse thieves.

The next night we bivouacked in a pine grove near Lexington, and were overtaken there by dispatches from General Joseph E. Johnston, with information of his (arrangement for) [written in

by Davis] negotiations with General Sherman. General Breck-inridge and Mr. Reagan (the Postmaster General) were thereupon directed by the President to proceed to General Johnston's head-quarters immediately for consultation with that officer, and with large discretion as to what should be agreed to. They set off instantly.

In Lexington and in Salisbury we experienced the same cold indifference on the part of the people first encountered at Greensboro', except that at Salisbury the President was invited to the house of a clerygman, where he slept. Salisbury had been entered a few days before by a column (of the enemy's cavalry said to be Stoneman's), and the streets showed many evidences of the havoe they had wrought. I, with one or two others, passed the night there on the clergyman's front piazza as a guard for the President.

During all this march the President was singularly equable and cheerful; he seemed to have had a great load taken from his mind, to feel relieved of responsibilities, and his conversation was bright and agreeable. He talked of men and of books, particularly of Walter Scott and Byron; of horses and dogs and sports; of the woods and the fields; of trees and many plants; of roads, and how to make them; of the habits of birds and of a variety of other topics. His familiar acquaintance with and correct taste in the English literature of the last generation, his varied experience in life, his habits of close observation, and his extraordinary memory made him a charming companion when disposed to talk.

Indeed, like Mark Tapley, we were all in good spirits under adverse circumstances, and I particularly remember the entertaining conversation of Mr. Mallory, the Secretary of the Navy.

When within some miles of Charlotte, I sent forward a courier with a letter to Major Echols, the quartermaster of that post, asking him to notify Mrs. Davis of our approach and to provide quarters for as many of us as possible. The Major rode out to the outskirts of the town and there met us—with the information that Mrs. Davis and her family had hastily proceeded toward South Carolina, several days before. He didn't know where she was to be found; but said she had fled when the railway south of Greensboro' had been cut by the enemy's cavalry. The Major then took me aside and explained that, though quarters could be furnished for the rest of us, he had as yet been able to find only one person willing to receive the President, saying the people generally were afraid that whoever entertained him would have his house burned by the enemy—that, indeed, it was under-

stood threats to that effect had been everywhere made by Stone-

man's cavalry.

There seemed to be nothing to do, but to go to the one house offered. It was on the main street of the town, and was occupied by Mr. Bates, a man said to be of Northern birth, a bachelor of convivial habits, and the local agent of the Southern Express Company—not at all the place for Mr. Davis to be.

Just as we had entered the house the President received by courier from General Breckinridge, at General Sherman's head-quarters, the intelligence that President Lincoln had been assassinated; and, when he communicated it to us, everybody's remark was that, in Lincoln, the Southern States had lost their only refuge, under the circumstances of the then situation. There was no expression other than regret and grief. As yet, we

knew none of the particulars of the crime.

Presently the street was filled by a column of cavalry (the command, I think, of General Basil Duke, of Kentucky) just entering the town. As they rode past the house, the men waved their flags and hurrahed for "Jefferson Davis." Many of them halted before the door, and, in dust and uproar, called loudly for a speech from him. I stood in the crowd gathered thick about the steps, and not more than ten feet from the door. The President stood on the threshold and made the men a very brief reply to their calls for a speech. I distinctly heard every word he said. He merely thanked the soldiers for their cordial greetings; paid a high compliment to the gallantry and efficiency of the cavalry from the State where the regiment before him had been recruited; expressed his own determination not to despair of the Confederacy, but to remain with the last organized band upholding the flag, and then excused himself from further remarks, pleading the fatigue of travel. He said nothing more. Somebody else (Colonel Lubbock, I think) [note in Davis's hand Mr. Johnson a citizen of Charlotte | read aloud the dispatch from General Breckinridge about the assassination of President Lincoln, but no reference was made to it in President Davis' speech. There was no other speech, and the crowd soon dispersed.

In pursuance of the scheme of Stanton and Holt to fasten upon Mr. Davis charges of a guilty foreknowledge of, if not participation in, the murder of Mr. Lincoln, Bates was afterwards carried to Washington and made to testify (before the military tribunal, I believe, where the murderers were on trial) to something about that speech.

As I recollect the report of the testimony, published at the time, they made the witness say that Mr. Davis had approved

of the assassination, either explicitly or by necessary implication: and that he had added, "if it was to be done, it is well it was well done," or words to that effect. If any such testimony was given, it is false and without foundation; no comment upon or reference to the assassination was made by Mr. Davis in that speech. I have been told the witness has always stoutly insisted he never testified to anything of the kind, but that what he said was altogether perverted in the publication made by rascals in Washington. Colonel W. P. Johnston [in the margin "A. D. C. to the President''] tells me he has seen another version of the story, and thinks Bates is understood to have fathered it in a publication made in some newspaper after his visit to Washington; it represents Bates as saying that the words above mentioned as imputed to Mr. Davis were used by Mr. Davis, not, indeed, in the speech I have described, but in a conversation with Johnston at Bates' house. Johnston assures me that, in that shape, too, the story is false—that the President never used such words in his presence, or any words at all like them. He adds that Mr. Davis remarked to him, at Bates' house, with reference to the assassination, that Mr. Lincoln would have been much more (in margin useful?) to the Southern States than Andrew Johnson, the successor, was likely to be—and I myself heard Mr. Davis express that opinion at that period.

Colonel John Taylor Wood, Colonel William Preston Johnston, and Colonel Frank R. Lubbock, staff officers, remained in the same house with the President. There was no room for more. I was carried off by my Hebrew friend, Weil, and most kindly entertained, with Mr. Benjamin and St. Martin, at his residence.

On Sunday (the next day, I think), a number of us attended service at the Episcopal church, and heard the rector preach vigorously about the sad condition of the country, and in reprobation of the folly and wickedness of the assassination of Mr. Lincoln. As the President walked away, after the sermon, with Colonel Johnston and me, he said, with a laugh, "I think the preacher directed his remarks at me; and he really seems to fancy I had something to do with the assassination." The suggestion was preposterous. No man ever carried on or participated in a great war of revolution, with less of disturbance of the nicest sense of perfect rectitude in conduct or opinion; his every utterance, act, and sentiment was with the strictest regard for all the moralities, throughout that troubled time when the passions of many people made them reckless or defiant of the opinions of mankind.

His cheerfulness continued in Charlotte, and I remember his there saying to me, "I cannot feel like a beaten man!"

The halt at Charlotte was to await information from the army

of General Johnston.

After a few days, the President became nervously anxious about his wife and family. He had as yet heard nothing of their whereabouts, and asked me to proceed into South Carolina in search of them, suggesting that I should probably find them at Abbeville. He told me I must rely on my own judgement as to what course to pursue from there; that, for himself, he should make his way as rapidly as possible to the Trans-Mississippi

Department, to join the army under Kirby Smith.

I started at once, taking my horse on the railway train to Chester. On the train chanced to be Captain Lingau (queried in margin "gan"? (In Mr. Davis's hand) an officer from New Orleans, recently serving at Richmond as an assistant to the commissioner for the exchange of prisoners. He had his horse with him, and from Chester we rode together across the country to Newberry, there to take the train again for Abbeville. In Chester the night was spent in the car that brought us there. On the march to Newberry we bivouacked. The weather was fine. and the houses were surrounded by jessamines and other flowers. The people were very hospitable, and we were fain to rely on them. Nothing could be bought, because we had no money. Our Confederate currency was of no value now, and there was no other. Riding through a street of Newberry in search of the quartermaster's stable, Lingau [gan] ? and I were saluted by a lady, inquiring eagerly whence we had come, what the news was, and whether we knew anything of Mr. Trenholm, adding she had heard he was ill. The town was lovely, and this was the most attractive house we had seen there. It had a broad piazza, with posts beautifully overgrown by vines and rose-bushes, and the grounds around were full of flowers. I replied I had just left Mr. Trenholm in Charlotte; that he had somewhat recovered: and that, if she would allow us to do so, we should be happy to return, after providing for our horses, and tell her the latest news. As we rode off Lingan laughingly, said "Well, that secures us a 'hospitable entertainment'.' And, sure enough, when we went back and introduced ourselves, we were cordially received by the mistress of the house, who invited us to dine. The lady we had seen on the piazza was only a visitor there for the moment. It was the residence of Mr. Boyd, the president of a bank, and when that gentleman presently came in he courteously insisted upon our making his house our home. There was an excellent dinner; and I was given what seemed to me the most delightful bed ever slept in. After a delicious breakfast next morning, Mrs. Boyd dispatched us to the train with a haver-sack full of bounties for the rest of the journey.

At Abbeville Mrs. Davis and her family were the guests of Colonel Burt, and there, too, were the daughters of Mr. Trenholm, at the house of their brother. Abbeville was a beautiful place, on high ground; and the people lived in great comfort, their houses embowered in vines and roses, with many other flowers everywhere. We had now entered the "sunny South."

Mrs. Davis insisted upon starting without delay for the seacoast, to get out of reach of capture.¹ She and her sister had heard dreadful stories of the treatment ladies had been subjected to in Georgia and the Carolinas by men in Sherman's army, and thought with terror of the possibility of falling into the hands of the enemy. I explained to her the difficulties and hardships of the journey to the sea-coast, and suggested we might be captured on the road, urging her to remain where she was until the place should be quietly occupied by the United States troops, assuring her that some officer would take care that no harm should befall her, and adding that she would then be able to rejoin her friends. Colonel and Mrs. Burt [in margin "a niece of J. C. Calhoun"] added their entreaties to mine; but she persisted in her purpose, and begged me to be off immediately.

It was finally decided to make our way to the neighborhood of Madison, Florida, as fast as possible, there to determine how best to get to sea.

We had no conveyance for the ladies, however, and were at a loss how to get one, until somebody told me General John S. Williams, of Kentucky, (and now United States Senator from that State), was but a few miles from the town recruiting his health, and that he had a large and strong vehicle well adapted to the purpose. I rode out in the direction indicated, and dis-

i When Mrs Davis parted from me the events which rapidly followed were certainly not anticipated but looking to every possible contingency I had impressed upon her that she should not allow herself and our children to be captured, & afterwards wrote to her not to delay anywhere but hasten on to the seacoast & seek safety in a foreign country.

At Abbeville she was the guest of our esteemed friends Col & Mrs Burt, she had heard of threats made by the enemy that any house which gave shelter to myself or family should be burned, she was unwilling to expose our friends the Burts to such possible loss & gave to them that reason for declining their invitation to remain in their house. Col Burt magnanimously said there was no better use to which his house could be put than to [be] burned for giving shelter to my family.

covered that officer at the house of a man called, queerly enough, "Jeff" Davis. General Williams evidently perceived the danger that, if he allowed his wagon and horses (a fortune, in those times!) to go beyond his own reach, he would never see them again, such was the disorder throughout the country. But he gallantly devoted them to Mrs. Davis, putting his property at her service as far as Washington, Georgia, and designating the man to bring the wagon and horses back from there, if possible, to him at Abbeville. Whether he ever recovered them I have not learned; but they started back promptly after we had reached Washington.

Among the "refugees" in Abbeville was the family of Judge Monroe, of Kentucky. At their house were Lieutenant Hathaway, Mr. Monroe, and a young friend of theirs whose name (in margin "Messick") I do not now recall,—Kentuckians all, and then absent from their command in the cavalry, on sick leave I think. These three young gentlemen were well mounted, and gallantly volunteered to serve as an escort for Mrs. Davis.

We started the morning of the second day after I arrived at Abbeville, and had not reached the Savannah River when it was reported that small-pox prevailed in the country. All the party had been vaccinated except one of the President's children. Halting at a house near the road, Mrs. Davis had the operation performed by the planter, who got a fresh scab from the arm of a little negro called up for the purpose.

At Washington we halted for two nights and the intervening day. Mrs. Davis and her family were comfortably lodged in the town. I was the guest of Dr. Robertson, the cashier of a bank, and living under the same roof with the offices of that institution. Here, too, was my friend, Major Thomas W. Hall (now a busy and eminent member of the Baltimore bar), talking rather despondingly of the future, and saying he did not know what he should now do with himself. After we had discussed the situation, however, he brightened up, with the remark that he thought he should write a book about the war. I comforted him with the observation that that would be just the thing; and that, as we ought all to have a steady occupation in life, if he would write a book, I should read it!

Near the town was a quartermaster's camp, where I selected three or four army wagons, each with a team of four good mules, and the best harness to be got. A driver for each team, and several supernumeraries, friends of theirs, were recruited there, with the promise, on my part, that the wagons and mules should be divided between them, when at our journey's end. These men were all, I believe, from Southern Mississippi, and, by volunteering with us, were not going far out of their own way home.

It was night-fall when these arrangements were completed, and I immediately moved my teams and wagons to a separate bivouae in the woods, apart—a wise precaution, for, during the night, some men, on the way to their homes in the far Southwest, "raided" the quartermaster's camp and carried off all the best mules found there. Senator Wigfall, of Texas, had allowed to remain in the camp some mules he intended for his own use; the next day they were all missing.

A story told afterward well illustrates Wigfall's audacity and wit. It seems that he made his way as best he could to Vicksburg, and there, mingling with a large number of paroled soldiers, returning to the Trans-Mississippi, and having in his pocket a borrowed "parole paper," certifying the bearer to be "private Smith," availed himself of the transportation furnished by the United States quartermaster to such prisoners by steamboat, I think, to Shreveport. On the voyage he had a discussion with some of the guard as to what should be done by the government with the secession leaders. "And as to Wigfall," said one of the men in excitement, "if we catch him, we shall hang him immediately." "There I agree with you," remarked private Smith, "'twould serve him right; and, if I were there, I should be pulling at the end of that rope myself!"

Into the wagons next morning, we put Mrs. Davis's luggage, a few muskets, with ammunition, two light tents, for the ladies and children, and utensils for cooking, with supplies for ourselves and feed for the animals supposed to be sufficient to take us to Madison. As most of the country we were to pass through had been recently devastated by Sherman's army, or was pine woods, sparsely inhabited, these things were necessary.

We had expected to leave Washington with only the party we had arrived with—consisting of Mrs. Davis, Miss Howell, the four children, Ellen, James Jones, (with the two carriage horses), the three Kentuckians, and myself,—adding only the teamsters. But at Washington, we were acceptably reënforced by Captain Moody, of Port Gibson, Mississippi, and Major Victor Maurin, of Louisiana. Both had served with the artillery in Virginia, had been home on furlough, and had reached Augusta, Georgia, on their return to duty; hearing there of the surrender of the army, they set out for home together, and met us at Washington, where Captain Moody kindly placed his light-covered wagon at the service of Mrs. Davis; and he and

Major Maurin joined our party as an additional escort for her. Captain Moody had with him, I think, a negro servant.

In Washington, at that time, were Judge Crump, of Richmond, (Assistant Secretary of the Treasury), and several of his clerks. They had been sent by Mr. Trenholm in advance, with some of the (not very large amount of) gold brought out of Richmond. The specie was in the vaults of the bank at Washington, and I did not hear of it until late at night. We were to start in the morning; and, as nobody in our party had a penny of the money needed to prosecute the intended exit from the country, I was determined to get some of that gold.

One of the Treasury clerks went with me to the house where Judge Crump was; we got him out of bed; and after a long argument and much entreaty, the Assistant Secretary gave me an order for a few hundred dollars in gold for Mrs. Davis and one hundred and ten dollars for myself. The amounts were to be charged to the President and me, as upon account of our official salaries. Armed with the order, my friend, the clerk,

got the money for us that night.

The last two people I talked to, in Washington, were General Robert Toombs, who resides there, and General Humphrey Marshall, of Kentucky.

The latter was enormously fat. He had been in public life for many years, and was one of the notables of his State. As I waited while my horse was shod, he sat down beside me in a door-way on the "Square" of Washington, and though I was but a slender youth, almost squeezed the breath out of my body in doing so. He discussed the situation and ended with, "Well, Harrison, in all my days I never knew a government to go to pieces in this way," emphasizing the words as though his pathway through life had been strewed with the wrecks of empires. comminuted indeed, but nothing like this! The next time I saw him, we were in New Orleans, in March 1866. He told me of his adventures in escaping from Georgia across the Mississippi River. The waters were in overflow, and made the distance to be rowed where he crossed a number of miles. He said he was in a "dug-out" (a boat made of a single large log, and a cylindrical bottom and easily upset), and that the boatman made lie down, (sic) for fear they might be seen by the enemy and recognized by his great size, and so captured. All went well, until the mosquitoes swarmed on him, and nearly devoured him-in his fear of capsizing if he ventured to adopt effective measures to beat them off! In this connection, I remember that, when Marshall commanded a brigade in the mountains of East Tennessee and Kentucky, he was warned that the mountaineers, Union men, all knew him because of his size, and that some sharp-shooter would be sure to single him out and pick him off. He replied, "Ah! but I have taken precautions against that. I have a fat staff! There be seven Richmonds in the field!"

As I rode out of Washington to overtake my wagons, then already started, I saw General Toombs, and sung out "Goodbye" to him. He was dressed in an ill-cut black Websterian coat the worse for wear, and had on a broad brimmed shabby hat. Standing beside an old buggy, drawn by two ancient gray horses, he told me he was going to Crawfordsville to have a talk with "Aleck Stephens" (the Vice-President),—and as I left the atmosphere was murky with blasphemies and with denunciations of the Yankees! He had been informed of a detachment of the enemy's cavalry said to be already on the way to capture him, and was about to start for the sea-coast.

The next time I saw him, he was at the "Theatre du Chatelet," in Paris, in August or September, 1866. The spectacle was one of the most splendid ever put upon the stage there, and the French people were in raptures at the dazzling beauty of the scene. Toombs, fashionably dressed, sat in an orchestra chair, regarding it all with the stolid composure of an Indian, and with an expression of countenance suggesting that he had a thousand times seen spectacles more brilliant than that in Washington, Georgia.

From Washington we went along the road running due south. We had told nobody our plans; though, starting, as we did, in the broad light of the forenoon, everybody saw, of course, the direction taken. Our teamsters were instructed not to say anything, to anybody whatever, as to who we were or whence we came or whither we were going. They were all old soldiers and obeyed orders. It frequently amused me to hear their replies to the country people, during the next few days, when questioned on these matters.

"Who is that lady?"

"Mrs. Jones."

"Where did you come from?"

"Up the road."

"Where are you going to?"

"Down the road a bit," etc., etc.

We had not proceeded far, when a gentleman of the town, riding rapidly, overtook us with a letter from the President to his wife. It had been written at York, South Carolina, I think,—was forwarded by courier to overtake us at Abbeville, and had reached Washington just after we started. It merely informed us he and his immediate party were well—and that he should probably ride south from Washington to the coast. (In the, margin in Mr. Davis's hand "cross the Missi if possible.") I think no reply was made by Mrs. Davis to the letter; and if my memory serves me, we left behind us nothing to advise the President as to where we were going.

That afternoon I was overcome with dysentery and low fever, and dropped behind the train for a time—to lie down. When I overtook the party, they had already gone into camp; and after giving my horse to one of the men, I had hardly strength enough

to climb into a wagon—there to pass the night.

The next day we made a long march; and had halted for the night in a pine grove, just after crossing a railway track, when several visitors sauntered into our camp. Presently one of the teamsters informed me that, while watering his mules near by, he had been told an attempt would be made during the night to carry off our mules and wagons; and that the visitors were of the party to make the attack.

A council of war was held immediately, and we were discussing measures of resistance, when Captain Moody went off for a personal parley with the enemy. He returned to me with the news that the leader of the party was a fellow Freemason, a Mississippian, and apparently not a bad sort of person. We agreed he had better be informed who we were, relving upon him not to allow an attack upon us after learning that Mrs. Davis and her children were of the party. Captain Moody made that communication in the confidence of Freemasonry, and the gallant Robin Hood immediately approached Mrs. Davis in all courtesy, apologized for having caused her any alarm, assured her she should not be disturbed, and said the raid had been arranged only because it had been supposed we were the party of some quartermaster's from Milledgeville, making off with wagons and mules to which he and his men considered their own title as good as that of anybody else.

He then left our camp remarking, however, that, to intercept any attempt at escape during the night, he had already dispatched some of his men to the cross-roads, some distance below, and that we might be halted by them there in the morning; but to provide for that emergency, he wrote and delivered to Captain Moody a formal "order," entitling us to "pass" his outposts at the cross-roads!

The next morning when we reached the cross-roads, some men were there, evidently intending to intercept us; but—as all the

gentlemen of our party were in the saddle, and we appeared to be ready for them—there was no challenge, and we got by without recourse to Robin Hood's "pass."

About the second or third day after that we were pursued by another party; and one of our teamsters, riding a short distance in the rear of the wagons on the horse of one of the Kentuckians —the owner having exchanged temporarily for one of the carriage horses, I think-was attacked, made to dismount, and robbed of his horse, with the information that all the other horses and the mules would be taken during the night. By running a mile or two, the teamster overtook us. It was decided, of course, to prepare for an effective defense. As night came on we turned off into a side road; and reaching a piece of high ground in the open pine woods, well adapted for our needs, halted—corralling the animals within a space enclosed by the wagons (arranged with the tongue of one wagon fastened by chains or ropes to the tail of another) and placing pickets in each direction. About the middle of the night I, with two teamsters, constituted the picket on the road running north." After awhile we heard the soft tread of horses in the darkness approaching over the light sandy soil of the road. The teamsters immediately ran off to arouse the camp, having no doubt the attack was about to begin. I placed myself in the road to detain the enemy as long as possible, and, when the advancing horsemen came near enough to hear me, called "Halt." They drew rein instantly. I demanded "Who comes there?" The foremost of the horsemen replied "Friends," in a voice I was astonished to recognize as that of the President-not suspecting he was anywhere near us.

His party then consisted of Colonel William Preston Johnston, Colonel John Taylor Wood, Colonel Frank R. Lubbock, Honorable John H. Reagan, Colonel Charles E. Thorburn (the latter, with a negro servant, had joined them at Greensboro', North Carolina), and Robert (Mr. Davis's own servant). Some scouts were scattered through the country [in the margin "The

^{*} Just before daybreak as the moon was settling below the tops of the trees, a party of men on foot with bridles in their hands & a short distance from our encampment was met by the President & the members of his staff & upon being questioned said they belonged to an Alabama Regt. that they had been to a village in the neighborhood & were going back to join their own company. They admitted they had passed an encampment where there were several wagons and asked if we belonged to that party upon being answered in the affirmative, they probably thought that with that renforcement to your party it was useless to wait for the moon to go down that they might in darkness rob your encampment.

name scouts here probably refers to the guard which accompanied Mr. Davis & from which one or two occasionally went out to gain information." and were reporting to the President from time to time; but I don't recollect that either of those scouts was with him on the occasion now referred to.

He had happened to join us at all only because Colonel Johnston 1 had heard in the afternoon, from a man on the roadside, that an attempt was to be made in the night to capture, the wagons, horses, and mules of a party the fellow said had passed along there that day. The man spoke of the party to be attacked in terms that seemed to identify us as we had been described in Washington; and the President immediately resolved to find us, riding until after midnight [corrected in the margin to "near dawn" before he overtook us, explaining, at the time, how he had tried several roads that night in the search, and saying he came to assist in beating off the persons threatening the attack. As we had camped some distance from the main road, he would have passed our position, and would probably have had no communication with us, and no tidings whatever of us, but for the chance remark of the straggler on the way side about the raid upon our party. The expected attack was not made.

The President remained with us the rest of that night, rode with us the next day, camped with us the following night, and, after breakfast the day after that, he bade us good-bye and rode forward with his own party, leaving us, in deference to our

¹Secretary Reagan's horse had cast a shoe & passing a blacksmith shop about noon, we stopped to give our horses some rest & have that one reshod. There we learned from the Landlord that some pillagers had started after a party that had some fine horses, wagons and mules, with other particulars that made it quite certain they referred to the party of Mrs Davis. We could not learn what road your party was on or anything which enabled us to tell with any certainty how far off you might be, we however started promptly in pursuit changing our direction to the Eastward, & rode rapidly on taking all easterly roads in search of one on which the wagon tracks could be seen until about midnight when we came upon a large party representing themselves to be parolled soldiers. They were about to cross a ferry and as you had not been seen or heard of there, I turned then square to the east on a bridle path which it was said would lead to a wagon road in that direction; here the Captain of my Guard announced his horses too much exhausted to go any further. I could not wait and started off, my Staff & servant followed me. After riding about 8 or 10 miles I came upon your encampment as described by you, having ridden without drawing rein an estimated distance of 60 miles. After travelling several days with you I concluded that we had gone far enough to the South & East to be free from the danger of marauders and resolved to resume my original route to the West, having with that view sent the Capt. of my Guard and one of the men to reconnoitre to the West so as to learn whether any expedition of the enemy was moving in that direction.

earnest solicitations, to pursue our journey as best we might with our wagons and encumbrances.

He camped that night with his own party at Abbeville, Georgia, personally occupying a deserted house in the outskirts of the village. As they had reached that place after dark, and a furious rain was falling, but few of the people were aware of his presence, and none of those in the village had had opportunity to identify him.

I halted my party on the western bank of the Ocmulgee River as the darkness came on, immediately after getting the wagons through the difficult bottom-lands on the eastern side, and after crossing the ferry. About the middle of the night I was aroused by a courier sent back by the President with the report that the enemy was at or near Hawkinsville, and (about twenty-five miles to the north of us) and the advice that I had better move on immediately to the southward, though, it was added, the enemy at Hawkinsville seemed to be only intent upon appropriating the quartermaster's supplies supposed to be there. I started my party at once, in the midst of a terrible storm of thunder, lightning, and rain. As we went through the village of Abbeville, I dismounted and had a conversation with the President in the old house, where he was lying on the floor wrapped in a blanket. He urged me to move on, and said he should overtake us during the night, after his horses had had more rest. We kept to the southward all night, the rain pouring in torrents most of the time, and the darkness such that, as we went through the woods where the road was not well marked in a light, sandy soil, but wound about to accommodate the great pines left standing, the wagons were frequently stopped by fallen trees and other obstructions. We were then obliged to wait until a flash of lightning enabled the drivers to see the way.

In the midst of that storm and darkness the President overtook us. He was still with us when, about five o'clock in the afternoon, (not having stopped since leaving Abbeville, except for the short time, about sunrise, required to cook breakfast), I halted my party for the night, immediately after crossing the little creek just north of Irwinsville and went into camp. My teams were sadly in need of rest, and having now about fifty miles between us and Hawkinsville, where the enemy had been reported to be, and our information being, as stated, that they did not seem to be on the march or likely to move after us, we apprehended no immediate danger. That country is sparsely inhabited; and I do not recollect that we had seen a human being after leaving Abbeville. Colonel Johnston says that he

rode on in advance as far as Irwinsville, and there found somebody from whom he bought some eggs. [Written in "and learned that a party of marauders intended to rob our camp

that night."]

Colonel Thorburn had been, before the war, in the United States navy, and was, I think, a classmate of Colonel Wood at the Naval Academy at Annapolis. During the first year or two of the war he had served in the army; he afterward became engaged in running the blockade, bringing supplies into the Confederate States. He had a small, but seaworthy vessel, then lying in Indian River, Florida, and his object in joining the party had been to take the President aboard that vessel and to convey him around to Texas. It was arranged that Colonel Thorburn should, at the proper time, ride on in advance, make all the necessary arrangements for the voyage, and return to Madison, Florida, to meet the President there and conduct him aboard the vessel. We had all agreed that, if the President was to attempt to reach the boat at all, he should move on at once, independent of the ladies and wagons. And when we halted he positively promised me (and Wood and Thorburn tell me he made the same promise to them) that, as soon as something to eat could be cooked, he would say farewell for the last time, and ride on with his own party at least ten miles farther before stopping for the night, consenting to leave me and my party to go on our own way as fast as was possible with the now weary mules."

m I certainly was not a party to that arrangement by which I was to get upon a boat in Indian river, and my promise to leave that night after taking tea with my family, was to execute my original plan, which was to cross the Chattahoochie below the point at which the enemy had garrisons & if Taylor & Forrest were still maintaining themselves in the field to join them and wait for reenforcements, or otherwise to cross the Mississippi immediately with the hope of carrying on the war in that country until we could get some kind of treaty to secure the political rights of the States.

& if Taylor & Forrest were still maintaining themselves in the field to join them and wait for reenforcements, or otherwise to cross the Mississippi immediately with the hope of carrying on the war in that country until we could get some kind of treaty to secure the political rights of the States.

All this I had fully explained to Reagan, who had been impressed by Wood & Thorburn with the plan of seeking the Sea Coast, as I had previously done to Benjamin & to Breckinridge; to all of them announcing that I would not leave the soil of the Confederacy, as long as there was an organized command displaying its flag. That I did not tell anybody when I said I was going to leave, what road I would follow or what would be my objective point, was a caution which the circumstances sternly imposed as much for their safety, as my own. My change of purpose as to leaving on that night was caused by the report Col Johnston brought me that marauders were to attack the camp; as these would probably be for the most part exconfederate soldiers, I thought they would so far respect me, as not to rob the encampment of my family. I[n] any event, or whoever they might be, it was my duty to wait the issue. My horse was saddled, hitched near to the road, and I was about to start when the intelligence reached me of the intended attack. Still expecting to go on, during the

After getting that promise from the President, and arranging the tents and wagons for the night, and without waiting for anything to eat (being still the worse for my dysentery and fever), I lay down upon the ground and fell into a profound sleep. Captain Moody afterward kindly stretched a canvas as a roof over my head, and laid down beside me, though I knew nothing of that until the next day. I was awakened by the coachman, James Jones, running to me about day-break with the announcement that the enemy was at hand! I sprang to my feet, and in an instant a rattling fire of musketry commenced on the north side of the creek. Almost at the same moment Colonel Pritchard and his regiment charged up the road from the south upon us. As soon as one of them came within range I covered him with my revolver and was about to fire, but lowered the weapon when I perceived the attacking column was so strong as to make resistance useless; and reflected that, by killing the man, I should certainly not be helping ourselves, and might only provoke a general firing upon the members of our party in sight. We were taken by surprise, and not one of us exchanged a shot with the enemy. Colonel Johnston tells me he was the first prisoner taken. In a moment Colonel Pritchard rode directly to me and, pointing across the creek said, "What does

night my horse remained saddled, my pistols were in the holsters and I lay down in my wife's tent with all my clothes on, to wait for the arrival of the marauders, but being weary fell into a deep sleep from which I was aroused by my coachman, James Jones, telling me that there was firing over the creek. The idea with which I had fallen asleep was still in my mind, when stepping instantly out of the tent I saw the troopers deploying from the road down which they came & immediately turned back to inform my wife that these were not the expected marauders, but were cavalry, having recognized them as such by the manner of their deployment. The road was some distance to the west of the tent & none of the soldiers were then near the tent. My wife urged me to leave immediately, the way being still open to the eastward, my horse & arms however were near to the road down which the Assailants came, so that I must go on foot. As I started, the foremost of the deploying troops advanced towards me and ordered me to halt, at the same time aiming his carbine at me and ordering me to surrender, to which I replied with angry defiance & started towards him. My wife who had been watching the whole proceeding rushed after me & threw her arms around my neck. Whether it would have been possible for me to escape the trooper's fire & get his horse by a very sudden movement, it was quite certain that an instant['s] delay, with the hurrying approach of other troopers, rendered the case hopeless; I therefore walked back with my wife to her tent & passed on without entering it, to the fire in the rear of it where I sat down, as the morning was chilly. I do not think I went 50 feet from the tent door, and so far from Col Pritchard having stationed a Sentinel there, the one truth he told, so far as I know, was that he was not aware of my presence in the encampment until some time after its capture. Subsequent revelations sufficiently show that the object of the expedition was to capture the wagons supposed to be laden with that hypothetical

that mean? Have you any men with you?" Supposing the firing was done by our teamsters, I replied, "Of course we have —don't you hear the firing?" He seemed to be nettled at the reply, gave the order "Charge," and gallantly led the way himself across the creek, nearly every man in his command following. Our camp was thus left deserted for a few minutes," except by one mounted guard at Mrs. Davis' tent (stationed there by Colonel Pritchard in passing) and by the few troopers who stopped to plunder our wagons. I had been sleeping upon the same side of the road with and was then standing very near the tent occupied by Mrs. Davis. Looking there I saw her o come out and heard her say something to the guard; perceiving she wanted him to move off. I approached and actually persuaded the fellow to ride away. As the guard moved into the road, and I walked beside his horse, the President emerged for the first time from the tent, at the side farther from us, and walked away into the woods to the eastward, and at right angles to the road.

Presently looking around and observing somebody had come out of the tent, the guard turned his horse's head and, reaching the spot he had first occupied, was again approached by Mrs. Davis, who engaged him in conversation. In a minute, the guard was joined by one or perhaps two of his comrades, who either had lagged behind the column and were just coming up the road, or had at that moment crossed over from the other (the west) side, where a few of them had fallen to plundering, as I have stated, instead of charging over the creek. They remained on horseback and soon became violent in their language with Mrs. Davis; the order to "halt" was called out by one of them to the President, was not obeyed, and was quickly repeated in a loud voice several times: at least one of the men then threatened to fire, and pointed a carbine toward the President to do so. At that, Mrs. Davis, overcome with terror, cried out in apprehension,—and the President (who had now walked sixty or eighty paces away into the unobstructed woods) turned round and came back rapidly to his wife at the tent. At least one of the soldiers continued his violent language to Mrs. Davis, and the President reproached him for such conduct to her-

Some insolent language was used by our Captors around the fire & Mrs Davis did reply to one of them, and I did say what I felt like, but

there was no conversation at the moment of my arrest-

 $^{^{}n}$ I saw one trooper, the leading one coming down to put himself near the tent when I left it, he had not been stationed there by CoI. Pritchard or anybody else & was only part of the deployment.

when one of them, seeing the face of the President, as he stood near and talking, said, "Mr. Davis, surrender! I recognize you, sir." Pictures of the President were so common that nearly or quite every man in both armies knew his face.

It was, as yet, scarcely daylight.

The President had on a water-proof cloak. He had used it, when riding, as a protection against the rain during the night and morning preceding that last halt; and he had probably been sleeping in that cloak, at the moment when the camp was attacked.

While all these things were going on, Miss Howell and the children remained within the other tent. The gentlemen of our party had, with the single exception of Captain Moody, all slept on the west side of the road and in or near the wagons. They were, so far as I know, paying no attention to what was going on at the tents. I have since talked with Johnston, Wood, and Lubbock, and with others about these matters; and I have not found there was any one—except Mrs. Davis, the single mounted guard stationed at her tent, and myself—who saw all that occurred and heard all that was said at the time. Any one else who gives an account of it, has had to rely upon hearsay for a part, if not for all, of his story.

In a short time after the soldier had recognized the President, Colonel Pritchard and his men returned from across the creek—the battle there having been ended by the capture by one party of a man belonging to the other, and by the recognition which followed.

They told us the column, consisting of a detachment of Wisconsin cavalry and another of Michigan cavalry, had been despatched from Macon in pursuit of us, under the command of Colonel Harnden, of Wisconsin; that when they reached Abbeville, they heard a party of mounted men, with wagons, had crossed the river near there, the night before; that they immediately suspected the identity of the party, and decided to follow it: but that, to make sure of catching us if we had not already crossed the river, Lieutenant-Colonel Pritchard had been posted at the ferry with orders to remain there and capture anybody attempting to pass; that Colonel Harnden, with his Wisconsin men, marched down the direct road we had ourselves taken, and, coming upon us in the night, had halted on the north side of the creek to wait for daylight before making the attack, lest some might escape in the darkness; that Lieutenant-Colonel Pritchard had satisfied himself by further conversation with the ferry-man,

that it was indeed Mr. Davis who had crossed there, and, deciding to be in, if possible, at the capture, had marched as rapidly as he could along the road nearer the river, to the east of and for most of the distance nearly parallel with the route taken by Colonel Harnden; that he reached the cross-roads (Irwinville) in the night, ascertained nobody had passed there for several days, turned north and found us only a mile and a half up the road; that, to intercept any attempt at escape, he had dismounted some of his men, and sent them to cross the creek to the westward of us and to post themselves in the road north of our camp; that, as these dismounted men crossed the creek and approached the road, they came upon the Wisconsin troopers, and not being able, in the insufficient light, to distinguish their uniforms, and supposing them to be our escort, opened a brisk fire which was immediately returned; and that, on that signal, Colonel Pritchard and his column charged up the road into our camp, and thence into the thick of the fight. They said that, in the rencontre, a man and, I think, a horse or two were killed, and that an officer and perhaps one or two men were wounded.

During the confusion of the next few minutes, Colonel John Taylor Wood escaped—first inducing the soldier who halted him to go aside into the bushes on the bank of the creek, and there bribing the fellow with some gold to let him get away altogether. As Wood was an officer of the navy, as well as an officer of the army, had commanded cruisers along the Atlantic coast, had captured and sunk a number of New York and New England vessels, and was generally spoken of in the Northern newspapers as a "pirate," he not unnaturally apprehended that, if he remained in the enemy's hands, he would be treated with special severity.

He made his way to Florida and there met General Breckinridge, with whom (and perhaps one or two others) he sailed
down the east coast of the State in a small open boat, and escaped
to Cuba. When in London, in September, 1866, I dined with
Breckinridge, and had from him the story of their adventures.
He said they kept close along shore and, frequently landing,
subsisted on turtles' eggs found in the sand. When nearing the
southerly end of the coast, they one day perceived a boat coming to meet them and were at first afraid of capture; but,
presently, observing that the other boat was so changing its
course as to avoid them, they shrewdly suspected it to contain
deserters or escaped convicts from the Dry Tortugas, or some
such people, who were probably themselves apprehensive of

trouble if caught. Wood therefore gave chase immediately, and, having the swifter boat, soon overhauled the other chap. The unsatisfactory account the men aboard gave of themselves seemed to confirm the suspicion with regard to their character. The new boat was a better seacraft than the one our voyagers had, though not so fast a sailer. They were afraid theirs would not take them across the Gulf to Cuba, so they determined to appropriate the other. Turning pirates for the occasion, they showed their side-arms, put on a bold air, and threatened the rascals with all manner of dreadful things; but finally relented so far as to offer to let them off with an exchange of boats! The victims were delighted with this elemency, and gladly went through what Mr. Lincoln called the dangerous process of "swapping horses while crossing a stream." Each party went on its way rejoicing, and our friends finally, as I have said, reached the coast of Cuba, though almost famished. Indeed, Breckinridge said they were kept alive at all only by a loaf or two of bread kindly given them by a Yankee skipper as they sailed under his stern at day-break of the last day of their vovage.

All of the other members of the President's party, except Colonel Thorburn, and all those of my own party remained as prisoners—unless, indeed, one or two of the teamsters escaped, as to which I do not recollect.

I had been astonished to discover the President still in camp when the attack was made. What I learned afterward explained the mystery. Wood and Thorburn tell me that, after the President had eaten supper with his wife, he told them he should ride on when Mrs. Davis was ready to go to sleep; but that, when bed-time came, he finally said he would ride on in the morning—and so spent the night in the tent. He seemed to be entirely unable to apprehend the danger of capture. Everybody was disturbed at this change of his plan to ride ten miles further, but he could not be got to move. (In pencil in Davis's hand, "The reason for change stated above.")

Colonel Thorburn decided to start during the night, to accomplish as soon as possible his share of the arrangement for the escape of the party from the sea-coast; and, with his negro boy, he set out alone before day-break. He tells me that, at Irwinville, they ran into the enemy in the darkness, and were fired upon. The negro leveled himself on his horse's back, and galloped away like a good fellow into the woods to the east. Thorburn is cool and an excellent shot; he says he turned in the saddle for a moment, shot the foremost of the pursuers, saw him tumble

from his horse, and then kept on after the negro. They were chased into the woods, but their horses were fresher than those of the enemy and easily distanced pursuit. Thorburn says he went on to Florida, found his friend, Captain Coxsetter, at Lake City, ascertained the vessel was, as expected, in the Indian River, and in good condition for the voyage to Texas; arranged with the captain to get her ready for sailing, and then returned to Madison for the rendezvous. There, he says, he learned of the President's capture, and, having no further use for the

vessel, sent back orders to destroy her.

The business of plundering commenced immediately after the capture; and we were soon left with only what we had on, and what we had in our pockets. Several of us rejoiced in some gold: mine was only the one hundred and ten dollars I have mentioned; but Colonel Lubbock and Colonel Johnston had about fifteen hundred dollars each. (In the margain a ? to this.) Lubbock held on to nearly or quite all of his. But Johnston had found the coins an uncomfortable burden when carried otherwise, and had been riding with them in his holsters. There his precious gold was found; and thence it was eagerly taken by one or more of our captors. His horse and his saddle, with the trappings and pistols, were those his father, General Albert Sydney Johnston, had used at the battle of Shiloh—and were greatly prized. They and all our horses were promptly appropriated by the officers of Colonel Pritchard's command—the Colonel himself claiming and taking the lion's share, including the two carriage-horses which, as he was told at the time, were the property of Mrs. Davis—having been bought and presented to her by the gentlemen in Richmond upon the occasion already mentioned. Colonel Pritchard also asserted a claim to the horse I had myself ridden, who had stood the march admirably and was fresher and in better condition than any of the rest of the animals. The Colonel's claim to him, however, was disputed by the Adjutant, who insisted on the right of first appropriation, and there was a quarrel between those officers on the spot.

While it was going on I emptied the contents of my haversack into a fire where some of the enemy were cooking breakfast, and there saw them all burn. They were chiefly old loveletters, with a photograph of my sweetheart,—though with them chanced to be a few telegrams and perhaps some letters, relating

to public affairs, of no special interest.

After we had had breakfast, it was arranged that each of the prisoners should ride his own horse to Macon—the captors kindly consenting to waive right of possession meantime; and that arrangement was carried out. (In the margin, not in Davis's hand "Another par. to come.")

The march to Macon took four days. As we rode up to the headquarters of General Wilson there, an orderly (acting, as he said, under directions of the Adjutant), seized my rein before I had dismounted, and led off my horse the moment I was out of the saddle. When, that afternoon, we were sent to the station to take the railway train arranged to convey the prisoners to Augusta, the horses of all or most of the officers of our party were standing in front of the hotel, and the several exowners rode them to the station. My horse was not there; and I had to go to the station afoot.

Several years afterward, on the grand stand at the Jerome Park race-course, in New York, I met Colonel ——, from whom, in Danville, Virginia, I had got that horse under the circumstances narrated. He told me he was in that part of Georgia shortly after our capture; and said that the quarrel between Colonel Pritchard and his Adjutant, as to who should have my horse, waxed so hot at Macon that the Adjutant, fearing he would not be able to keep the horse himself, and determined Colonel Pritchard should not have him, ended the dispute by drawing his revolver and shooting the gallant steed dead!

Had Mr. Davis continued his journey, without reference to us. after crossing the Ocmulgee River; or had he ridden on, after getting supper with our party the night we halted for the last time; had he ridden but five miles beyond Irwinville, passing through that village at night, and so avoiding observation,—there is every reason to suppose that he and his immediate party would have escaped through Florida or elsewhere to the sea-coast, as Mr. Benjamin escaped, as General Breckinridge escaped, and as others did. It was the apprehension he felt for the safety of his wife and children which brought about his capture. And looking back now, it must be thought by everybody to have been best that he did not then escape from the country.

To have been a prisoner in the hands of the Government of the United States, and not to have been brought to trial upon any of the charges against him, is sufficient refutation of them

P The publication made some time since by Judge Reagan, refers to a story about my purpose to escape from the seacoast & answers it by a reference to a conversation he had with me in which I told him I would not leave Confederate soil as long as there were any Confederate soldiers asserting our cause, and told him the opposite conduct of Kossuth had caused me when in the Senate to vote against giving him the privileges of the floor.

all. It indicates that people in Washington very well knew the accusations could not have been sustained.

At the bottom, in pencil "Several paragraphs to be added."

Mrs. Wm. H. Felton to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Near Cartersville, Georgia. Sept. 17th, 1883.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, "Beauvoir," Mississippi.

Sir:

I have not read Judge Black's posthumous reply to you, but I have some facts relating to "F. A. B"— (Burr) that may be valuable to you, and I will furnish them to you most cheerfully.

That you may understand matters correctly, and know exactly how authentic these facts are, and how much to be relied upon, I will first tell you, I am the wife of Hon. W. H. Felton of this State; who represented the 7th Dist. of Georgia in the 44th, 45th and 46th Congresses of the United States.

Hon. Alexander H. Stephens was for many years a strong

personal friend and correspondent of mine.

This correspondence embraced many subjects, in its scope, and was free and easy on both sides. When a reported interview with Gen. J. E. Johnston appeared in the year 1881,—I wrote to Mr. Stephens asking his opinion about it. The reply to my inquiry is contained in a letter written to me, dated from Washington city Dec. 26th 1881.

Before beginning the quotation, permit me to say, that this statement made by Mr. Stephens has one very gratifying feature, because his allusion to yourself was made in such a spirit of fairness and justice, that it removed in a great measure from my mind, the impression that he was generally unfriendly to yourself. This impression, it is proper to say had prevailed in Georgia ever since the war, although I believe Mr. Stephens made a public disclaimer in a speech, delivered at Macon, Geo. during the fall of 1882.

The race made by Mr. Stephens for Governor at that time, created a rupture in our friendly relations, as he for some unaccountable reason, chose to attack my husband and thus forced the cessation of our previously frequent letters.

The attitude of Judge Black towards yourself as reported by

Mr. Burr, is another example of the failure of mental faculties in aged men,—always supposing Mr. Burr to be truthful in making a correct report of Judge Black's personal feelings. But this letter of Mr. Stephens will in my opinion, relieve your mind in a great degree of the impression, that Judge Black was personally inimical to you,—his old-time friend—for if it is true, that Mr. Burr has made a practice of victimizing living statesmen, what restraint could he acknowledge in mispresenting the dead? But here is the full quotation:—

"This matter of interviewing or reporting interviews and sayings of public men is becoming an exceedingly great evil. Why people, intelligent people, will continue to give credence

to it is a little strange and mortifying to me.

This fellow Burr ("F.A.B.") who has published the late interview with Gen. Joe. Johnston which is now making such a stir in the land is the same Bohemian who published in the same paper (Phila. Press) last summer what he reported as an interview with Gen. Toombs in Washington Georgia. It contained the most incredible fabrications, falsehoods without the shadow of truth to sustain them. I knew on reading it, that Toombs never could have made such statements unless he was too drunk to take any notice of what he should say. Hence I was not at all surprised at his denial soon after of the whole matter.

Young Colledge who acted as my stenographer last summer in place of Mr. Graham, when he was called away, told me he was employed by Mr. Burr, to act as his stenographer to take down what Gen. Toombs and Mr. Davis should say in an interview with each, which he went South to obtain. He was paid by Burr, and his expenses borne down to Mississippi for the Davis interview. He told me that Burr sought the interview with Toombs at the Kimball House. Toombs refused to be interviewed by him or to talk with him. Burr then dictated to him what purported to be the Toombs interview and sent it off to the *Press*.

What could be more infamous? The same thing occurred when they reached Mr. Davis. Mr. Davis on their arrival at his house received them kindly, treated them courteously, but positively and decidedly refused to be interviewed or to talk with them at all for publication. Colledge did not note or take down a word he uttered, but yet Burr dictated to him and he took down stenographically what Burr sent on to the *Press*, as the "Davis" interview.

Could anything be baser? Yet this is the man who has stirred up so much ill-blood by publishing what purports to be an interview with Gen. Joe Johnston about millions of coin at the collapse of the Confederate cause. There is not a just and sensible man in the United States it seems to me who upon reading that interview would not know that Gen. Johnston never could have made the statements which

Burr puts into his mouth.

But enough of this. Johnston's enemies are using this abominable tissue of fabricated falsehoods just as if they were true. But enough. In justice to Adkins, (Atkins of Tennessee I presume; Mrs. F.) I must add that he is perfectly indignant, as much so as Johnston, at a late publication in Tennessee of what purported to be an interview with him.

He says it is utterly untrue. Unless there be some correction of this evil, the time will soon come, when no one connected with the newspaper outside of the circle of his private friends, will be allowed to enter a gentleman's presence. At least, if it

don't come soon it ought to."

signed, yours truly, A. H. S.

In conclusion, I will hope, this statement, from so distinguished a source, will not only have the effect to reinstate Judge Black in your friendship, but will also make the memory of Mr. Stephens tender to you, for I know how hard it is to be wounded in the house of your friends.

I feel such a profound sympathy for you in these latter days, when you are bearing so much for the sake of the citizens of the late Confederate States, that I must offer that sympathy as my motive in thus intruding upon your time and attention.

With great respect, Mrs. William H. Felton.

endorsed: Mrs. Wm. H. Felton; about Burr, A. II. Stephens; ansd. 18th Sept. '83.

E. G. W. Butler to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

St. Louis, Missouri. Sept. 28, 1883.

My dear Sir:

I wrote to you on the 10th instant; but, in view of your sick hands and the gratification I derive from communicating pleasant things from one to another of my endless correspondents, I am inclined to write to you again, today, and send you three of the six sheets of a letter, received from Senator M. C. Butler,

of South Carolina, on the 14th Instant. Since I wrote to you, I have seen mention of another scurilous letter, from an alleged Reporter; professing to be a last conversation with Judge Black. I hope, my dear Sir, you will not condescend to notice it. Nil mortuis nisi Is onum.

I have just had a charming letter from our charming Friend, Mrs. Bragg; whom I fancy you have seen; as she and her cousin, Mary Butler, have been wandering along the coast and have been at Ocean Springs and Pass Christian. I have never forgotten a sad letter she wrote me from Galveston; on Gen. Bragg's being obliged, by the puppy Ames, to cease operations at E. Passagoula, and seek employment in Texas. "How sad it is, dear Colonel, to be obliged, by animosities to leave the dear old Pass, and come among strangers. In my walks upon the beach the ebb and flow of the tides reminded me of the rise and fall of the fortunes of the Confederacy; and I thought to myself, after wreck and ruin of his health and fortune, what a fit place it would be for a poor Confederate to lie down and die."

I am afraid, My dear Mr. Davis, that I am about to lose my dear old friend, Alexander Duncan; a friend and correspondent of 62 years; as he is suffering from inability to take food, and his son Butler, wrote me from N. York, on 18th: "I have a dispatch today saying, 'Less distress, but very feeble'". Being no longer of use, I would gladly take his place.

Harvey still suffers from his legs; and Madam St. Cye had

taken him to St. Paul, for a fortnight.

A little German boy, 13 years old, wrote me, from San Francisco, for an autograph of "Old Hickory"; but unwilling to mutilate his letters, I gave him an extract from one; and he writes: "Words cannot express my thanks. In future, Gen. Jackson's words to you shall be my motto—"Never make enemies that you can avoid; and never receive injury from any source, without proper resentment."

He was a glorious old man!

Mrs. Montgomery Blair writes me, from the Country, that she has not returned to Washington since her husband's death; and, therefore, does not know what progress he had made in his: "Life of Andrew Jackson"; nor what arangements for its completion.

At the instance of the elder Blair, I got the General's papers from Amos Kendall, and feel responsible for their safety, and disappointment in the non-completion of the Book.

My son is very happy with his little orphans, and unites with me in assurances of the most friendly regard and abiding good wishes.

> Faithfully and truly yours, (Signed) E. G. W. BUTLER.

Hon. Jeff. Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

J. Wm. Jones to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Richmond, Va. Oct. 3d, 1883.

President Jefferson Davis, My dear Friend:

I have just received your esteemed favor of the 1st, and hasten to thank you for calling my attention to errors in our Oct. No.

I fully agree with you that our Papers ought to be "so accurate that all questions of fact could hereafter be settled by a reference to them," and I do my best to approximate that standard

But you will appreciate that when a paper is sent me endorsed by so responsible a name as Genl. Echols or Col. Bullitt, it would not do for me to decline to publish it, though I do seek to correct its errors while avowing all the time that the Society is not responsible for what we publish with responsible names attached.

In the statement of Gov. Anderson in the note to which you refer, as in some other points, I thought at the time he was clearly wrong, and had purposed putting in a note of correction but unfortunately it escaped me in the press of my work.

The incident given by Genl. Echols, I had gotten (secondhanded) from him and used in my "Reminiscences of Lee;" but the form in which I related it made General Lee say distinctly; "Mr. Davis can make the assignment if he thinks proper," and in my hurried reading of Genl. Echols' paper it did not occur to me that he meant to intimate that Genl. Lee had any power in the matter of the appointment, but simply that you desired his recommendation in a matter affecting his Department.

The question now is as to the best form of making these corrections. I should be very glad, of course, to have from you a letter for publication covering the whole. Or if you prefer,

I will do it editorially in our next No., the last form of which will go to press in about ten days or two weeks. I need not assure you that your name and fame shall never suffer, intentionally, at my hands, and that I should be the last one who would allow to pass unchallenged, or uncorrected, anything that even remotely robs of his just merit and prerogative the great Chief of the Confederacy.

With kindest regards to Mrs. Davis, and best wishes for your

health and happiness, I am,

Yours very truly, (Signed) J. Wm. Jones. Sec'y.

J. E. Dearborn to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Waltham. Oct. 20, 1883.

Hon. Jefferson Davis. Most honored Sir:

Just now we are having quite an exciting time over our election that comes off next month. Our candidates are B. F. Butler and one Geo. Robinson. We are united on the latter as he is more interested in the welfare of the working classes. The former has one argument that he claims ought cause us to vote for him. It is this, He says he was such an active officer while opposing your forces and used every possible measure even the most extreme until you issued a proclamation declaring him an outlaw and fixing the penalty of hanging if he was captured.

Now I with a few others here have tried to find any account of that order of yours. We have written to him asking where it can be found, but with his characteristic assurance he treats us with silence. As we could think of no other way we thought we would address a letter of inquiry to you as the other party identified with the order.

If you could conveniently and without too much trouble give us the information where an account of that order could be found it would place us all under obligation to you.

Hoping this will reach you and that we may be able to have an answer ere 7th of November, I am, dear sir,

Your humble servant,

(Signed) J. E. DEARBORN.

Waltham, Mass. South Side.

Wm. Preston Johnston to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Lexington, Va. Oct. 20th 1883.

My Dear Mr. Davis,

I got here last night, and found your letter which had followed me to Staunton, where it arrived in my absence. In regard to the subject matter of your letter, the promotion of Genl. Custis Lee, I have no special or definite recollection. I have a very clear remembrance of the high appreciation you had of his character and abilities, and that on several occasions on which you offered or gave him promotion he interposed objections. But I did not charge my mind much with personal matters, and my memory is not retentive of them. Hence, I am not able to help you clear up the doubts about this question.

Genl. Lee has been much benefited by a visit to the Hot Springs and looks well. I shall be here a few days attending to my business, after which I hope to look at some educational institutions at the North, and to return to New Orleans about the

middle of November.

Please remember me to Mrs. Davis, and believe me as ever
Affectionately and sincerely yours,
Wm. Preston Johnston.

Nahum Capen to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Mt. Ida, Dorchester, Mass. Oct. 20th, 1883.

My dear Sir:

Many thanks for your favor in reply to my letter. I have written to Col. Charles Marshall for the information I desired respecting Gen. Lee, as advised by his son.

Just before the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, I met a distinguished official and asked him what the probabilities were as to secession, and whether the movement could be, or would be stopped. He became excited and paced the room as he con-

versed with me. He said, indignantly, "The whole movement can be stopped if one man, who was then in Washington (Lincoln) would speak one word or authorize some one to speak for him. That the Southern States shall have their constitutional rights under his administration. Some of the leaders of secession had authorised this proposition to be made, pledging themselves to stop all further movements of Secession, if he would make such an assurance either in writing or otherwise. But not a word could they get either from him or his party."

My good friend, Thos. W. Pierce, who has the past three years enabled me to employ an assistant, told me some years ago, that he had an interview with you just before the vote of your State to secede. You told him that you had advised your fellow citizens in Miss. *not* to secede and that you believed you had succeeded in preventing such a vote but you should go with your

state whatever they might decide upon, etc.

It has been frequently stated that you were the chief leader of secession, from the first. This, I have always denied. It has been stated that you desired to the first President of the Confederacy. This, too, I have always denied, knowing that it was not according to your taste to seek office—Was I right?

The question now, is, was there a settled plan at the South to leave the Union, at any rate, would the leading men of the Southern States have been willing to meet the North on peaceful

terms of adjustment, as stated?

I put these questions, because, in reply to a question I put the gentleman referred to, whether he recollected the conversation I have quoted, says he does not particularly recollect it tho' he does not deny it. But, he adds, that he became convinced afterwards that no terms whatever could have been possible with the South, that they had resolved upon their course under all circumstances. Please enlighten me upon this subject. I have put down many items in my Memo. Book from time to time, and you will, I trust, pardon me for asking questions, now and then.

With best regards to Mrs. Davis, believe me,
Always your friend,
(Signed) NAHUM CAPEN.

Hon. Jeff. Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

E. G. W. Butler to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

St. Louis, Missouri. November 12, 1883.

My dear Mr. Davis:

Tho' I replied to your last kind letter, 26th Ultimo; I cannot deny myself the pleasure of inclosing a letter, just received from the Hon. Channing F. Black, of Pennsylvania. You know what the good Book says of the "peace maker". Though, like many others of my correspondents, I have not the pleasure of Mr. Black's acquaintance, I was the recipient, some months ago, of some of his addresses, as President of the Jeffersonian Democratic Association, of Pennsylvania; and he seems to have inherited the abilities of his distinguished Father.

Among other papers, he sent me a letter, of recent date from George M. Dallas; defining the character of the two political parties. "Democracy is a party of *Principles*, and not of Issues; and its opponent, a party of *Issues*, and of Principles." Till the receipt of that letter, I had supposed him dead, during

many years.

Well, my dear Sir, "the smoke and storm and rage of battle" have passed away; and, though as usual victory was marred in New York by the war of the Factions; Virginia is rescued from the Domination of the Traitor and Scoundrel Mahone, and the Negroes; and I am happy and content. She educated the poor Devil, and well might she exclaim: "Blow, blow, thou winter winds; thou art not so unkind as man's ingratitude."

The loss of the Legislature, in New York, loses us a Senator but, fortunately, Mahone has to walk; and Carlisle or Randolph Tucker would do honor to the place and to the "Old Dominion."

Mrs. Gay and the children leave for Louisiana in a few days; and my son having concluded to take quarters in town, during their absence, I will go to our old friend, Harney, the last of this month and shall hope to see you, during the winter.

My dear old Friends Duncan and Amory are both recovered; Butler Duncan writes: "My dear old Father has turned the corner, and is on his feet again;" and promises to make Harney and myself a visit during next month, at Pass Christian.

Lawrence and I took a three hours ride to see him, yesterday; but as usual he had "gone to Town." But for the good Madam' St. Cye, I don't know what would become of him; for his chil-

dren pay him no attention. His legs are much better; and he

can, now, walk about.

I left him at school, near the "Hermitage", to go to West Point, in 1816; and, though he entered the Army, from Civil life, in 1818, he has the effrontery to put himself on record as 6 months younger than me. My poor son looks sadly to the departure of his little Darlings. He desires me to assure you of his affectionate regard and abiding good wishes; in which I cordially unite.

Very sincerely your Friend, (Signed) E. G. W. BUTLER.

Hon. Jeff. Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

P.S. Pray can you tell me anything of our good Friend Judge Perkins, and give me his address.

Jefferson Davis to J. William Jones.

(From Southern Historical Society Papers Vol. II, pp. 560-564.)

Beauvoir, Miss, 22d November, 1883

Rev. J. William Jones, D. D.,

Secretary Southern Historical Society:

Dear Sir,—I regretted to see several important errors published in the October No. of the SOUTHERN HISTORICAL SOCIETY PAPERS, especially because I have regarded them as to be the depository of authentic facts in regard to the "Confederate States of America." Sympathizing with the evident purpose of the writers to do honor to the memory of our great Captain, Robert E. Lee, I submit that his fame requires no adventitious aid. His character grand, beautiful in its simplicity, complete in its consistency, needs no ornamentation, and least of all, fictitious elevation at the expense of others.

A note appended to page 447 contains the following sentence: "Remember, too, that the *Confederate high places* were all notoriously filled or engaged (Sidney Johnston for first command, &c.") Remember, also Lee's "Virginia soil conditions" of acceptance. His is a wondrous record of consistent purity!—Governor Anderson.

This is a wondrous bundle of errors.

General Lee did not leave the United States Army to enter that of the Confederacy. He conscientiously believed that his al-

legiance was due primarily to Virginia, and through her, so long as she remained in the Union, that he owed allegiance to the United States; therefore, when Virginia withdrew from the Union and war was waged against her because of the exercise of that sovereign right, the alternative presented to Lee, was to fight against, or in defence of, his mother State. Any one who knew him could have foretold what his choice would be. Temptatious arguments offered to such a man to prove traitor to his country in the hour of her direct need, could only have been

heard for complaisance sake.

When he came and offered his services to Virginia, he was at once appointed Commander in Chief of her army, for Virginia had not then united with the Confederate States. Subsequent to that event Virginia voluntarily became one of the Confederate States, as she had in 1788 become one of the United States. Then the Army of Virginia was transferred and became a part of the army of the Confederate States. General Lee was nominated and confirmed to the highest grade then existing in the Confederate army, and to the highest rank of the officers who were transferred by Virginia, as was due to the position he held in that army. The relative rank of officers who left the Army of the United States and joined that of the Confederacy was fixed by the law of March 14th, 1861; beyond this the Executive had authority to select General officers, with the limitation that, after the army was organized, the selection must be made from the officers thereof. Brigadier-General Twiggs was the highest in rank of the officers who left the United States army to serve the Confederacy, and under our law must have had the highest rank if he had been willing to enter for the general service; he declined to do so, and was commissioned in the provisional army. So much for the fictitious engagement with "Sidney Johnston for first command."

But, yet further, it may be stated that when Lee left the United States army and took service with Virginia, and when he was commissioned in the Confederate service, Brevet-Brigadier-General Sidney Johnston was commanding the United States forces in California, and we had no information of an intention on his part to join the Confederacy. It is cruelly unjust, as it is utterly untrue, that Johnston came to the Confederacy under an engagement about his position in our army, and it is within my personal knowledge that he did not know, until after he arrived at Richmond, that our law secured his relative rank if he left the United States army to join that of the Confederacy.

A fair knowledge and appreciation of the character of Lee,

would have excluded the supposition that he would have counted among obstacles, the expectation that he would be ranked in the new service by the Colonel of their former regiment, an officer of eminent ability and distinguished service. I have stated elsewhere, and more fully than it is convenient to do now, how little regardful about their rank either of these great and good men were. They offered their swords and their lives to the defence of their country's cause, without counting the cost or claiming a reward. I do not know what is meant by "Lee's Virginia soil conditions." So far as I know, he made no conditions on entering the Confederate army, and the proof that he did not consider himself on local duty, is found in his service in South Carolina and Georgia.

To those officers who were reared in the army, and had followed the flag of the United States in Indian and in foreign wars, to whom, on sea and land, it revived the memories of home, whose friends and associates from boyhood were chiefly in the army, it was a severe trial to sever their professional ties and turn their backs upon a flag dear to them as the memory of early love; but so many of the Southern officers of the army and navy made that sacrifice, that the exceptions are not sufficiently numerous to shield them from the contempt which belongs to desertion.

On pages 451-454 is a letter from General John Echols, of whom it will be unnecessary, to those who know him, to say that he is so incapable of misstatement that error must be unintentional; yet he has committed a grave mistake, which does injustice to General Lee and to myself, and is quite out of keeping with the law and usage of the Confederate States. I extract as follows: "In the winter of '63-'4, if my memory serves me, when General Lee's headquarters were near Orange Courthouse, Virginia, I was directed by President Davis to go to the General and to urge upon him to recommend his distinguished son, General Custis Lee, to an important command, for which President Davis thought him admirably fitted, but to which he could not assign him without the recommendation of his father, who was in chief command of the army. I went to him and spent several hours in his tent at night talking over the importance of the command to which it was desired that General Custis Lee should be assigned, and delivered to him messages which had been sent by President Davis upon the subject, * * * but I could make no impression upon the General, and the only answer which I could get from him, and which he reiterated at different times in the conversation, when I would urge the President's wishes, was. 'General Custis Lee is my son, and whilst I think very well of his abilities, yet, in my opinion, he has not been sufficiently tried in the field, and because he is my son and because of his want of sufficient experience in the field, I cannot and I will not recommend him for the place. You may return and say to the President that I recognize the importance of the position to which he refers, and that I am willing to send to that command any other officer here with my army whom he may designate, however valuable that officer is, or may be, to me in my present position.' "Modesty and courtesy were characteristics of Lee, and self-assertion, even to the extent it was just, was no part of his usual conduct; but he is here presented in a guise never worn by him in his frequent correspondence and conversation during the four years of the war. was not "in chief command of the army" at the time specified. Soon after he took command of the Army of Northern Virginia, he insisted upon being relieved of the general command to which I had previously assigned him, and his repeated request in that regard was granted. I very frequently consulted him about other matters than those of the army under his command, and did so on several occasions about affairs in West Virginia. On one occasion, I think it must have been about the time to which General Echols alludes, some gentlemen in Western Virginia requested me to appoint Custis Lee to the command of that department. He was then, and had for some time been, the senior officer of my staff, and my observation of him, both in the office and at various times in the field, had well satisfied me of his ability. The case was one in which his unwillingness to interfere with other officers had no just application. I sent for him and offered him the command, stating the circumstances of the case; he left me without any expression of his wishes on the subject, but soon after one of my aids told me that when he went to the room occupied by them he mentioned the offer I had made to him, and expressed his unwillingness to take the position in such decided terms that I could not consistently force it upon him. It must have been after this that General Echols saw General Lee, and thinking, no doubt, like myself, that Custis Lee was very well suited to the command, he may naturally have enforced his opinion by a reference to my own, but General Robert Lee knew too well what was due to me and to himself to have claimed any power to control me in the matter. He was as little likely to assume what did not belong to him as I was to surrender my constitutional function. I frequently consulted General Lee about officers to be employed elsewhere than

under his command, and in connection with the subject of West Virginia I have received a copy of a letter written to me by General Lee from his headquarters at Orange Courthouse, 27th of January, 1864. He writes: "I have not been unmindful of your request expressed in your letter of the 16th inst., desiring my opinion in reference to the reorganization of the troops in West Virginia." After making favorable mention of a number of officers, he proceeds: "I do not know to what duty General Buckner is assigned, but of the officers that have been serving in that department I think General Ransom is the most prominent." At a later date, when General Ransome's health rendered it necessary to relieve him, I sent the following telegram to General Lee:

"Richmond, August 9, 1864.

General R. E. Lee, Dunn's Hill, Va:

Who shall relieve General Ransom in the Valley? Can General F. Lee, or would it be better to send a Senior Brigadier?"

To which General Lee answered as follows:

"Dunn's Hill, Va., August 9th, 1864

His Excellency, Jeff'n Davis:

Dispatch of to-day received.¹ * * Some commander should relieve Ransom. I think it best to send Fitz. Lee's Senior Brigadier. Will do so if you approve.''

To which I replied:

"August 10th, 1864.

GENERAL R. E. LEE, near Petersburg, Va.:

I accept your conclusion. General G. W. C. Lee not physically equal to the duty. Send the Senior Brigadier of Fitz. Lee's division."

I will close this long letter, as I began, with the expression of my deep interest in the SOUTHERN HISTORICAL PAPERS, and with an earnest protest against allowing the statuesque character of Lee to be impaired by ascribing to him what is inconsistent with its symmetry.

I am, very respectfully,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

¹These stars of omission are in the copy I have, and there is nothing except my answer to indicate what was thus omitted.

E. G. W. Butler to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Pass Christian, Miss. January 8, 1884.

My dear Mr. Davis:

I wrote to you 21st ultimo, inclosing a letter from Lieut. Gov. Black; which I hoped would close the breach between vourself and his late father; and, having nothing from you in reply I fancy you are absent, or my letter has miscarried. Governor Black has just sent me the admirable letter from his Father to Hon. J. H. Garfield, of 1876, saving: "You turn back the original of present parties to the earliest immigrations at Plymouth and Jamestown": and adding: "Following these assertions with others and linking the present with the long past, you employ the devices of your rhetoric to glorify the modern Abolitionist, and to throw foul scorn, not merely on the Southern people, but on the whole Democracy of the Country." He gives the Hero of the Land Grab, the Back Grab, and the De-Golin Pavement, an exterminator. Today is the 69th anniversary of the final Battle of New Orleans; but, the history of The Buttle of 23d December, 1814; is yet to be written.

Gen. Jackson, with his two aids-de-camp, Thos. L. Butler and John Reib, was on a reconnoissance below — having left his Adj. General, Col. Robert Butler, with discretionary powers. ——— when the latter received intelligence of the approach of the enemy, below the City. As the commanding general had made his dispositions with a view to the approach of the enemy by way of the Rigocts and Lake Pontchartrain, Colonel Butler immediately drew in all the troops and when the General returned, the morning of the 23d, he disapproved of Col. Butler's action, alleging that the intelligence he received was a ruse of the Enemy, and that they would, now, turn his position. The Colonel replied with some warmth, that he had acted under the direction accorded him, and was willing to take the consequences. But a few hours elapsed before a courier announced the arival of the enemy below; and, having his troops in hand, the old Hico, found himself one of the grandest strategists on record—by throwing, with a small and undisciplined command, a veteran British Army "From the offensive upon the defensive"; and thus saving New Orleans. God bless him! He was left as my guardian, on the death of my gallant Father, in 1803; and I owe much of what I am to his advice and example.

Harney requested me, yesterday, to ask you to dine with us today; but, the weather was so unpropitious that I dissuaded him from it. Tho' I go no where, if you do not come to see us, Aristide B——— will drive me over to see you, some good day. Harney cordially unites with me in wishing you many happy returns of the New Year; whilst I remain, my dear Sir,

Faithfully and truly your friend,

(Signed) E. G. W. BUTLER.

Hon. Jeff. Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

P.S. 1 tell my Northern friends, the South wants a Western Presidential candidate, and will be content with Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio.

Jefferson Davis to Samuel Jones.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Beauvoir Miss. Feb. 19th 1884.

Genl. Saml. Jones,

I have received yours of the twelfth inst. and reply without delay to the material point presented in your letter. As you anticipated many of the details of the transaction to which you refer have been forgotten, but all that was most important is

vividly remembered.

I did not relieve you from command of the department in Oct. 1864 because of distrust, or disatisfaction with the manner in which you had administered the command or because of advice given to me by Gen. Beauregard. You were relieved by the assignment of Lieut. Genl. Hardee to that command he being an officer of higher rank than yourself. Genl. Hardee was assigned to that command before I met Genl. Beauregard at Agusta and for the following reasons, viz., he persistently asked to be relieved from the army then under command of Genl. Hood. He was an officer of large experience and in my estimation of great merit; he was a Georgian and the great object we had in view, was to prevent the enemy from marching to the sea and if possible to defeat and disperse his force when he should attempt to do so. You needed reinforcement which

we could not give, the possibility of obtaining reinforcement from citizens of the country was reasonably thought to be increased by the assignment of Genl. Hardee, a distinguished Georgian, to the command of the department. Genl. Hardee accompanied me and was with me, on the way to his new command, when I met Genl. Beauregard in Augusta where he had been requested to join me for conference in regard to the operations of the army then under Gen. Hood and to the command of which Beauregard had been recently assigned. Atlanta had been captured, Sherman was threatening to advance into South eastern Georgia. I had discussed fully with Genl. Hood the probabilities and possibilities of the situation, and thus prepared, entered on the discussion with Genl. Beauregard about a campaign on which I expected him to enter. After a long conversation Gen. Hardee was called into the room and invited to give his views. I remember that he said in conclusion that if the plan proposed by the President would not succeed there was no other which could.

From long service in that region and with that Army I regarded his opinion as of very great value and had discussed the whole subject with him both before and after he and I left Gen. Hood's head quarters. You will no doubt anticipate me when I say that in the midst of events of such momentous importance when the fate of Georgia and the welfare of the Confederacy were in the balance, I do not remember any conversation with Genl. Beauregard about the personal or professional fitness of yourself for the command which you had exercised; as the result shows, in a manner which entitled you to commendation, and I cannot believe was with me a subject of censure.

As to Genl. Ripley I will say that he was in my estimation a skillful artillerist, a gallant and faithful soldier. In a pamphlet published by him he has taken care of himself and I am sure needs no help from any one in the future.

I have answered your enquiries as well as I could and with best wishes for you and yours, remain faithfully,

Your friend,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

(above attached to envelope endorsed: Genl. Sam Jones about Beauregard; ansd and copy retained 19th Feb. 1884.

Thos. T. Munford 1 to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

(Lynchburg, Va. Feb. 22d 1884.)

Hon. Jefferson Davis, My dear Mr. Davis.

Please accept my sincere thanks for your kind and generous letter to me accompanying your Photograph. I shall value them with an inward satisfaction only known to myself.

My sons will learn from me where to look for the Patriots of the old school.

Your picture, with that of Chief Justice Taney, of Maryland and my honored Father on either side of it will hang on my wall as long as I live.

Virginia never had a truer son than my Father. Having sat at the feet of her "Gamaliel," in her best days and been intimately associated with all of her brightest intellects, from his early youth to the end of his life, he loved all of her teachings and traditions with a filial devotion worthy of his mother.

I send you by todays mail my old Brigade Head Quarter's Flag. This is the last Banner that floated in Virginia. Emblematical of the Government you maintained so grandly in our matchless struggle, it was never surrendered. I send it to you with a soldier's love and admiration. If my old command knew that that old flag may yet rest gently around you, their eyes would tell their own stories—put it away for our sakes.

You will, I know, excuse the liberty I take, but give my love to Mrs. Davis and tell her this treasure cost the lives and blood of over 500 men of my old Regiment alone, and that I know, that they were true followers of our cause and that she must see that the old Flag which was never sullied goes down with our Chief.

God bless you my dear sir is the prayer of your friend, most respectfully

THOMAS T. MUNFORD

Lynchburg, Va. Feb. 22d, 1884.

endorsed:

Genl. Thos. T. Munford; sends a war flag; Feb. 22 '84

¹ Colonel Second (also called 30th) Virginia Cavalry C. S. A.

Geo. W. Jones to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

"Villa Maria," Iowa. March 2d/84.

My ever dearly loved friend

I break the, to me, long silence between us to comply with the request of my good friend Judge Lewis to inclose you his last letter to me, making the request of me to do so. He came here several years since warmly recommended to me and I have ever since found him a worthy gentleman and a staunch friend and

supporter of yours and of your section.

I, also, clip from this mornings Herald containing a note to the Ed^r from myself and also your letter to me of the 8th of August 1882, believing that it will be read with great pleasure and instruction by the early settlers of this section and by every unprejudiced person. I earnestly trust that you may not think that I have taken too great a liberty. Like our mutual and dear old friend Harney I feel like fighting any man who speaks or writes, anything to your prejudice, as does, also, my good old Josephine as she evinced this morning when she read the Herald and as our children all do when reference is made to you or your dearly beloved family.

My last letter, save a note on the 17th ulto introducing P. Preston and wife, was written on the 25th and 26th of Nov. when I was returning from the funeral of our mutual old friend Genl. Augt C. Dodge which took place on the Friday before. Receiving no reply to that and I think a previous letter makes me fear that the newspaper articles as to your ill health may be

too true.

When in St. Louis last I called on Mrs. Sire, whose husband you must have known and probably herself when she was Mrs. Choteau, of St. Louis, who told me she saw much of your daughter and her two lovely little children, of Memphis, when they were up in Minnesota last Summer. I can scarcely believe she would have passed through Dubuque, without letting us see her and the sweet children or informing us of her approach.

My wife and D^r Ginn, all who are now with me, unite with me in a tender of assurances of our continued devoted attachment for you and all who are near and dear to you. My son in law

Mr. Deuss—Ginn's husband—is again in Germany with the hope of being relieved from rheumatism and other diseases.

Your faithful and grateful friend (Signed) Geo, W. Jones.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Missi.

P.S. I sent you, also, a Dubuque Daily Democrat giving an account of severe accident on the 21 Nov. last, which was near killing me.

Last address of Jefferson Davis to the Mississippi Legislature delivered March 10, 1884, in the Old State Capitol.¹

(From A History of Mississippi, by Lowry and McCardle, Second Edition, pp. 416a-416b-416c.)

FRIENDS AND BRETHREN OF MISSISSIPPI: In briefest terms, but with deepest feeling, permit me to return my thanks for the unexpected honor you have conferred on me.

¹ Introduction by Lt. Gov. G. D. Shands.

MR. DAVIS: It is eminently fitting that a people should pause on an occasion like this and bring their minds for a moment to the contemplation of those things which in the past have stimulated the highest human endeavor. This joint convention of the Legislature of the State of Mississippi stands uncovered in your presence this day while our minds are busy with the memories of long ago, in which times our hopes, aspirations and ambitions clustered around your erect figure. You now stand before us, embodied history. Throughout your life, which is now far spent, you have clung with such heroic tenacity to your solemn convictions of right that your character now stands before the world as marked in its individuality and as lustrous in the honesty of its purposes, as is the character of any master mind of other ages, whether he rejoiced in success or mourned in misfortune.

I present now to you, Mr. Davis, this silent and admiring assemblage, all of whom are proud that you are proud to be known as a Mississippian. In its numbers are the servants of the people of this commonwealth, their Governor and State officers, the Supreme Court with all its members, and their Legislature, and beside no mean assemblage of citizens and ladies. These latter are always near when deeds of greatness and heroism may be recounted, and their hearts lean tenderly to him whose name, in all this land, was once potent enough by its attraction to draw away by their consent, from their arms, their husbands and sons. They none the less love and revere you now, and we all know that your aim is still ready bared to labor

"For the cause that needs assistance, For the wrongs that lack resistance, For the future in the distance, And the good that you can do."

Ladies and Gentlemen, I introduce to you Mississippi's most distinguished son.

Away from the political sea, I have in my secluded home observed with intense interest all passing events, affecting the interest or honor of Mississippi, and have rejoiced to see in the diversification of labor and the development of new sources of prosperity and the increased facilities of public education, reason to hope for a future to our State more prosperous than any preceding era. The safety and honor of a Republic must rest upon the morality, intelligence and patriotism of the community.

We are now in a transition state, which is always a bad one, both in society and in nature. What is to be the result of the changes which may be anticipated it is not possible to forecast, but our people have shown such fortitude and have risen so grandly from the deep depression inflicted upon them, that it is fair to entertain bright hopes for the future. Sectional hate concentrating itself upon my devoted head, deprives me of the privileges accorded to others in the sweeping expression of "without distinction of race, color or previous condition," but it cannot deprive me of that which is nearest and dearest to my heart, the right to be a Mississippian, and it is with great gratification that I received this emphatic recognition of that right by the representatives of our people. Reared on the soil of Mississippi, the ambition of my boyhood was to do something which would redound to the honor and welfare of the State. The weight of many years admonishes me that my day for actual service has passed, yet the desire remains undiminished to see the people of Mississippi prosperous and happy and her fame not unlike the past, but gradually growing wider and brighter as years roll away.

'Tis been said that I should apply to the United States for a pardon, but repentance must precede the right of pardon, and I have not repented. Remembering as I must all which has been suffered, all which has been lost, disappointed hopes and crushed aspirations, yet I deliberately say, if it were to do over again, I would again do just as I did in 1861. No one is the arbiter of his own fate. The people of the Confederate States did more in proportion to their numbers and means than was ever achieved by any in the world's history. Fate decreed that they should be unsuccessful in the effort to maintain their claim to resume the grants made to the Federal Government. Our people have accepted the decree; it therefore behooves them, as they may, to promote the general welfare of the Union, to show to the world that hereafter, as heretofore, the patriotism of our people is not measured by lines of latitude and longitude, but is as broad as the obligations they have assumed and embraces the whole

of our oceanbound domain. Let them leave to their children and children's children the grand example of never swerving from the path of duty, and preferring to return good for evil rather than to cherish the unmanly feeling of revenge. But never question or teach your children to desecrate the memory of the dead by admitting that their brothers were wrong in the effort to maintain the sovereignty, freedom and independence which was their inalienable birthright—remembering that the coming generations are the children of the heroic mothers whose devotion to our cause in its darkest hour sustained the strong and strengthened the weak, I cannot believe that the cause for which our sacrifices were made can ever be lost, but rather hope that those who now deny the justice of our asserted claims will learn from experience that the fathers builded wisely and the Constitution should be constructed according to the commentaries of the men who made it.

It having been previously understood that I would not attempt to do more than to return my thanks, which are far deeper than it would be possible for me to express, I will now, Senators and Representatives, and to you ladies and gentlemen, who have honored me by your attendance, bid you an affectionate, and it may be, a last farewell.

G. D. Shands 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Jackson Miss March 12th 1884.

Hon, Jefferson Davis Beauvoir, Miss. My dear Sir—

When I learned this morning that you had gone home last night despite the inclemency of the weather I had new cause for

² Shands, Garvin Dugas (1844-1917), a political leader, was born in Spartanburg District, S. C., December 5, 1844, and was educated at Wofford College, S. C. Enlisted in Manigault's battalion at the opening of the Civil war, he served throughout the war, chiefly under Hampton. He studied law in Kentucky, was admitted to the bar, and settled in Mississippi. From 1876 to 1880 he was a member of the Mississippi legislature, and from 1882 to 1890 was lieutenant governor of the State. In 1894 he became professor of law in the University of Mississippi, and in 1906 was called to a similar position at Tulane University, La. This chair he held until his death, July 1, 1917.

regretting the temporary indisposition I suffered on yesterday. I desired most earnestly, to avail myself of this opportunity to renew and extend the acquaintance with you, which I was so fortunate as to make during the session of the Press Association

at Pascagoula in 1879.

Ever since the time when, as a beardless boy and private soldier in a South Carolina Regiment, I marched through the streets of Richmond, eagerly desiring to get a sight of you, down to this period I have ever felt a profound interest in all that pertains to your name and history and a great admiration for your characteristic virtues. I therefore feel keenly the privation so recently suffered and shall hope for better success on another occasion.

Earnestly desiring for you throughout life the greatest measure of good, and envying those who are so situated that they may enjoy your ample stores of information, I shall subscribe myself, most respectfully—Your friend &c

(Signed) G. D. Shands.

W. L. Heath to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Newton, Illinois. March 14th, 1884.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Esq. Beauvoir, Miss. Dear Sir:

I suppose you do not remember me. I am one of the unfortunate that was forced to yield the lost cause in the last ditch early one bright morning in March 1865, near the little town of Irwin, Georgia. I was selected with others at Washington Georgia as one of your body-guard, and was captured with you, made my escape about four miles from Macon.

My object in troubling you is to obtain a situation if possible. I understand that you are connected with an Insurance in some way. Hoping there might be an opportunity of getting a place as agent—if such facts are true—prompted me to write you.

I herewith hand you a letter of Judge Halley who was Colonel of a Mo. Regt. in Southern army.

Respectfully yours,
(Signed) W. L. HEATH.

Jefferson Davis to Darwin C. Pavey.
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

"Personal,"

Beauvoir, Missi. 19th March 1884

Darwin C. Pavey, Esq. Dear Sir.

I have received your kind letter of the 8th inst. enclosing an editorial and to the inquiry you propound to me reply that I have read the article with great satisfaction and find in it that vindication of the true theory of our Union which I was happy to see so forcibly presented to the consideration of your readers. I do accord very generally with the views you present, though I do not agree that force can, or ever did, settle a question of right, nor that the States ever surrendered any part of their sovereignty when they agreed to unite and delegate enumerated functions and powers to the common govt. they instituted.

It is very common in our day to speak of the sovereignty of the States governments in all which was not delegated to the Federal govt. Now, I think the true American principle is that sovereignty alone belongs to the people. That govts, are their agents possessing delegated powers, which is equivalent to saying they are the subordinates of their masters, the people. It is in this view only that the rights asserted in the Declaration of Independence were properly termed "inalienable," and the assertion made of an enduring power in the People to alter or abolish govts, when they ceased to answer the ends for which they were instituted. Respectfully yours,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Frank G. Carpenter to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Museum.)

Cleveland Leader, Washington Bureau.

Washington, D. C., March 30, 1884.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss. My dear Sir:

I am writing a magazine article on the origin of the Confederate Flag. There is nothing in the library concerning it and

I find no mention of it in your history of the war. Some of the designs presented to the Committee on flag at Montgomery are in the war department archives here, but there is nothing to indicate how the choice was made. Can you give me the address of Colonel Porcher Miles the chairman of the flag committee and tell me if he still lives. I am sorry to trouble you but I do not know where else to go for information.

Very truly yours, (Signed) Frank G. Carpenter. 1427 F St., N. W., Washington.

Richard H. Wilmer ¹ to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Diocese of Alabama, Lock Box 964. Mobile, Ala., April 4th, 1884.

To Honbl. Jeff: Davis— My dear Sir,

I have heard, with great pleasure, from "Sister Harriet" that your daughter will come to Mobile for confirmation on Easter Sunday. Cannot you and Mrs. Davis accompany her? It would give Mrs. Wilmer and myself so much pleasure to entertain you under our roof. If you will come to us, I will meet you at Depot in Mobile any hour and take you to my home at Spring Hill. You will have no delay in Mobile. We all hold you in reverence and affection. I send you, by this mail, a copy of a book, which, in my judgment, is the book of the century, aye, of many centuries. I have long looked for such a book. The age demanded it. Not antagonizing, but utilizing, the results of

Wilmer, Richard Hooker (1816-1900), a clergyman, was born at Alexandria, Va., March 15, 1816, was graduated from Yale college in 1836, studied theology at the Episcopal Seminary, Alexandria, Va., was ordained deacon in 1839 and priest in 1840. He was rector of churches in Virginia and North Carolina from 1839-1862, and in the latter year was consecrated Bishop of Alabama, the ceremonies taking place at St. Paul's Church, Richmond, Va. In 1865 he stated in a pastoral letter that no such thing as government existed in the South, and for this General Thomas suspended him from his episcopal functions in Alabama, but the order was set aside by President Johnson. In 1887 Bishop Wilmer published a volume of reminiscences entitled The Recent Past from a Southern Standpoint. He died at Mobile, Ala., June 14, 1900. Consult W. C. Whitaker, Richard Hooker Wilmer, 316 pp., Philadelphia, 1907.

scientific investigation, it shows that the laws of the natural world are the laws of the spiritual world also.

With sincere regards to Mrs. Davis and your daughter, I am, with much affection and respect,

Yours,

RICHD. H. WILMER.

Honble. Jeff: Davis.

endorsed: Bishop Wilmer; ansd. 8th April 84.

Walker Fearn 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

New Orleans, 20 May, 1884.

Dear Mr. Davis:

Some weeks ago in a letter to Col. Ashbel Smith, Regent of the University of Texas, I took the liberty of referring to you as to my qualifications for a Professorship of Spanish, or as a lecturer on Roman and Spanish law. But I now hear that the creation of such a chair is still uncertain and by the advice of Col. Johnston have concluded to make application for a similar position in the Tulane University about to be inaugurated here.

¹ John Walker Fearn, lawyer and diplomat, was born at Huntsville, Ala, Jan. 13, 1832; but in 1834, the family removed to Mobile. He received his early education at the private academy of Dr. Norman Pinney, an eminent classical scholar, after which he entered Yale, and was graduated with high honors in 1851. He then studied law under Judge J. A. Campbell, and was admitted to the bar at Mobile in 1853. At an early age he had developed a talent for literature and languages, and in 1854, he was appointed secretary to the U. S. minister at Belgium. Three years later he was made secretary of the United States legation at Mexico, serving until 1859, when he resigned and resumed legal practice at Mobile. Before the actual outbreak of war, the Southern states sent him to Europe as secretary of the first Confederate commission, and he resigned in order to enter the Southern army. In returning he ran the blockade at Charleston, S. C. under a heavy fire, and was wrecked under the guns of Fort Moultrie. After effecting his escape, he secured an appointment on the staff of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, with the rank of captain. Later he was again sent to Europe, with Col. Lamar, and upon his return was placed on the staff of Gen. Preston. He continued to serve on his staff until the close of the war, when he had attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Subsequent to 1866, he practiced law at New Orleans, La. and was appointed to the chair of French, Spanish, and Italian in the University of Louisiana. He was holding this professorship in 1885, when appointed by Pres. Cleveland U. S. minister resident and consul-general to Greece, Roumania, and Servia. In 1891, he was appointed chief of the department of foreign affairs for the world's columbian exposition. He died at Hot Springs, Va. Apr. 8, 1899. (From Nat'l. Cyclo. of Am. Biography, Vol. XII, pp. 312-313.

The singular and cordial interest always evinced by you in my behalf, emboldens me now to hope that you will favour me with a recommendation which I cannot but believe will prove decisive. I know how strong your memory is, and it is therefore perhaps unnecessary to remind you of my service during nearly 3 years as a diplomatic officer of the United and subsequently of the Confederate States in Mexico and Spain, and of my familiarity with the Romance languages from childhood.

With kindest remembrances to Mrs. and Miss Davis, believe

me, dear Sir, Ever faithfully yours,

(Signed) WALKER FEARN.

P.S. I ought perhaps to add that I am now Professor of Spanish in the University of Louisiana, having been elected last year. Among the gentlemen recommending me, several were native Spaniards of education.

W. F.

Jefferson Davis to J. C. Derby. (From New York Historical Society.)

Private

J. C. Derby Esqr, Beauvoir, Missi.
31st May, 1884
My dear Sir,

In mercy's sake do not hold me responsible for what a lying interviewer sailing under false colors has chosen to publish. It is true that he wrote to me that he had been misguoted in the Newspaper article, and I replied to him that I had not seen his correction of the many misrepresentations of my opinions & possible expressions; it puts both Genl Lee & myself in a false position to represent me as saying that when Lee crossed the Chickahominy with the main portion of his army that he & I believed it uncovered Richmond & exposed it to capture by McClellan. That portion of the story is sufficiently contradicted by what I wrote in The Rise & Fall, see pps 132 et seq. Vol. II Then his story of Genl Grant is utterly false. I never was on the Pacific Coast and when Secty of War, denied the rightful power of the Executive to dismiss an officer of the Army at his will & if I had admitted it, never could have perpetrated the indecency of offering to an officer the alternative of resignation or dismissal. In like manner about Sherman he may have heard what he relates from people who knew him as the head of a

school in La. but he had no right to cite me for his authority who had no personal acquaintance and had no knowledge of his feelings as described in the article. I could go all through showing that where there was a grain of truth there was a bushel of misrepresentation & might expose the Reporter still further as one to whom I gave shelter when he came under false pretences & had no other place to go to for the night.

I really do not understand what it is you want of me for your forthcoming book. If you will tell me quite distinctly I will endeavor to comply with your wishes provided it can be done in small space, for I have become more averse & less able to write than when you saw me, but let me beg of you never to present me to your readers in the garb in which any Yankee scribbler

would dress me

Please accept my thanks for your kind services to Miss Tenney to whom I hope you have opened the way to independence.

My health has not enabled me to perform the physical labor of collating & adding to the political part of my book for a new work & I have had no one to relieve me of that labor which Judge Tenney had intended to perform for me

Respectfully & truly
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

P. S. Dear Mr Derby I hope you receive the check covering the amt subscribed for the work on anatomy in art. It far surpassed our expectation and is as useful as it is beautiful.

With best wishes,

V DAVIS.

Howell Cobb to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Athens, Ga., July 10th, 1884.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss. My dear Sir:

Yours of July 8th rec'd enclosing postal card of Oct. 12th 1883 from W. S. Jones, alias Saddle Jones. I will be glad to render you any service in my power to secure the voucher. I do not understand Jones' conduct—unless prompted by motive you state—desire of a trophy. I will write, today, to my cousin John C. Rutherford, Esq., and send him your letter and Jones' card and will report his reply. I am afraid two letters from

me to Mrs. Davis have miscarried. About June 14th, I wrote Mrs. Davis enclosing letter from Rev. W. A. Browne, which also enclosed two photos, one of a James Browne and one of W. A. Browne—brothers of Henry A. Brown; also a letter written in prison in 1846 of "H. A. B." to Emily Browne, wife of James Browne. This last letter was undoubtedly in the hand writing of our deceased friend Gen. Wm. A. Browne.

These papers established beyond doubt that our friend and "H. A. B." were the same person. I have so written W. A.

Browne.

I sent these Photos and letters in order that you and Mrs.

Davis should be convinced of their conclusive proof.

Again W. A. Browne's letter stated that tho' the evidence could not be had at Trial to avoid conviction, yet it was had shortly afterwards to establish our friend's innocence of all———guilt in the crime of bigamy.

To Wit-

I have been sick and had much sickness in family, hence unusually bad writing from nervousness more than ordinary.

With assurances of sincerest esteem and warm regards for you and Mrs. Davis, I am,

Yours truly,

(Signed) Howell Cobb.

Jefferson Davis to A. J. Beresford-Hope.

(From New York Historical Society.)

Beauvoir, Missi. 27th July, 1884

Hon. A. J. B. Beresford Hope Arklow House Hyde Park London My dear Sir,

Permit me to present to you my friend, Walker Fearn Esqr of New Orleans Louisiana, who goes to Europe as special com-

missioner for the Worlds Exposition to open in New Orleans in Dec next.

Commending to you alike the object and its Representative and soliciting such kind consideration as Americans are wont to expect from you I am

Yours Faithfully

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

E. G. W. Butler to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

St. Louis, Missouri.
July 29, 1884.

My dear Mr. Davis:

Your most kind letter, of the last day of May, came to me on the 4th, and was replied to on the 6th of June; and I much fear that its sad tone has deprived me of an answer; tho' I might find a sufficient reason in that alleged for declining the invitation of your Friends in Texas.

I have heard nothing further of or from my unfortunate grandson, since I wrote to you last and may never more, from him.

Well, my dear Sir, "the smoke and storm and rage of battle are over", and the Great Dem. Convention has given us two acceptable candidates for President and Vice President; and tho the envy and jealousy of his Ohio competitors deprived our Candidate of the nomination to the Presidency, the only objection I have to the nominee is that he comes from the "Empire State"; which, if indulged much longer in furnishing Presidents, will dominate the Union. Hendricks is "the right man, in the right place."

We might say with pride to our political opponents: "Look upon this ticket, and then upon that"—the author of the Mulligan-Lottery, and the ignoramos from Illinois. The former did not hesitate, in his letter of acceptance, to appropriate a passage, without credit, from Washington's "Farewell Address."

Speaking of Washington, reminds me of the exalted compliment just paid him in a letter from Dublin Castle, by Sir J. Bernard Burke, "Ulster King of Armes" "Your letter, entering so fully on Mrs. Butler's descent from the Washingtons; the family of the most illustrious Patriot the world has ever seen, interests me so much that I have place it in mind amongst my cherished papers."

The great Lord Erskine once wrote to him: "Your Excellency,

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you are the only man, living or dead, before the majesty of whose name I ever stood in awe."

I don't think I ever told you that my gifted and illustrious wife was born at Mount Vernon on 27 Feb, 1799; 17 days before Washington's death; and that had she been a Boy, would have been the heir to that estate. Her father, Lawrence Lewis, was a son of Washington's only sister, Mrs. Fielding Lewis, and her mother, Eleanor Parke Custis, was the daughter of John Parke Custis, Mrs. Washington's son, and Julia Calvert, grand daughter of Lord Baltimore.

That demagogue, Gladstone, is still trying to destroy the House of Lords; and, with it one of the best Governments the world has ever seen—a little Island, on whose territory the sun never sets, nor does the reveille cease to beat. Democrat as I am, I do not believe in the fitness of the Latin Races for self government. "Harney did not find the accommodations good at the White Sulphur"; and, if he has not gone some where else is at Fortress Monroe. Lawrence unites with me in affectionate regards for you and yours. (Signed) E. G. W. BUTTLER.

Jefferson Davis to John F. Elliott.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Beauvoir, Miss., July 29, '84.

Major John F. Elliott:

My Dear Sir: I have received yours of the 28th instant, and the renewed invitation to attend the reunion in Texas of the old settlers and ex-Confederates intensifies the regret heretofore expressed at my inability to be present on that occasion. The very gratifying terms of your letter revives the grateful recollection of the many manifestations of the kind regard of your people. From the date of your revolution and admission as an independent State of the Union, I have watched your progress and development with the hope and expectation that Texas would be in the fulfilment of her destiny the Empire State of the American Union. Her vast territory, with a corresponding variety of climate, soil, mineral and agricultural products, form a solid basis for such an anticipation should her territory remain undivided. It was with such hopes for her future that, in the official position to which I refer, I resisted the transfer of the northern portion of the State to the public domain of the United States; but shorn of that portion of her territory which was north of the parallel of 36° 30′, there yet remains enough to justify the expectation alluded to above. The expansion of cultivation has no doubt changed the appearance of the country, substituting the useful of agricultural man for the beautiful of nature. Years ago, in its wilder state, I went over wide spreading plains carpeted with primroses, while here and there arose isolated groves of sturdy oaks, and felt the charm of a scene where nature had, on a scale too grand for man's imitation, laid out parks replete with beauty; but the most cherished memory is that of the cordial, unconventional welcome of the gallant free-hearted sons of Texas. Thereafter, I have said a Texan, instead of a "Highland welcome," the wide world o'er.

The approaching reunion is to bring together the men whose friendships were formed in camp, and which have the sure, enduring foundation of having been cemented under the severe tests of toil, privation, suffering, and danger by which all that is weak or meanly selfish is exposed. Happy indeed must such reunion be, and from afar I send you my warmest congratulations. Of the hardy "old settlers" who, against desperate odds, won the battles of the war for independence, of the veterans who served in the war with Mexico, "how few—all weak and withered—of their force wait on the verge of dark eternity."

The Romans gave to Great Britain and to the United States in the rules and articles of war the basis of the military establishments of three peoples, who have attained to the highest degree of military glory, and it was a rule among the Romans richly to reward their generals when returning successful from a foreign war, but never to grant a triumph for a victory won in internecine strife. With us the rule has been reversed and the veterans of the war with Mexico have been the subjects of

a special discrimination.

During the progress of the Texas revolution a distinguished officer left the United States army and went, unheralded, to join the struggling Texans, and entered their service as a private. His ability, as well as his reputation, attracted notice, and step by step he rose to the command of one of her armies. Baptized in her service, he became her adopted son. When the war occurred between the United States and Mexico he led a regiment of Texans to join the army of the Rio Grande. Thus he was an "old settler" and "a veteran of the war with Mexico." He subsequently re-entered the army of the United States, of which he was a brevet Brigadier-General when Texas seceded from the Union and war was inaugurated between the States. True to his allegiance to his adopted mother and sovereign, he left the

army of the United States and offered his sword to the Confederacy. When commanding a Confederate army in one of the great battles of the war, and victory was within his immediate grasp, he fell, mortally wounded, and died upon the field. Great in council as in action, faithful in every relation of life, he died as he had lived, the devotee to duty, and left behind him the good name which gives grace and perpetuity to glory. Need it be said to Texans that I refer to Albert Sidney Johnston? All that was mortal of that hero reposes in the soil of the land he loved. Generous, patriotic Louisiana is constructing an equestrian statue to his memory—a tribute twice blessed.

From that portion of the State in which your reunion is to be held there came to the army in Mexico Colonel Wood's regiment of cavalry. I was closely associated with them on a critical occasion in the attack on Monterey. Should any of the survivors be with you, please present my fraternal greeting to them.

Rocked in the cradle of revolution, the history of Texas is full of heroic deeds, from the self-sacrificing band of the Alamo, who gave to their State the example of how men should dare and die to protect the helpless, to the defence of Sabine Pass, which for intrepidity and extraordinary success must, I think, be admitted to have no parallel in the annals of ancient or modern warfare. Texas is now boldly striding onward in the conquests of peace, and I cannot wish for her a brighter future than that in agricultural, mining, manufacturing, educational, social and religious efforts she may gather wreaths of oak worthy to mingle with the fadeless laurel that decks her brow.

Deprived of the happiness of meeting, probably for the last time, the "Old Settlers" and ex-Confederates in their reunion, of receiving the friendly welcome and feeling the warm grasp of their hands, I send to them my earnest prayer that every "good and perfect gift" may be vouchsafed to them, and remain faithfully,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

J. B. Danforth to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Rock Island, Ill. Aug. 2, 1884.

Hon. Jefferson Davis. My dear Sir:

Since your excellent letter to me of November 23d, 1879, I have not written you or known of your health and condition,

except through the papers. I trust you are in good health and enjoying time as it passes and hope you may long do so.

Today, I mailed you a copy of the Rock Island Union, the Republican newspaper published here, containing an article about Rock Island that I thought would interest you. I also mailed a copy of my own papers merely to show you that I am still trying to bring the Democracy back to the principles of Jefferson and Jackson on banks, debt, monopolies and labor questions.

It gratifies me to see the Republican paper admit that through your good influence as Secretary of War and Senator the Island was saved from the vandals who attempted to rob the United States of it. This I have always shown to be true, in my paper, and it is now gratifying to see a Republican paper admit it.

If you should feel like writing anything about the matter

it would give me pleasure to publish it.

With great respect and wishes for your health and happiness, I am,

Very respectfully yours,

(Signed) J. B. DANFORTH.

A. K. McClure to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

THE TIMES

Philadelphia. Aug. 6, 1884.

Hon. Jefferson Davis Dear Sir—

Information has come to me from a source entitled to some credit, relative to the Elder Frank Blair's visit to you at Richmond before the close of the war, that I think you should know.

I am informed that there is among the papers of the Elder Blair, a full account of his visit, made with the approval of Lincoln, in which it is stated that he tendered payment for Southern slaves if the South would submit and return to the Union; that he made the proposition to you and it was discussed in your Cabinet; that you answered, substantially, that the South was not fighting for Slavery but for the establishment of a new nation, etc. He repeated the conference, so the story goes, to Lincoln and his cabinet, and with the statement that your individual ambition to rule was the obstacle to peace.

A carefully prepared account of the whole matter, and its discussion in the cabinets of both governments is now in the

hands of the heirs of the Elder Blair, to be printed after the death of all the chief actors in the matter, and your life now alone stands between that paper and the public. The Blairs are all dead, and in the event of your death, that paper—for there is undoubtedly such a paper—will be made a chapter of history

with none to explain or dispute it.

In view of the fact that such a paper exists and that it is to be printed only after you shall have passed away and be unable to answer or explain, should you not give to the public the facts and all the facts relating to Blairs visit, and give as the reason for the publication, the recently acquired information that the Blair paper is to be printed after your death. Such a publication from you would force the publication of the Blair paper now, or make it valueless if not now published.

I respectfully suggest that you consider this matter and write the article for "The Times," for which we will pay you as before, and give it to the Associated Press simultaneous with its publication in this paper. It is due to you, to the South and to the country, that any important question relating to the peace of the two sections, should not be delayed until all who could

give correct information are dead.

Please let me hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Yours Etc.,

(Signed) A. K. McClure.

Jefferson Davis to J. A. Maxwell.

Beauvoir, Miss., Aug. 26, 1884.

J. A. Maxwell, Esq.:

Dear Sir—Accept my thanks for your letter of the 18th inst. and the accompanying copy of an address delivered by you to a Boston audience.

The matter and manner of the address have made a strong impression upon me, for I think it cannot fail to have a good effect wherever it is attentively read by persons not so far prejudiced as to be able to see the other side of a question on which they have taken one view.

The interest I feel in you as a Confederate soldier defending the South before a Boston audience must be my excuse for pointing out to you two positions in the address from which I dissent.

¹ A Boston lawyer of distinction.

It was not a savage made a slave when the African was imported to America, but it was a slave changing his master. At few, very few of those imported were captured in the wars between the tribes and thus reduced to slavery according to the usage of that country. The greater portion, it might be said the whole, were born in slavery, held by the chiefs who resided near to the coast, and who, therefore, had most intercourse with the white traders. These coast tribes were less powerful and warlike than the men of the interior, wherefore they made but few captures from them. The exchange therefore was from a savage master in Africa to a civilized master in America; the resulted benefits of which you have graphically portrayed.

In regard to the right of secession by a State, your position is that it did exist, but does not exist now, and your illustration is entirely correct as to the cases cited, but is ours the same? or does the admission of the others conclude the question upon us? If secession existed as a right under the Constitution, and was a necessary attribute of State sovereignty, might could only overcome that right by destroying the States which in their sovereignty had formed the Union, with the reservation of all the powers not expressly delegated. However, the fact may be, the victors deny that they have destroyed the Constitution, and assert that the States are indestructible, then does it not follow that whatever right existed before the war as belonging to a State of the constitutional Union, must continue in defiance of might?

Again, thanking you for your courteous consideration, I am

respectfully and truly yours,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

J. S. Wise 1 to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Museum.)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Washington, D. C. Richmond, Va., Sept. 17th, 1884.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Dear Sir:

I was inexpressibly gratified by the discovery that on p 678 Vol. 2 of your book you had remembered my visit to you at Maj.

²Wise, John Sergeant (1846-1913), a lawyer and author, was born at Rio De Janeiro, Brazil, December 27, 1846, his father being U. S. minister to that country, and was a student at the Virginia Military Institute at

Sutherlins in Danville at the time of the retreat of Lee's army but I find that your memory is at fault in this— I was not a mere volunteer messenger— I had been sent for information as to Gen. Lee's movements and intentions and he gave me a brief informal note to you which I delivered— It was very brief vague and unsatisfactory merely saying that he was still moving on the line of the Appomattox and hard pressed, adding that the bearer would give you additional information as to the condition of the Army— I recollect that you and others, members of your escort questioned me at considerable length as to the condition of the army and it has always been my belief cherished with considerable pride, that I bore you the last communication you received from Gen. Lee prior to his surrender.

I want you my dear Sir, to write me a few lines, no matter how briefly expressed that I may preserve them in memory of those glorious old days and transmit them to my children— I sincerely hope you are in good health for I was grieved a short while since to see by the papers that your health was delicate.

Yrs. truly and affectionately, (Signed) JNO. S. WISE.

J. A. Early to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Lynchburg, Va., Sept. 29th, 1884.

My Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 24th with the enclosures has been received. I had before seen a copy of W. O. Gregory's very silly pamphlet on Genl, Jackson, which was sent me.

He furnishes another instance of a crank who has undertaken to write about something he knows nothing about. The best way to deal with such fools is to let them severely alone. To take any public notice of such silly performances only serves to give them consequence. I have not been able to learn his

the outbreak of the civil war. He served in the Confederate army; graduated from the law department of the University of Virginia in 1867; and began practising law in Richmond. He was a member of the Virginia delegation in Congress, 1883-1885. As Republican candidate for governor of the State, he was defeated in 1885 by Fitzhugh Lee. He removed to New York, where he resumed the practice of the law, and was U. S. district attorney. He was the author of several novels; a Treatise on American Citizenship, New York, 1906; The End of an Era (Civil War reminiscences), Boston, 1899; et al. He died at New York, May 12, 1913.

location, as I have found no one who has ever heard of him before. You may rely on it that he will not write to get my opinion of his performance. If he should be so indiscreet, he will get it in very plain terms,

When I was last at Beauvoir Miss Winnie spoke of coming to some of the Virginia Springs in company with Bishop Wilmer, but I have not heard of her at any of them, though I have

made frequent inquiries.

With my best regards to Mrs. Davis and Miss Winnie.

Very Truly and Respectfully,

Your Friend.

Hon. Jefferson Davis.

J. A. EARLY.

endorsed: Genl. J. A. Early; 29 Sept. '84; about attack on T. J. Jackson's military career.

E. G. W. Butler to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

St. Louis Missouri, October, 8, 1884.

My dear Mr. Davis:

I pray you to pardon my long delay in responding to your most kind and interesting letter, of 30th August; a careless examination of the endorsement on which induced me to believe

I had, long ago replied to it.

I have all the letters received since my graduation at West Point: with the dates of receipt and answers indicated on the upper left hand corner, and the name of the writer on the corner below; and having made all the indorsements, save the date of receipt, I believed your valued letter had been answered. Not hearing from you, I, therefore, fancied you sick; and sat down to write to you, when I discovered my mortifying mistake. As you may imagine, my time and thoughts are now absorbed by the Presidential election; and apprehensions having been expressed "that it may be a second Tilden affair"; I wrote to Mr. Jonas; one of the Nat. Dem Ex. Committee; giving him the particulars of that unfortunate occasion. I said to him, "Now, Mr. Jonas, we democrats will elect our candidate, and cost what it may your Committee must install him." I then told him of my correspondence with Mr. Hewitt, chairman of the Nat. Dem. Ex. Committee; in 1876. When about to consummate the infamous election of Hayes, I wrote to Mr. Hewitt:

"You made a grand mistake in consenting to a commission; but stave off the count, and throw the election into the House, where the Constitution places it; and we will get our President." He replied: "Colonel Butler you are right, but if we do we will have Hayes." I said to Jonas: "Our worthy friend Hewitt reminds me of Mr. Madison, as described by "Old Hickory", in a letter to Mr. Monroe: "Mr. Madison is a good man; but he never would look upon blood and carnage with composure."

Seeing that my friend Paul Fish would vote for Cleveland "under the hope that he would not allow the South to influence his administration;" I wrote him a strong letter and wrote Gov. Cleveland: "The South will give you 153 electoral votes; and tho we, of the South are not office seekers we expect our Constitutional rights, and that the Federal patronage in the South, will be given to its people." He replied—"I thank you for

your assurances and suggestions."

My old friend Duncan sailed on the 4th, and promises to come to me as usual. With many thanks to Mrs. Davis for her kind letter, and affectionate regards and abiding good wishes for your Household, in which my Son unites,

> Very truly your Friend, (Signed) E. G. W. BUTLER.

Hon. Jeff. Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

P.S. I have not seen Harney and the Madam since their return.

Jefferson Davis to Marcus J. Wright.

(Davis Letter in Collection of General Marcus J. Wright, Washington, D. C.)

Beauvoir, Missi 17th Oct. 1884

Genl. M. J. Wright, My dear Sir,

Please accept my thanks for your kindness in sending to me a copy of the "National Illustrated Magazine." It has been a rule with me not to reply to published reflections on my conduct as President of the Confederate States, but confident of your friendship and perceiving that you are a contributor to the magazine, I so far depart from the above rule, as to call your attention to a passage in the article on Judge J. L. T. Sneed.

On page 149 it is stated, that Judge Sneed was in 1861 ap-

pointed, by Govr. Harris, a Brigadier Genl. that he organized a Brigade, was strongly recommended by Gov. Harris, Members of the General Assembly of Tennessee and officers of the Brigade to be continued in the command of it, as a confederate officer. President Davis did not give him a commission. The preceding and subsequent parts of the article, set forth the high merit of Judge Sneed and his devotion to the Confederate cause.

From all this the necessary conclusion is, that the Brigade organized by Judge Sneed, entered the Confederate army, but that the President refused to acknowledge its Brigadier, notwithstanding his claims to recognition, thus clearly implying that the act of the President was purely arbitrary and unjustifiable.

I have no recollection of any such case, but do know that no such action on my part, as is indicated, did ever occur.

You will not fail to remember that in 1861 in the patriotic State of Tennessee, many more men volunteered than we could furnish with arms, and that for that reason the acceptance of many who could not arm themselves, was regretfully postponed. If the Brigade in question was of the class who could not be received and mustered into service, I leave others to characterize the attempt to fix censure on me, for not giving a Brigadier's commission to one who had no Brigade in the service of the Confederacy, and whose recommendations it appears, rested on the expectation that a Brigade, organized under State authority, would as such enter the service of the Confederate States.

(In the handwriting of Mr. Davis. No signature).

E. G. W. Butler to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

St. Louis, Missouri, October 19, 1884.

My dear Mr. Davis:

Tho' I wrote to you on the 8th, telling you of my mistake in regard to the indorsement on your last letter! and I write, today, to inclose a note from the Rev. J. A. Murray, President of Carlisle College; which explains his wants better than I can, in regard to Confederate Bonds and other ——

Unfortunately, I could give him an ample supply of Con-

federate Currency; having taken it in payment of a crop of molasses, from patriotic motives, etc. Murray is a beautiful writer, and is the author of the article in the past No. of the Historical Register, for 1883, published at Harrisburgh, and giving the "History of the Butlers of Cumberland Valley." This shows that my grandparents, Thomas and Eleanor Butler, came from Ireland to Carlisle, in 1743; and that all of their children were born there.

It is remarkable that whilst the Norman-Irish Butlers were all Soldiers, my grandmother and my aunt Pierce Butler Butler, of Ky. were the daughters of Sailors, the first being the grand daughter of Admiral Sir Peter Parkes; and the latter the grand

daughter of Admiral Sir John Hawkins.

Well, the elections in Ohio and W. Virginia being highly satisfactory, I am looking, confidently, to the result, on the 4th proximo; and tho' nearly blind, hope to live to see our unhappy Country restored to Democratic rule, and its government to its primitive simplicity and purity. Then, My dear Mr. Davis, if I am to lose my sight, I can say, in the parting language of my venerated friend and second Father, of the Hermitage: "Being no longer, of use to my Country, my Family, nor my Friends;

I am prepared to go to my Maker."

I daily experience the truth of the assertion: "Misfortunes come seldom alone"; for, I was thinking of the pleasure I should experience in meeting my life long friend, Alex Duncan, when his letter was handed to me, saying "he had arrived at New York; but that the Doctors did not deem him capable of so long a ride." He is just recovering from an attack of the heart; and I fear we are never more to meet. God's will be done! Harney and Madam St. Cye have returned from their summer's rambling; but, I have not yet seen them. I have just had a letter from Custis Lee; who was well and had one of his Sisters with him. I am sorry I cannot go to the Pass this winter; but my poor Son will soon be "solitary and alone." A strong effort is being made to defeat Morrison, in Illinois; but, I am glad to say, without any prospect of success. I deem Morrison, Tucker, Carlisle and Gore as the ablest men in the House.

I have a grand son, Willis McWillis Williamson, on Engineer service in Guatemala; and I am taking care that he does not

follow in the footsteps of his Father.

Lawrence unites with me in abiding good wishes for your Household; whilst I remain, my dear Mr. Davis,

Affectionately yours, (Signed) E. G. W. BUTLER.

Jefferson Davis to L. B. Northrop.

(Original in the possession of Mrs. Floyd Northrop Morenus.)

Beauvoir, Miss. 1, Nov. 1884.

My dear Northrop:-

To write has become to me an irksome task, therefore, though you are never long out of my mind, you seldom receive evidence of my remembrance.

This morning I write to ask if you have seen publication of Beauregard and his strikers, especially the articles in the November numbers of the "Century" and of the "Southern His-

torical Papers."

To puff Beauregard is one motive, to gratify malignity to me another, and you as my especial friend, and who in your official capacity could be made a shelter for his own incapacity, come in for a share of his misrepresentations. I clearly remember your efforts to have the wants of the army of N. Va. supplied from the country in front of it, where the grains and herds were in danger of being appropriated by the enemy, and how you were obstructed by Beauregard and Johnston, but now with shameless disregard of the fact, Beauregard claims to have urged that course in vain upon you and says the army was at times destitute of food, etc., etc. Now generally, I could say that it was you, not he, that wanted to have the supplies gathered, and the wheat ground instead of sending flour from Richmond on the single track of railroad, often required for other uses, but a conclusive demonstration of the fallacies requires more exact and detailed information than I possess.

When I and you, and your official aides are no more, these printed stories will remain as the cause of our people's misfortune, unless an antidote is provided for the poison.

Is Noland living? Was your letter book among the trophies now collected in the bureau of archives of the U. S. War Dept.?

The men who were engaged in making a record for themselves have a decided advantage over those who earnestly striving to maintain their country's cause took no thought of the praise to be gathered or the blame which should be unjustly aimed at them.

Years ago I urged you to write a memoir of your administration of the C. S. Commissariat, because you deserved credit for well performing a herculean labor, and the achievement was part of the common glory of our people, and however little you may care, personally for your due share of it, to your children and your children's children, the inheritance is not to be disregarded.

Please give my most respectful remembrance to Mrs. Northrop and with affectionate regard for you and yours, I am, as ever,

Your friend,

(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to —— Reed.

(From New York Historical Society.)

Private

Beauvoir, Miss. 1st Nov. 1884

My dear Mr. Reed.

I have just received yours of the 28th Ulto. Your very kind letter of the 24th was not acknowledged because of the expecta-

tion it created of the early receipt of your article.

It was well not to allow your indignation to make a criticism on Beauregard's publication, indeed it seems to me so idly vain and egotistical as rather to invite sarcasm & irony than to provoke anger. When I sent in his report of the battle of Manassas, the misplaced preface with which he lauded it, seemed more absurd than grave and it was not without a feeling of pity that I put the endorsement upon it, that showed how puerile his speculations were.

As I infer that you propose to treat mainly of the battle of Shiloh, let me refer you to the Biography of A. Sidney Johnston by his son W. Preston Johnston. He quotes from a num-

ber of the prominent actors in that battle.

His return to Corinth and long delay there, what for? if not in hasty retreat to burn the bridge by which much needed R. R. equipment was lost, but bridge burning may be the characteristic of vaulting genius; the bridge burned at Bull run, alone prevented the use of the Rail Road to supply transportation to the Potomac.

Ever truly your friend JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Marcus J. Wright.

(Davis Letter in Collection of General Marcus J. Wright, Washington, D. C.)

Beauvoir, Miss Nov 6th 1884

Genl M. J. Wright My dear Sir

Will you kindly look among the records of your office for the return of the troops at the end of Septemb 1861 under the command of Genl J. E. Johnston at Fairfax courthouse Va. and send me the number of total effectives at that time and place. I would not trouble you thus but for the fact that I do not know how else to obtain the information.

With best wishes I remain

Very truly yours

Jefferson Davis.

Jefferson Davis to The Sherman Publishing Co. (From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Beauvoir Missi. 7th Nov. 1884.

The Sherman Publishing Co.

Gentlemen,

It gives me pleasure to comply with your request as nearly as is practicable. Not having a portrait taken during the war I send you an engraving of one taken a short time before the commencement of the war and a photograph taken three years after its close.

I would willingly comply also with your expressed desire for an article on the subject indicated but ill health and pressing business engagements will not permit me to do so at once.

With many thanks for the pictorial sheet which you sent to me I am,

Very respectfully
Jefferson Davis

Please return the engraving when it has served your purpose as it is the only copy I have.

J. D.

E. G. W. Butler to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

St. Louis, Missouri, November 10, 1884.

My dear Mr. Davis:

"Amidst the smoke and storm and rage of Battle, Justice sits on her Eternal Throne;" and, in spite of money and Rascality, the Democratic Party is, again in Control of our Government; which it governed so long and so well; and will restore to its primitive purity and simplicity.

When we think of Cleveland's majority, for Governor, of 192,000 and of the acquisition of 85,000 Independents; and then of the present small majority accorded to Cleveland for President; we must have confidence in the stability of our institu-

tions.

I think I told you of my rebuke of Gov. Fish, for his expression of the hope "that President Cleveland would not allow the South to influence his administration;" and that I wrote to Gov. Cleveland that she would give him 153 electoral votes and asked nothing in return but the recognition of her Constitutional Rights and the Federal patronage, in the South be given to her own people; and not to Intruders and Thieves. His response was brief but expressive—thanking me for my letter; my "Suggestions and assurances."

I take some credit to myself for the early announcement of the National and New York Committees—that if Elected, Cleveland would be installed; and if Mr. A. L. Hewitt had been equally regardful of my advice, Mr. Tilden would have been inaugurated, and we should be now, in possession of the government. I wrote to him; as Chairman of the National Committee, "at the last moment." "Mr. Hewitt you have made a great mistake, in consenting to a commission, but, stave off the count and throw the election into the House; where the Constitution places it; and we will get our President." He replied: "Col. Butler, you are right; but, if we do, we shall have War." So both he and Tilden tamely allowed the Democracy to be cheated out of the election; and I have never since had any respect for, nor confidence in him. If Jonas delivered my message, I fancy Mr. Cleveland was amused. I requested that he would say in his Inaugural: "I ask nothing but what is right and will submit to nothing that is wrong"; and marked: "If he will insert, 'By the Eternal' so much the better."

Mississippi and Louisiana have carried themselves grandly in the late elections and one has discharged the Traitor, Chalmers; whilst the other has given "The Thief and Intruder", Mr. Pitt Lellogg his quietus.

My son unites with me in kind regards for Mrs. Davis, your Daughter and yourself, whilst I remain.

Very truly your Friend, (Signed) E. G. W. BUTLER.

Edward Cunningham, Jr. 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

St. Louis, 11 November, 1884.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

Dear Sir:

Presenting my compliments personally, I beg leave to say that Ex-Governor Thomas C. Reynolds was to start from New York yesterday as one of the Commissioners from the United States to the governments of Central and South America, and he expects to be abroad for at least a year—perhaps longer. He has left me in charge of his affairs here with authority to open all letters coming to him at St. Louis.

Your letter of the 6th instant to Governor Reynolds, enclosing a letter to the Editor of the Missouri Republican, was thus received by me to day. I presented both of them to Col. Cundiff the acting Editor in chief of that paper. He says he will be glad to put it into his paper, but he suggests that in view of the engrossment just now of the attention of readers with the election in New York, and the importance of allaying public excitement, he deems it prudent and advisable to withhold the publication of your letter for a few days. This course seems to me proper.

Col. Cundiff, who was a Confederate officer, said it had been his purpose after the excitement of the elections was past to review in the Republican the statement attributed to General

Trusting this delay in the publication of your letter will meet your approval, I am, with great respect,

Yours very truly, (Signed) Edward Cunningham, Jr.

¹ Lawyer of St. Louis.

James D. Bulloch to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

63 Sydenham Avenue, Sefton Park, Liverpool. Nov. 25, '84.

Dear Mr. Davis:

The defeat of Mr. Blaine in the late contest for the Presidency of the United States will probably result in a re-arrangement of political parties. It has appeared to be impossible for the leaders of the Republican Party to act with conciliatory fairness to all sections of the country, or to shape out a national policy which should affect the States and arouse support or opposition, without reference to geographical divisions or the special questions which caused separation in 1861.

Probably the "Solid South" as a political phrase will soon disappear, at any rate, there will hardly be a motive for a particular group of States to combine against the policy of the party in possession of the government, nor will there any longer be a valid reason why representative men from the South—that is to say, men who took part with their States during the war—should not be freely admitted to Federal offices of trust, or why they should be restrained from seeking them by all honorable means.

With these views I wish to obtain, if possible the office of the United States Consul at Liverpool, and I write to ask what should be my proper course of procedure, and whether, in your opinion, a man who has no party record, and can claim nothing on the score of party services, would stand any chance of being listened to?

You are so completely removed from the influences of political life, that I would not, of course, expect or desire you to take a direct or open part in support of my efforts, but there are probably some among the Senators and Representatives of the Southern States in Congress who would be drawn to any one whom you should recommend to their favour, and I have been thinking that you might be willing to help me by a word of commendation.

My education, past services and experiences, have been such as should fit a man for a consular office and my long residence in Liverpool has given me very special familiarity with the Maritime laws of Great Britain, and the local usages of this particular post. Besides this, I have passed a large part of my life in close association with seafaring men and others who have

to do with ships and commerce, and I understand their habits and modes of thought.

I hope you will not think that I am intruding upon your well earned retirement, or that I wish you to make any active efforts. I would apply to Senator Lamar, who once professed a warm friendship for me, but I have written him twice since the war, once within two years, and he has not replied to either letter. I am thus driven to the conclusion that he is now either indifferent to me or his public duties are too engrossing to admit of his endulging in private correspondence.

My wife joins me in kind regards to Mrs. Davis and yourself, and we hope to learn that you are both in the enjoyment

of good health.

I remain, faithfully yours, (Signed) James D. Bulloch.

B. B. Richards to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Marshall Mo., Dec. 1, '84.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

La Company of the Com

My Dear Sir,

You will pardon the liberty I take in addressing you. In a late number of the Missouri "Republican," I observe statements made by W. T. Sherman in regard to yourself, also your

"prompt proper" strong reply.

I am actuated in addressing you this letter by feelings of admiration and sympathy deep and sincere. I had the pleasure of meeting you at the "Texas & Pacific Rail Road" Convention in St. Louis in 1874,—was introduced to you by my old friend "Genl. Jno. Craig of St. Joseph" in an interview at your room at the "Old Southern Hotel," at your request I gave you a description of the great "Peace Mass meeting" held at Springfield Ill. June 23d/63. I was at that time a paroled prisoner banished from St. Joseph Mo. by General Benj. Lane. I allude to this interview thinking possible you might remember me. I am a Virginian by birth, but was raised in Licking County Ohio, and adjoining the ones in which the "Shermans" were born and raised, to wit Richland and Fairfield Counties. I am familiar with the private and public character of W. T. Sherman, and have closely watched him since the war and during the war—

have attended public gatherings which he also attended, divesting myself of all prejudice growing out of his dastardly and infamous conduct as a soldier and Commander. I am firmly of the opinion that he is one of the most thoroughly overrated and bogus men this country ever produced. I feel confident that all honorable men throughout the world will condemn him in thus wantonly attacking and grossly slandering you,—there is not a man North or South who knows anything about the history of this country but knows that "Jefferson Davis" has done more to add lustre and fame as Hero and statesman than all the "Sherman family" combined. You will doubtless remember that General Wade Hampton fastened a base lie on this same "Bogus Sherman" in regard to burning Columbia, S. C. And they also know that you are as brave a man as ever walked on this continent, and I am proud to see your prompt unequivocal challenge of his veracity—the "cranky old Grany."

I suppose the late incendiary utterances of "Tatooed Blaine" gave Sherman encouragement to slander you. Thank God while the "bloody shirt" may remain to serve the infamous Party further,—we have got rid of Blaine. And I sincerely trust and hope that "Dear Old Dixie" will come out more glorious than ever. Our splendid section of Missouri is making rapid and material progress, our people are moving along industriously and peacible—there is no doubt about Missouri remaining "Democratic." General Marmaduke was by no means our strongest man but succeeded in securing the nomination after a long and close canvass. The temperance question is gaining ground and

will continue to do so in this State.

Wishing you all earthly blessings to the close of your eventful life, I am

Yours truly,

B. B. RICHARDS.

endorsed:

B. B. Richards; is outdone with Sherman.

J. A. Early to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Lynchburg, Va., December 4th, 1884.

My Dear Sir:

Your letter of the 26th ultimo was received two or three days, and has not been answered sooner because I have been

troubled with a cold that interfered with my writing, but I am now better. I have heard but one opinion expressed, as well in New Orleans as here in Virginia, about Beauregard's production in the Century Magazine, and that is that he is the only one damaged by it. I had some idea of writing something on the subject myself, but I have concluded to defer it until I could see you.

To give a very good idea of the impression his article has made I send you an editorial clipped from the New York Herald of November the 23rd ¹; while of course you cannot expect the Herald or any paper in the North to do you justice, yet this editorial will show what an impression Beauregard's contribution to the Century is calculated to make so far as he is concerned.

I will leave home to-morrow for New Orleans, and will be there this time some eight or ten days. If you are at home, I will run over to Beauvoir on Saturday the 13th, and remain until Monday, when I will have to go back to New Orleans.

Present my best regards to Mrs. Davis and Miss Winnie, and accept for yourself the assurance of my highest esteem.

Very Truly and Faithfully Your Friend, J. A. EARLY.

Hon. Jefferson Davis.

endorsed:

Genl. Early gives up his purpose to review Bgd.

¹ Clipping from N. Y. Herald, Novr. 23, 1884.

Fighting the Old Battles Over Again.

In the last number of the Century magazine the story of the capture of Fort Donelson is retold with spirit by one of the officers who participated in the conflict on our side. It is a good contribution to the history of the war, and has the advantage apparently of having received the revision of General Grant. Some chapters in the history of the war to be written by that great soldier himself will have even greater interest. Indeed, the enterprise thus undertaken to draw out from living commanders their own accounts of their battles is one likely to prove of the most curious and notable value. Hitherto the most important of this singular series of histories has been General Beauregard's account of the battle of Bull Run.

As the North had in the later years of the war and in its final result abundant reason to be satisfied with the fighting qualities of its soldiers and the military capacity of its commanders, it can hear again the much told story of the first defeat with less chagrin than it must have felt if the end had been different, and can let the South take all the glory it may from its distinct success in a hard fought battle. Indeed, as we find the story retold in Beauregard and go over its details again in the official reports of the commanders on our side, we leave it with the distinct impression that the only fellows on our side who were thoroughly level-headed were the soldiers who abandoned the battle. There is a story of a well bred

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

(Charlottesville, Va.) Dec. 6th, 1884.

My dear friend,

I have your two last letters, the latest with extract from Gayarre's review of Roman. I will tell you that while, if time permits, I shall get up a piece for the Century, which it appears by a paper notice, is entering on a series of military papers. I am not in a condition convenient for so doing. The exema harasses; each night, for years it is necessary to strip and make applications to parts affected on which like parthian javelins

dog which is somewhat in point. His owner, proud of his qualities, loaned him to a friend for a day in the stubble. Now, the dog with the enthusiasm of his race, discovered and put up a bird secundum artem, and the hunter fired and missed. Some chagrin was evident in the demeanor of the dog, but he got another bird, which the hunter also missed. Being a dog of a resolute spirit, he found another bird. But the hunter missed that. Thereupon the dog turned about and went home. Now, the eighteen thousand Union soldiers who were in the fighting part of the battle of Bull Run worked it under the eyes of generals who couldnt shoot. They were raw troops, were marched five hours on a hot summer day and put precipitately into battle at the end of the march, a company at a time, without any correct perception on the part of their commander how troops should be handled in battle. They saw it was all a mere waste and butchery, and they went away. They were less to blame than the commanders.

As to that part of General Beauregard's revision of the past which relates to his difficulties with Jefferson Davis, we apprehend that the General's own story will convince the world that Davis was right. It was not Beauregard's fault that his army was not destroyed almost without a battle. It was our fault. The commander who holds such a line as Beauregard held from the Warrenton turnpike to Union Mills, and leaves undefended, and even unwatched, the approaches by which an army can be developed upon his rear, is not one of those that save nations by war. Yet we find that the appearance of General Hunter's column upon the rear of the Confederate left in the forenoon of July 21 was a complete surprise to General Beauregard. He was watching his front and right, and imagining an advance of his right to Centreville, in complete ignorance of the fact that an operation of great moment was well advanced in rear of his left.

Indeed, it appears that if General Beauregard's instructions had not miscarried, if the columns of his right and centre had received and acted upon the orders sent to them, his left would have been crushed, even by Hunter's bad fighting, before his right and centre could have come to its assistance. So bad do General Beauregard's dispositions appear to have been, as he himself tells the story, that there is no doubt that his left would have been beaten as things were before his other columns could have come up, if our fighting had been done as Sherman or Sheridan would have done it a little later. Stonewall Jackson's coup d'oeil for a good bit of fighting ground and the tactical incapacity of our officers on that day saved the Confederacy; and Mr. Davis, in assuming that it was not the nominal commander of the Southern army, acted for just once in his life on good reasons.

—in one part or another—thrusts are felt, followed by irritation. 2nd. I have prolapsus ani, troublesome and crippling; then my knee is larger and feebler, and refuses much use, making me blunder and awkward in motion, which wearies me; then I have to watch and direct how to do things, for my ploughman wants tact and judgement in a rocky country, and if my feed is not managed with discretion, it will give out; lastly I have to keep a sort of house, so night, with failing eyes, and the table on which I eat, give but little encouragement for that irksome task, of exposing the essentially false, while guarding one's own fidelity and accuracy, in words and forms of language.

In April of this year Early published a rebuke to Roman on

his comments on a piece of the former.

It is capital, and sets aside masterly Bgd's plan sent you by Chestnut, asks—as your book states—why, as McDowell was routed and Johnston joined, they did not execute the plan. You and Lee were cynical if Bgd. has not forged the answer. Bgd. twists it to praise of his plan. You say truly that lies will continue to deceive the coming generations if they will read these in hand. I must think that as your book was put forth, that if not too laborious, it would be well to brand Beauregard about the "suppressed report" and the plan to end the war by Lee's forces; Lee's answer ought to appear now again; and we saw him let the Yankees go by the lines, for hours, and he was afraid to assault "waiting for Whiting" who was "quite unnecessary."

I have long known that truth is so rare as to be generally unacceptable; people fear a just and truthful man, and stand off from him, his kindly dispositions to his fellow creatures are not objectionable to them but they can't get his alliance in their tricks, and may be caught by him. Bgd. is such a shallow knave, distorts everything, and like an american patriot on a stump tour, repeats the same lies at every point-however often refuted. He, Jordan, Johnston and R. B. Lee were four scoundrels. Bgd. knew that Jordan had no rank, was no genl. and in the Harper's Mag'ne letter Jordan complained that you refused Bgd's request to make him one, and yet he sustained that impostor about him nearly to the end,-untill I accidentally asking what was a chief of staff forced the decision against him. Genl. Cooper ought not to have permitted Bgd's creating a "chief of staff." He and Jordan both lied about R. B. Lee's relief on his own application. Perhaps you may remember Lee's complaint to you and my exposure of this and other matters about them. If anything is to be done with a boaster, he must be proved to be a liar. Bgd. is very easily shown to be

one; R. B. Lee made great complaints; I had to review them, and set forth Bgd's having applied for his removal for want of qualities and then in a letter presented praised Lee and expressed his delight that he had been relieved by Bragg-Jordan —at Lee's own request. I have the letter. He meddled with Broadwell ordered sugar and molasses seised then promised to issue another order and did not. He let Jordan use his authority to outrage any right of others that he pleased. He encouraged and supported a villainous fraud-Ryan. I had him removed and Bgd. remonstrated-Jordan "that he was deprived of the services of valuable officers," and Guerin was arrested for sending to me the report that Ryan's conduct was sustained and no trial would be had. (Ryan lived high with Jordan and Riply. The citizens took it up and objected to Bgd's action. Sec. of War ordered to release Guerin, but he was never informed of it untill hearing it from Rd. long after, though arrested he had to do duty: Bgd, sent Gonsales to assure Gr, that he had nothing against him, regretted the difficulty with the chief of staff, but must let it work out, so Jordan did as he pleased, meddled, occupied time calling for reports of "year books" in details— "by order of Comdg. Genl." At last I caught him signing an order in "Bgd's absence" as chief of staff and it ended after months that there was no chief of staff and he no "genl." but an impostor of Beauregard's creation. Great care must be taken in making statements, but a preliminary declaration that the Congressional Committee at the inspiration of the Press, and speculating millers, and complaints to Foote, examined into every charge against me and in every instance pronounced approval untill the final committee of both houses to examine into the condition of all the Bureaus for carrying on the war gave mine unqualified praise in policy and detailed action pronounced by Baldwin, who stated this in a speech and wrote it to me in prison, and invited the committee present to dispute this if any could.

If I had your diction and fluency of language, it would be easier and might command attention but the South has shaken hands with the northern democrats who urged us into action and then boasted of their zeal in suppressing rebellion. It seems to be implied in your last, that as the coming generations are to be lied to indefinitely, you deem it unprofitable to attempt to guard them against delusion. That an honest editor should publish such stuff as Bgd. writes seems incredible, therefore what result but the repetitions of lies and rejoinders to refutation. Bgd. repeats that the order to Johnston to assist him

was a permission left to his "discretion;" your book settled that, who will refer to it?

Another form of presenting it might strike the Century readers; you may consult your inclination and what there is. Is it correct as I think, that every state as it seceded proceeded to organise for defence in troops munitions of war and q'master and commissary supplies, thus starting competition and private speculation? This was my view when I began to form a policy. Was there any state that omitted doing this?

Your talents integrity and fidelity to your country have been thrown away in the service of a mean ungrateful sensual people.

I will take extracts from the magazine and return. I do not like the idea of working carefully and then be told by the editor of the Century that this sort of discussion would be of no interest to its readers and attacks on the character of its contribuors not eligible. If I went to the expense of publishing a sheet or two, how must I deal, to get it extended. I know nothing of this sort of affair; you do; tell me what will be the programme to be pursued; must I offer to a publisher to whom or to what paper?

My wife is to remain in Bo. till the middle of April after the horrible winter without lightwood. I regret that I had no voca-

tion to be monk.

affectionately yours
Amigo mio L.B.N.

P.S. (Ink next time.)

endorsed: Northrop.

J. B. Watson to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Seneca S.C. 12/7/84

His Excellency Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

Honored Sir,

Excuse the liberty taken in addressing you by one who served in the rear ranks during the struggle of the South against the North, and I may say the world. Since the war I have not sought prominence in public affairs, save in being one of the "Red Shirts" of S. C. trying to redeem our dear State. We are now, since the election of a democratic President, once more

looking forward in the near future to be in a condition to say again "Animus opibusque parati." How my sympathies still goes out to our noble old President for the self sacrifice he has seen fit to impose on himself by his retirement, and all for the good of his countrymen. You will not, I know, think I am going beyond my sphere for asking you to notice my humble self, when I recall to you that I had the honor of once being a member of the "President's Guard," on duty at your residence in Richmond,—a company which was made up of disabled soldiers and commanded by Capt. Cox of Maryland. All the members of the "President's Guard" officers, Hon, Com. Officers and Privates, had been disabled and unfit for active duty in the field. Well do I remember when on guard at your front door, during a cold night with sleet and snow, you came and asked me to take a cup of coffee, but was obliged to refuse it as I had never drank a cup of coffee in my life, and since when have not yet partaken of. You noticed I had on no Overcoat, and asked if "The Guard" had any. My answer being in the negative, in a short time we were called out by our captain to draw overcoats, furnished probably at your own expense.

I also remember one night when after returning home from your office at a late hour with only your Private Sec. Mr. Burton Harrison, I believe, you paced your room till almost day, and then came out and spoke to me about the brave soldiers who were at the front with only scanty clothing and half rations to repel the enemy. You expressed your deep sorrow for them, and said you was doing all that could be done for their comfort. I also remember Little Maggie as she came running and dancing down to our quarters, and Little Jeff with his little Confederate uniform that had a bright star on his collar, given him I believe by his uncle, and of which he was so proud. I mentioned these thoughts to let you know that in your retirement you and your family are not forgotten by those who fought and do not regret under your leadership.

With best wishes for your noble self and family, and that you may live to see our country restored to a new prosperous condi-

tion. I remain

Your umble servant
J. B. Watson
formerly of Co. B. Orr's Regt. Rifles
McGowans Brigade, S. C. V.

Seneca Oconee county, S. C.

endorsed: J. B. Watson one of the Presdts, guard at Richmond.

H. C. Michie to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Charlottesville, Va. Dec. 10th, 1884.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

Respected Sir.

The papers of the country containing Sherman's statement and an intimation that he intends holding you personally responsible for your manly reply are before me. I would consider it the greatest honor to be permitted to act for you, in any capacity you may name, if he, the great incendiary of the late war, attempts to execute his contemptible threat.

Believe me, ever Your ardent admirer. H. C. MICHIE, late Capt. Co. H 56th Va. Vols. Picketts Division

The grandest recollections of my life proceed from the fact that I belonged to the "Army of Northern Va." and was taken prisoner in the enemy's works at Gettysburg.

H. C. M.

endorsed:

H. C. Michie of Va. offers to act as my second vs. Sherman.

E. G. W. Butler to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

St. Louis, Missouri, Dec. 14, 1884.

My dear Mr. Davis:

Tho' my letter of 10th Ult., remains unanswered, I write to express my indignation at the gratuitous and infamous charges against you in the address in St. Louis, of Gen. W. T. Sherman. Tho' manifestly designed for political effect, it is unpardonable; and your demand and his failure to produce his evidence, remind me of Henry Clay's charge against John Quincy Adams; "of having, during their negotiations at Ghent, offered the British Commissioners the free navigation of the Mississippi River'; and Adams indignant denial and demand of his evidence; and of Clay's humiliating reply—"I will postpone my answer to a period more propitious to calm and deliberate discussion."

Even with the aid of Massons' name and Brown, I do not think Gen. Sherman will succeed in convincing even the people of the *North* that you are a "Conspirator", or contemplated "the ruin of the North."

Poor Arthur! after his failure in his aspirations to the Presidential nomination; he is endeavoring, thro' old Freelinghuyson to acquire reputation as a Diplomat; but, I scarcely think his Treaties with Spain and Mexico will meet the approbation of the American people.

The treaty with Nicaragua will take the wind out of the French sails, at Panama, and enable President Cleveland to complete the Western Coast line; by the completion of the long contem-

plated Inter-Oceanic Canal.

When the special Committee of which Gen. J. Floyd King was chairman; was appointed several years ago, I gave him the history of the origin and intent of the "Monroe Doctrine"; and he put copies of my letter on every member's desk. When President Monroe's message, in 1823, was sent to Congress, Gen Jackson just elected to the Senate, had not arrived; and did not arrive till two days thereafter. His colleague, Senator Eaton, and myself had taken quarters for himself and Family at Gadsby's Hotel; and, after the ladies had retired from the dinner table, "Old Hickory", attended by Senators W. R. King. A. J. Donelson and myself, was smoking his cob pipe, when Mr. Southard, Sec. of the Navy and Mr. Crowningshield, were announced, from the White House; and, in reply to a question from Southard, as to his opinion of the message; and, especially that portion of it concerning "Foreign interference on this Continent"; he exclaimed: "Sir, Mr. Monroe is right; and say to him from me, old as I am, rather than see a foreign bayonet landed on this continent, I will take the field for him, to-morrow." The following morning, the National Intelligence and other papers announced that "Old Hickory will not only support the Monroe Doctrine, but, will fight for it."

My old friend, Alexander Duncan; when my letter appeared, wrote to me from England: "I was in Washington when the message appeared; and a friend from New York informed me that the British minister informed him that he had received a

letter from his Government approving Mr. Monroe's declaration."

I have informed Mr. Cleveland, as above; and have begged him to say to France: "Hands Off."

Were not Mrs Davis and yourself surprised by the marriage of our young friends, the General and Mrs. Harney? I think it most fortunate.

I suppose you will all go to the great Exposition. My Son and his eldest Daughter, Frances Parke, and myself are all who are left, and I am "Solitary and alone", during the day; with the snow too deep to take my daily walk of 3 miles.

Lawrence unites with me in affectionate regards for Mrs. Davis, your Daughter and self; whilst I remain, my dear Mr.

Davis,

Your sincere Friend, (Signed) E. G. W. BUTLER.

Hon. Jeff. Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

Jefferson Davis to Marcus J. Wright.

(Davis Letter in Collection of General Marcus J. Wright, Washington, D. C.)

Beauvoir Missi 23d Dec 1884.

Genl. M. J. Wright,

Dear Sir,

Thanks for your's of the 15th & for the printed enclosure a striking example of the failure of a campaign falling short of

the vigor of the proclamation.

I am surprised that Stephens should have written such a letter in view of his declaration during his last canvass that he had never differed from me on any point during the war except my failure to send out some three and a half millions of bales of cotton at the beginning of the struggle, which, as that amount of cotton was not to be had, nor any amount at all approaching it, and as the Confederacy had no cotton, no money to buy it, if it had been on the market, no ships to send it out, if the cotton had been in possession, the difference was small as only to provoke division among those who were fully informed.

Very truly

Your's

JEFFERSON DAVIS

J. R. Smoot to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Mitchells Station Culpeper Co. Va. Xmas 1884,

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Dear Sir,

Being a stranger and unknown to you, yet the great admiration I entertained for you when a Southern Senator and Statesman, ante bellum-the pride I felt in you as our leader and President.—but far above and beyond all else—the love I bear you as a noble representative of a true Southern patriot, and the great desire that I have ever experienced that justice should be done you in regard to your course at the first Battle of Manassas, will be, I hope, Sir,—a sufficient apology for the liberty I take in presuming to address you—therefore Sir to be as brief as I can, I will say that at an hour about 1 P.M. on July the 21st 1861, when on my way from Manassas proper mounted to the Battle field, I was overtaken my two persons riding quite rapidly—one dressed in plain citizens clothes riding a bay horse, the other being a cavalryman and acting as courier and guide to the former. As the former passed me he gracefully raised his hat and asked me if I knew the Headquarters of our General, at that particular time (which was permit me to say at an hour and time when news had already been brought to Manassas by wounded and straggling soldiers that we were whipped or defeated—recogniseing you as our President, I replied in the affirmative and immediately volunteered to pilot you; on our way we met many wounded, but a larger number of straggling soldiers—to the former you gave, as opportunity offered words of cheer and condolence; to the latter you appealed to their manhood, &c., and urged them to return to the field, but the majority kept on to Mannasas,-all however declaring that our army was cut to pieces and whipped, but you kept on and when within less than half mile of the Battle Field, I remember your meeting a very large Old Virginia four horse road wagon, containing some wounded and you finding from the teamster, that the wagon contained Genl. Bee, of Southern Carolina.—had it stopped for a few moments and riding to its side, raised the covering and spoke to him-we were then almost at the foot of the Hill of the Lewis House,-headquarters of our Generals. taking advantage of the time you were engaged in conversation

with Geul. Bee and trying to rally the stragglers, I rode up the hill and finding the exact locality of Genl. Johnson, I returned immediately and conducted you to him. Genl. Johnson was in command and surrounded by a few of his staff,—Genl. Beauregard having taken the field sometime before.

As you rode up to where Gen. J. and his staff were, you and he saluted and spoke to each other and in a moment, Genl. J. said to you in these very words,—"Mr. President, I am happy to inform you that the enemy is just at this moment in full retreat."

You immediately asked him what steps he had taken for following the enemy and advised to leave nothing undone to enable the troops to follow the retreating army and to continue the advantage gained by the advance of our army.

Since the sad failure of our cause, there has been, I am sorry to say, every subterfuge resorted to by many to cast the failure of an advance upon Washington at that time upon you, but I do know different and it has ever been and always will be my greatest pleasure to bear you testimony that you are not responsible for that oversight.

Never doubting the justice of our cause and the purity of our motives, I have nothing to recall and only regret that my obscureness prevents me from giving the same emphasis to my indifference and independence of your northern calumniators and southern detractors, that you so grandly have exhibited during and since the Revolution in 60-64.

Yours faithfuly and most obt.

J. R. SMOOT.

endorsed:

J. R. Smoot; about J. D. at Manassas; to be ackd.

Jefferson Davis to Major Green. (From New York Historical Society.)

> Beauvoir, Missi, 31st Dec 1884,

My dear Maj. Green,

I received your kind letter of the 27th Inst and the copy of the Philadelphia Times containing your review of Genl Beauregard. I think your article is in very good taste & the more effective for the controlled temper with which it was written. You had a bubble to prick & after it collapsed it was hardly worth squeezing. It required inordinate vanity to be willing after the event had exposed the extreme folly of what he calls his "plan" for the battle of Manassas still to have presented it as evidence of his genius for strategy. There was no need to say more than you have said about the battle of Shiloh, concerning which, notwithstanding his report, where little was said of Sidney Johnston except the fact that he was killed, Beauregard has but two sustained claims, one to have prepared the order of march, which resulted in failure to bring the troops on the ground at the time & manner acquired [required], & the other to have withdrawn the army at the moment of victory and thus to have sacrificed all which the skill & heroism of Johnston had achieved.

I am deeply sensible of the feeling which has actuated you to write and am especially grateful that you ascribe that feeling to inheritance.

It will always give me pleasure to hear from you and you will please accept assurance of the good wishes with which I am

Truly your friend,
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

C. C. Baldwin to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Balcony Falls, Rockbridge Co., Va., Jan. 5, 1885.

President Davis, My dear Sir:

I delayed the publication of your letter to me until the Presidential excitement had subsided, as nothing but politics would be heard during that uproar. After some reflection, I thought it would attract more attention in an editorial in one of our leading papers than as a communication; and I accordingly gave it that form, as you will see in the inclosed copy. I hope it will meet your approbation.

¹ Ex-President Davis Refutes Another Slander.

Our Northern brethren will not let Mr. Davis alone in peace, in his quiet home on the shore of the Gulf. They keep picking and pecking at him, and as a general rule seem to prefer to avoid the truth in what they say about him. The latest misrepresentation (next to Gen. Sherman's) to which he has been subjected comes from a writer of Yankee books, Mr. James Parton, of medium talents and acquirements, and of considerable notoriety at the North. He is the author of a number of biographies of distinguished Americans, among them Aaron Burr and Andrew Jackson.

I have sent copies of the editorial to the New York Herald and World, but I am by no means sure they will publish it. I think it will be copied by many Southern papers, as an act of justice to you. Not content with slandering you Parton, in that same sketch of Dr. Franklin, most atrociously calumniated severel of our dead Revolutionary patriots—pure and generous Southern gentlemen whose shoes he is unworthy to untie. After saying that "In France he (Dr. Franklin) was as much the main stay of the cause of his country as Gen. Washington was at home", he adds this wanton libel: "And who were the people by whose restless vanity and all-clutching meanness his efforts were almost frustrated in Paris? Arthur Lee and William Lee, of Virginia, and Ralph Izard, of South Carolina!"

Dr. Lossing, in his Eminent Americans, fully vindicates the Lees and Izard from Parton's disgraceful calumnies. I will probably write a short article on the subject for the papers.

Most heartily wishing you a long and happy old age, I am, Yours most respectfully and truly (Signed) C. C. Baldwin.

With a facetious irony he is sometimes called the American Plutarch. Recently Mr. Parton has brought out a pretentious volume, printed by John B. Alden, of New York, under the name of "Cyclopedia of Biography," consisting of more than a hundred brief sketches of eminent men of all ages and countries. Among these is one of Doctor Benjamin Franklin, the illustrious patriot and philosopher of the Revolution, who is one of the comparatively few Americans whose names will go down to a very constant. This sketch Mr. Parton was named will go down to a very constant. remote posterity. This sketch Mr. Parton was pleased to open-page 128in the following sensational style:

"Was Benjamin Franklin mean? Jefferson Davis thinks he was." He is reported to have said, recently, that Dr. Franklin was "the incarnation of the New England character-hard, calculating, angular, unable to con-

ceive any higher object than the accumulation of money."

Mr. Parton does not give his authority for this most wanton and preposterous calumny, carrying the brand of falsehood on its very face. How could a cultivated and refined gentleman like Mr. Davis, confessedly one of the best informed men of the age, and perfectly familiar with the life and character of Dr. Franklin, pronounce him unable "to conceive any higher object than the accumulation of money." A moment's reflection, if he had been a philosophical historian or an impartial and truthful biographer or even a man of stores common sense would have convinced Mr. rapher, or even a man of strong common sense, would have convinced Mr. Parton that Mr. Davis could not have thought or said that Dr. Franklin was a low, "mean", sordid wretch, "unable to conceive any higher object than the accumulation of money."

A life given to statesmanship, science, philosophy and patriotic devotion

to country was entitled to no such characterization.

But we have the proof positive that Mr. Davis has been egregiously misrepresented in this matter, as he is in most things that are said of him by northern writers or speakers. A Virginian, Mr. C. C. Baldwin, of Rockbridge county, believing the quotation attributed to Mr. Davis to be false, wrote to him on the subject, calling attention to the matter, and he promptly replied in the following dignified letter, effectually crushing the calumny. Mr. Baldwin has favored us with it for publication:

Mr. Davis to Mr. Baldwin.

Beauvoir, Miss., Sept. 29, 1884.

C. C. Baldwin, Esq., My dear Sir:

Please accept my thanks for your kind letter of the 20th instant. I have not seen the book to which you refer and never had any acquaintance with its author. As I never thought Dr. Benjamin Franklin a mean man, or that he was unable to conceive any higher object than the accumulation of money, the author in ascribing to me such a statement has certainly uttered a falsehood.

He must be very ignorant of our political history who does not know of the eminent service Dr. Franklin rendered his country, both at home and abroad; and equally ignorant must be be in regard to the scientific investigations of the last century, who could honestly attribute to any educated American the opinion that Dr. Franklin had no higher object than the accumulation of money. The Maxims of Poor Richard's Almanac, as collected and published under the title of the Way to Wealth, do not, like yours, teach morality, piety and filial reverence, but are directed to the end of becoming rich. A people who should adopt the Way to Wealth as their Bible would generally become worshippers at the shrine of Mammon. It may sometimes happen that a pure man, by too much questioning, may loosen the restraints needful to lower natures than his own, and thus start them along paths of vice which he never would have trod. Dr. Franklin's unquestioned integrity, patriotism, love of truth, of science and of his fellow-man, should relieve him from the doom of standing as the type of such characters as his maxims may have formed. Your marginal note on the slanderous imputation against me is clearly justified by my convictions. and by all which can be possibly true. Such lies are often uttered, probably because there is no dread of exposure—sectional hate being sufficient to condone the base crime, if convicted.*

Very truly, your obliged friend,
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

^{*} Lynchburg News Jan. 2, 1885.

Jefferson Davis to Norman Walker. (From Chicago Inter Ocean Dec. 13, 1889.)

Dear Sir: Your request on behalf of a Boston journalist for me to prepare a criticism on General Grant's military career can not be complied with for the following reasons:

1. General Grant is dving.

2. Though he invaded our country ruthlessly, it was with open hand, and, as far as I know, he abetted neither arson nor pillage, and has, since the war, I believe, shown no malignity to Confederates, either of the military or civil service.

Therefore, instead of seeking to disturb the quiet of his closing hours, I would, if it were in my power, contribute to the peace

of his mind and the comfort of his body.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Bradley T. Johnson to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Museum.)

Baltimore, Md. Jany. 7, 1885.

Hon. Jefferson Davis. Beauvoir, Mississippi.

My dear Mr. Davis:

The last number of the Southern Historical Society papers contains my memoir of the First Maryland Campaign.

I propose to make it the basis of a fuller and more detailed History, for which I shall endeavor to find a Northern Publisher. To get to the great public, we must get to the Houses which have facilities of access to that public.

Col. Walter Taylor in his Book says that you intended to join the Army in Maryland, and he tells me that he went back from F. to Warrenton, Virginia by order of Genl. Lee to meet you, but you had determined not to come before he arrived, at that place. That he did not meet you.

That Campaign was of surpassing interest to us and the Battle of Sharpsburgh, in my opinion, the most brilliant one Genl. Lee ever fought. If you have time or inclination you will do me a favor by pointing out mistakes or errors which you may find in my paper.

My family, now increased by a grandson, unite with me in sending to you and yours their love and Christmas greetings.

Yours Respectfully, (Signed) Bradley T. Johnson.

James D. Bulloch to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

30 Sydenham Avenue, Sefton Park, Liverpool. Jany. 9th 1885.

Dear Mr. Davis:

Since I wrote to you with reference to the Liverpool Consulate, I have given much thought to the subject, and have consulted some friends in whose desire to serve me, as well as in whose judgment, I have thorough confidence.

The result of these reflections and consultations has been such as to satisfy me that I would stand no chance of getting the appointment and a serious application in my behalf would probably cause embarrassment, and possibly loss of influence to any Southern politician who should be induced to urge it.

My name is too closely associated with the so-called "Alabama Claims" and the irritation still felt in the Northern States in reference to them, for me to have any expectation that ship-owners and shippers, say of Boston, and New York, would be willing to accept me as the guardian of their interests abroad, and it is more than doubtful whether even a National Democratic Administration would venture to make such an appointment.

Please then consider my application to you for recommendation to the Senators from Louisiana and Mississippi, as withdrawn, and if you have written or spoken to any of them on the subject, you will oblige me by informing them that I have no longer the purpose to apply for the office.

My wife joins me in wishing you and Mrs. Davis all the

blessings you may hope for during the New Year.

I remain, Dear Mr. Davis,

Yours faithfully, (Signed) JAMES D. BULLOCH.

Henry Clay Dallam and others to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Museum.)

Baltimore. Jan. 14th, 1885.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Mississippi.

Dear Sir:

At a meeting of the Society of the Army and Navy of the Confederate States, in the state of Maryland, held last night,

the Society reported this resolution which was adopted unanimously.

That the Hon. Jefferson Davis, Ex-President of the Confederate States be elected a member of this Society; and that a certificate of membership be forwarded to him.

The undersigned, your old soldiers and friends, were appointed a committee to inform you of this action of the Society and to convey to you the sentiment of the Society, that its members entertain for you "the profoundest respect for your devotion to the cause of the South and for your honorable career and character".

Permit us to add, that we are happy in the belief, that when your calumniators and slanderers shall have long been forgotten, your fame will grow with the ages, and your character will hereafter shine as an example and an embodiment of all that is pure, patriotic and intelligent.

You will find herewith enclosed the certificate of membership and a roster of the officers and members of the Society of the Army and Navy of the Confederate States in the State of Maryland

We have the honor to be,

Your admirers, old soldiers, and friends.

(Signed) Henry Clay Dallam.

Lamar Holliday.

J. S. Maury.

R. M. Blundon.

A. J. Smith.

T. B. Ferris to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Atlanta, Ga., Jany. 14, 1885.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Dear Sir:

Colonel Andrew Marschalk, of Natchez, was my grandfather; my father, of the Forty-first Mississippi regiment, was killed in the battle of Perryville, Ky; my oldest brother and a number of other relatives were in the army of the South and myself being a native Mississippian, it is needless to assure you of my ardent admiration and great reverence for your name, which has always been a household word in my mother's family and I trust to continue it so in mine. This much is to prove my sincerity.

My object in writing is to beg some little gift which I may keep and treasure as having once belonged to you. Let it be what it may, Sir—a button you have worn, or something of like intrinsic value, I will honor it and prize it as long as I live.

With my best wishes for your health and general welfare,

I am,

Yours, with great respect, (Signed) Thomas B. Ferris.

No. 45 East Mitchell St., Atlanta, Ga.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Minor Orcus (Va.) Jany. 14th '85

My dear friend,

I thank you cordially for your last kind letter. All the old papers in my house have been rummaged over and from them I have prepared a paper, effective as to facts, respecting both of two generals, who loved themselves and hated you, as the *only* motives of action in their career.

The difficulty is to refute without epithets, but I remembered Jim Izard's declaration "that he flattered himself he could put a man in the most ignominious position without being at all

impolite."

I have a letter from Noland who "travelled with Johnston from Rhd, to Manassas," conversed with him respecting Thoroughfare; whither he was ordered to bring off the cured meats. Johnston "impressed him with the necessity of secrecy as to the movement of his army,"—replying to N's question as to time and transportation, told him he would have two weeks, and he thought "there would be no difficulty as to transportation." N. put up the platforms along the road corresponding to the doors of the cars, piled the meat and had hands ready to replenish them. Several empty trains passed, none would stop. He went several times to Manassas to get the transportation, failed and Col. Munford by order burnt the meats—2,000,000 lbs. Johnston says—and all the hides and oil from over 11000 beeves. I have assumed that had the place been let alone the probability was that it might not have been disturbed; the enemy in a small body followed to the Rappahannock, was asured by the conflagration at Manassas that Johnston had moved, went

there, and pronounced the whole region desolate; their getting supplies was no object. Ewell and Stuart's horse remained, Jackson was in the valley, and I have no idea but that the stores might have been undisturbed and subsequently removed. (One icehouse filled with hides was never disturbed.) What do you remember conflicting?

I last night saw that in the February Century would appear an article from Jordan about Shiloh, of course Corinth will come in before and after it. He will tell lies, I shall wait for this, and have an opportunity of alluding to his article in Harper's in '65, when you and I were in prisons, filled with wanton falsehoods, and I will bring out that he was an impostor—never had a commission in the Confederate service. When I left Rhd., I brought the original paper on which I made the point, on which is Genl. Cooper's statement, that he was nominated as Brig. only to take effect when assigned to a brigade, of its rejection explained by Wigfall on account of Johnston's statement that as a q.m. in U. S. service he had been a defaulter and would have been tried. In this paper he signed himself "chief of staff and Brigadier Genl." Genl. C. also states that he had no commission in the Adjt. Genl's dept. He followed Beauregard to the West, was acting as Chief of Staff to Bragg for a while; to his office came Genl. Cooper's order relieving Lee (R. B.) of June 10th 63 at Bgd's application of the 4th and by him, Jordan was issued Bragg's order of June 25 relieving L. "at his own request." Bragg was not informed and Jordan practiced on him. He followed Bgd. to Charleston. L. B. N. Adios.

endorsed:

Northrop; Jany. 85; ansd. 18th Jany. '85.

G. W. Alexander 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Baltimore January 15th 1885.

To the Hon. Jefferson Davis,

Dear Sir,

I was superintendent of the Bellefontaine Railway in St. Louis. That fellow Sherman was Supt. of the 5th Street line, and the worst they ever had. I am hunting up the record and he will

¹ Confederate soldier, Richmond provost guard.

be made to feel worse on this than anything else, for the shafts of ridicule do smart.

Susie Ashby, my wife, joins with me in prayers for you, sir, and your wife.

Being an old newspaper man, quite a number call in weekly

to see me, and we will give Sherman ---- well.

I am a very humble individual, Mr. Davis, but when riding around your house in Richmond, night after night with my provost guard, I often said, "God give him quiet slumbers," and I felt myself a general. Would then and would now die to preserve you to see the realization of what you said in the letter you wrote to me, of Drs. Fife and McPheters.

"To see the triumph of true liberty."

Major Turner, who commanded the Libby, dined with me Sunday week. He is still in Memphis, came on to see his sister, Mrs. Meade, who has been very ill, but I see by the papers is convalescing.

I must tell you some time of the plot I thwarted of carrying you off,—\$125,000 was the offer, and we often think of the remarks you made to Turner and I when we called on you in Memphis—"Well, gentlemen, you were true and could not be bought, this I presume is worth more than Northern gold."

Gen. Herbert is gone. I miss him very much. He had so much nature, as the Irish call it. Bradley Johnson is in politics. He was a good soldier, but is more for Bradley than Herbert was for Jim.

Yours faithfully

G. W. ALEXANDER.

endorsed:

G. W. Alexander on Sherman.

A. K. McClure to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Mobile, Ala. Jany. 16, 1885.

Hon, Jefferson Davis. My dear Sir—

Your dispatch kindly inviting myself and party to accept the hospitality of your home, instead of finding us on the car, was received here. I much regret that I am thus deprived of the pleasure of proving my appreciation of the previous hospitality extended to me at your home four years ago. In obedience to a pressing invitation from the Board of Trade, we will now remain here until 2 P.M. tomorrow and then go through to New Orleans. I will be at the St. Charles hotel the 26th or 27th, and will then return via Nashville and Jackson.

With thanks for your cordial invitation and kind remembrance to Mrs. Davis and your daughter, believe me,

Yours truly

(Signed) A. K. McClure.

Duncan K. McRae to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Wilmington, N. C. Jany. 16, 1885.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

Dear Sir,

The Debate in the U. S. Senate now in progress on the Hawley Resolution calling on the Prest. for information as to a "Historical statement concerning the public policy of the Executive Department of the Confederate States during the late War and &c reported to have been filed lately in the War Dept. by Genl. W. T. Sherman" &c. calls to my recollection two events which happened in the time referred to, and which bear somewhat on the matter in question, and which may aid your memory about the matter in controversy, if you shall see proper to give the subject any further consideration.

As a preface to their introduction, I will state the circumstances under which I became connected with them.

After my resignation from the Army i.e. about Nov. or Dec. 1862 Gov. Vance entrusted me with the negotiation of certain of the State Bonds in Europe and with the purchase of military supplies, which occupied me until the fall of that year. On my return to No. Ca. I found a wide spread discontent concerning the prosecution of the war, and an open and violent opposition to the measures of Confederate administration, displaying itself in recommendations to the people to institute measures towards negotiations for peace by separate State action. Even to the calling of a State convention with a view to take No. Ca. out of the Confederacy and back into the Union. Mr. Holden was the prime and ostensible mover, but it was believed by many that Gov. Graham and others sympathized with him, and it was feared that Gov. Vance shared those sympathies.

The apprehensions as to Gov. Vance grew not so much out of any direct manifestation by him in that direction, but out of his previous and then political course of action. In 1862 he became a candidate for Governor against "the soldiers' candidate" Col. Wm. Johnson and in that canvass he had been supported strenuously by Holden and all those who were supposed to be malcontents, but who called themselves "conservatives," and who applied to the loyal supporters of the war and friends of the Administration the epithet of "Destructives." Against this rampant spirit of opposition I was earnestly invoked to take the field by becoming a candidate for Congress, which I did, and was defeated by Leach J. T. of Johnston Co. owing to the fact that a Confederate Col. who was also a candidate obtained the votes of his Regt. thereby dividing the loval vote.

Towards the spring of 1864 the spirit had become much more violent and threatening insomuch that the Confederate people, about Raleigh especially, were in personal dread,—the loyal sentiment really having become intimidated by the treasonable demonstrations.

At this time Holden and Vance had divided because the former had made up his mind to be himself a candidate for Governor at the ensuing August election. But Gov. Vance had increased the alarm of those who looked to an earnest and unfaltering support of the Confederate Administration as the only method of safety and honor by his opposition to the conscription Law and the impediments which he threw in the way of its enforcement, as also by his opposition to the suspension of the Hab. Corpus, and by his repeated carping at the vigorous but necessary action of the Confederate Authorities in the matters of impressment &c and by his bickerings with the Confederate Administration, and the question was in suspense whether under any circumstances those who felt themselves to be loval to the cause could consent to support him for re-election. When it was finally determined to do so as a choice of evils between him and Mr. Holden, some of the leading Confederates, Govs. Bragg and Manly, Mr. Barringer and others applied to me to take charge of a Journal called the Confederate to be edited so as strongly to support the Administration, to defy and denounce the traitorous element. and as far as possible to stir Gov. Vance to a better policy, and to support his candidacy as far as possible.

In the progress of this undertaking and in the summer or fall of 1864 I detected and exposed a secret organization whose object was to stimulate discontent, to aid desertion, to communicate information to the enemy and generally to break down the cause, and to obtain terms for No. Ca. by separate State action. During the Gubernatorial Campaign, Gov. Vance after a first slip at Wilkesboro, so conducted the discussions as to favorably impress his supporters with the sincerity of his disposition towards the cause. He opposed and denounced the convention project, and was elected by a large majority. But after his election he renewed his carping and fault finding and the evil effects became more evil, until in the winter of 1864-5, and not long before a certain Delegation from the Legislature of No. Ca. met you in Richmond, composed of Col. David Carter, Messrs. Pool and Porson &c. I was requested by the same gentleman whom I have named above to visit Richmond, and seek an interview with you, and to give you a statement of the real and dangerous condition of things in this State. I did go and that interview after this long introduction is one of the events I mentioned in the beginning.

It was held at the Executive Mansion, and you allowed me the entire evening. I went over in detail all the evidences of treasonable intentions and acts which I had. I named the persons implicated, and chief among them Mr. Holden, Pennington and Dr. Warren of Vance's Staff. I had already plainly intimated in my paper my opinion of all these persons and I depicted to you as well as I could the desertions which were going on, the audacious boldness of the conspirators, and the intimidation of the loyal people and on your asking me what I recommended to be done, I said, That the persons suspected should be arrested, and on such proof being made as should be satisfactory to the Military commander, that they should be placed beyond the Confederate lines, with a warning against their return.

You replied to me that you were powerless in the premises, that the suspensions of the writ of Hab. cor. had not been extended and that although you did not doubt Gov. Vance's fidelity to the cause, that really he placed more obstacles in the way of the administration than any other Governor of a Confederate State.

I then said to you: Mr. Prest, if we can not put our foot on the necks of these traitors, they will put their feet on our necks, for they are already striving to have a convention to carry No. Ca. into the union by peace negotiations by the State authority, and there is great danger of their success, and the effort ought to be stifled in advance. I shall never forget your reply. You said: "Col. you must remember that the right of secession by

an organic act of this (or, the) state is provided for in the Confederate Constitution, and it is for this sacred right which we are fighting, but you may assure our friends in No. Ca. that I will use all my power to aid Gov. Vance in any manner which he may suggest in preserving the Confederate authority, and in putting down any lawless individuals who may be giving aid and comfort to the enemy, but more than this I can not venture to assume." I know I went home feeling how incapable our Congress had left the Government and how surely our defeat was at hand.

You will see in the Cong. Record of Wednesday Jany. 14, 1885, Gov. Vance's explanation of Genl. Sherman's statement concerning the commissioners sent by the former to the latter immediately preceding the latter's entry into Raleigh. It is in connection with this that the Second event occurred which I mentioned

in the beginning of this letter.

On the morning of the 9th of Apl. 1865, but before the surrender of Genl. Lee was known in Raleigh, and when as vet Raleigh was covered by Genl. Johnston's army, I was passing out of the Capitol Building, in the city, when I met Mr. Kenneth Raynor, who said to me "McRae, I am glad to be able to say to you that you can leave Raleigh with Genl. Johnston's troops without any concern for the safety of your family," and to my enquiry which he said so, he replied, Gov. Graham Gov. Swain and I are authorized to proceed to Genl. Sherman's Head Qrs and treat for the surrender of the State, and the protection of the people. Vance is to be recognized as Governor and he together with the archives are to be left intact, and Hoke's Division and the No. Ca. troops are to be withdrawn from Johnston and with the State are to be surrendered. I made no reply to Mr. Raynor, but I went immediately into the Gov's room where I found Gov. Vance. I repeated to him what I had just heard, and I said to him,—Govr. if you contemplate being engaged in such a transaction before you enter on it you had better get some friend to take a grapevine and hang you by the neck until you are dead for you will thereby avoid a great infamy. He replied, "Why McRae I have no thought of such a thing, nor is any such thing contemplated. I mean to stand on Confederate soil as long as there is ground enough to pirouette on one toe, and under the Confederate flag while there is a rag left to flutter in the breeze."

With this I was entirely satisfied, and left, but in passing out of the capitol grounds, I met Mr. E. B. Freeman, who repeated to me the purpose of the commission or embassy as they called it,

in the same words substantially as Mr. Raynor had done. I did not then distrust Gov. Vance but I believed he was being deceived. (Had I known Dr. Warren was to be of the Party should have been sure of it) at all events I determined if possible to intercept it, and save No. Ca. from the ignominy of deserting her comrades. I thereupon sought Col. Archer Anderson, Genl. Johnston's chief of Staff and communicated to him the whole matter and at my solicitation he and I went to the telegraph office and wired the facts to Genl. Johnston, then I think at Greensboro or Hillsboro. Immediately on the recept of this telegram, Genl. J. sent a message to Genl. Hampton commanding the outposts below Raleigh, revoking a permit he had previously given the Embassadors to pass his lines, and when Gov. Graham and Swain and Dr. Warren (who it seems was the third) were parleying with Genl. Hampton about the revocation Genl. Kilpatrick advanced in force compelling Genl. Hampton to retreat, and the Embassadors were left in the hands of the enemy unaccredited, and were made prisoners of war. It was well for the State it turned out so.

Both Col. Anderson and Genls. Johnston and Hampton will doubtless recall these incidents and you will see that Gov. Vance has fallen into some errors in his late speech in the Senate.

I do not suppose that "our Brethren" will ever cease periodically to hound you as long as any political necessity may be served by it, but above and out of reach of it all, you can afford to be content in the conscientious conviction that you served the right, and that you have justly earned and fully enjoyed the devoted affection and veneration of a people, by whose posterity your fame and your name will be cherished and preserved.

With my best wishes that your life and health may be prolonged, and with my own and Mrs. McRae's kind regards to Mrs. Davis. I am very truly

Yr obt. servt.

D. K. McRae

I hope you will pardon my bad writing, as my hands are very much affected from rheumatism.

(Various telegrams April 1865.)

Copy.

Dispatched by telegraph from Raleigh, 11 April 1865.

To President Davis.

Please tell me what of General Lee: Much depends here on a correct knowledge of the situation. Answer to-night.

Z. B. VANCE.

Answer.

I have no official report but scouts said to be reliable and whose statements were circumstantial and corroborative, represent the disaster as extreme. I have not heard from General Lee since the 6th instant and have little or no hope from his army, as an organized body. I expected to visit you at Raleigh, but am accidentally prevented from executing that design and would be very glad to see you here if you can come at once, or to meet you elsewhere in North Carolina at a future time. We must redouble our efforts to meet present disasters. An army holding this position with determination to fight on and manifest ability to maintain the struggle will attract all the scattered soldiers and daily and rapidly gather strength. Moral influence is wanting and I am sure you can do much now to revive the spirit and hope of the people.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Telegram cypher.

Raleigh, 12th April, 1865. 1 P.M.

To General Johnston or President Davis.

I am reliably informed Vance is sending Graham and Swain to Sherman with proposal for armistice and assembling of Legislature and that Hardee them. I have telegraphed General Hampton not to let them pass till he hears from you.

ARCHER ANDERSON

A. A. G.

Dispatch by telegraph from Raleigh April 12th, 1865.

To President Davis:

A letter was sent by me to Sherman this morning requesting an interview. It was shown to General Hardee and the subject matter was mentioned to General Johnston yesterday. It is not my intention to do any thing subversive of your prerogation or without consultation with yourself.

Z. B. VANCE.

D.H.A.C.

Answer 12th of April 1865

I cannot attribute to you such purpose as you disclaim, and your military experience and good judgment will render it unnecessary to explain why the commanding General cannot properly allow any intercourse with the enemy except under his authority and with his full knowledge and consent—such was the purport of the instructions sent to General Hardee.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Paul H. Hayne to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

"Copse Hill" Georgia Jan. 18th 1885.

My Dear Mr Davis,

A few days ago, I composed the enclosed lyric, which has been sent to "The Atlanta Constitution" (a widely circulated journal), for publication.

I am glad and proud to see the feeling exhibited towards yourself, the Head of our glorious cause, in the newspapers at the

South.

One notice I enclose, which reached me last evening.

I earnestly hope, my honored Chief, that the New Year has brought to you health and strength!

May your sunset, after so tempestuous a day, be calm and fair!

Such poor creatures as Sherman on the *one* hand, or the renegades of what I believe is called "The New South" on the other, can never disturb your tranquility.

With profound regard, Always Faithfully,
PAUL H. HAYNE
address P.O. Box 275, Augusta, Georgia.

endorsed: Paul H. Hayne; Lyric; ansd. 24th Jany. 1885.

Davis and Sherman.

Robed in the trappings of a tawdry fame,—
Swollen by his own mean soul's corrupted air,
We heard Tecumseh's brazen trumpet blare
Thro' tortuous labyrinths of false acclaim,—
Blown with fierce zeal against a noble name;—
But he whose heart his Country's woe laid bare,
From desolate heights of his sublime despair,
Hurls swiftly back the base imputed shame!

Not thro' a prurient verdict, black with gall,
From one, in venomed rancour only great,
Shall this sad, lonely Spirit stand or fall!
Time, heaven's supreme Vicegerent, soon or late,
Must speak for him, unbribed by Love, or Hate,
Where God's infallible justice waits for all!

PAUL HAMILTON HAYNE, "Copse Hill" Ga. Jan. 1885.

(clipping enclosed in letter from Paul H. Hayne) (to Jefferson Davis, Jan. 1885.)

Jefferson Davis.

Montgomery Advertiser: The life and virtues of Jefferson Davis are a shining light wherever in the world brilliant talent is admired, devotion to principle honored and patriotism beloved. There is no stain on his brow that all the cleansing power of truth will not sometime wash away. There are shadows on his heart and life, but they would vanish like tears in Heaven if his people's love and trust could make sunshine with the wishing. Jefferson Davis is one of history's few great men, great in the noon, grand in the solemn hush of night that has fallen on his hopes. Heroically and uncomplainingly he treads his thorny way to the grave, bearing on his single head the weight of a thousand wrongs and wearing in his single heart a million shafts and wards them from his people. He did no more than a thousand others. He was no more a traitor than all the millions whom he led. He was true to us, and we will be true to his name and fame. He is the grandest character on the stage of life today, and amid the sombre shadows of his setting sun, he stands the image of all that is dignified in character and manly in sorrow. Beside the smirched and loud pitied hero of the victors who spit at him, he is like the statue of a god beside a question mark.

Jefferson Davis is not an issue in politics. He is not an issue between the sections. His life belongs to the past and to history. The Southern people sorely deplore any dragging of his name before the public. They shrink from listening to the mean hissing they are powerless to stop. But until the end of time no swarm of poison flies will ever buzz around his name and the Southern people be wanting in acclaim that he and they are one. That he has been made to bear so much of their misfortune is pitiful, and we can at least say to his accusers, "The strokes at him are strokes at us. We shuffle nothing on his overburdened shoulders. He is a well beloved leader in misfortune, we are part and parcel of a reunited people, and secession is dead."

The Southern Senators are right.

Jefferson Davis to A. Y. P. Garnett.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Beauvoir, Miss. 22^d Jany 1885

Dr. A. Y. P. Garnett,

My dear Sir,

Yours of the 17th Inst has been this day received and to your inquiry I reply; that though it is not in my power to recite the language employed in response to you and others who urged me to send Confederate troops into Kentucky to prevent the Federal fort from intimidating the Legislature & people of that State by a military occupation & thus to prevent Ky. from passing an ordinance of Secession, I do well remember that to you, as to others I answered substantially that I would not do such violence to the rights of the State. No one could have felt a deeper interest, or more affectionate regard for Kentucky than I did, and it may well be that I did not believe the People of Kentucky, the State especially distinguished in the early period of her history for the operation of State Rights & State Remedies could be driven from the maintenance of a creed which had ever been her point of pride.

My answer, as correctly stated by you, shows that my decision was not based on expediency & however reluctant I may have

been to reject the advice of yourself and other friends in whose Judgement & sincerity I had implicit confidence I would not for all the considerations involved disregard the limitations of our Constitution and violate the Cardinal principle which had been the guiding star of my political life

With grateful remembrance of your kindness in years gone by, and admiration for your manly fidelity in times of severest

trial I am Ever truly your friend,

JEFFERSON DAVIS-

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

My dear friend,

Minor Orcus (Va.) Feby. 2, '85

I feel the reluctance you do, to return to the records and recollections under which you were martyrised during so many years. But the fabrications of Johnston and Beauregard must be upset, or it is folly for me to begin.

The former created A. D. Banks as the chief commissary of his army, I broke that down. The latter created Jordan as his "chief of staff." I broke that down, for he worried my officer intollerably, and I brought with me, and have Genl. Cooper's statement of the whole case, that he never had a commission in the Adjt. Genl's Dept. and was never a general. Now he followed Beauregard from Manassas to Dept. No. 2; then when Bgd. sickened and Bragg was assigned to his army, Jordan as "chief of staff" signed the order (relieving Col. Lee (R. B.) "at his own request")—to be relieved on June 25th/62 when Jordan knew that on June 3rd Bgd. had applied to have Lee relieved, and Moses Wick appointed in his place, and that was done by War Dept. order of June 10th. When Bgd went to command in Charleston, Jordan again appeared as "Brig. and Chief of staff."

Can you remember how, or by what authority, direct or constructive, these transfers of Jordan could have been managed? From Manassas he simply followed Bgd, but how could he have been transferred to Charleston, when he was "chief of staff" to Bragg? If Bragg wanted another officer he could not have assigned Jordan to another Dept. Jordan must have simply gone, and assumed the position—when Bgd was assigned to command the Dept. of So. Ca. Georgia and Florida. Bragg was at Tupelo—no usage could do this.

I have written to Noland to recal if he can, anything which may indicate when Johnston first became aware of the packery at Thoroughfare,—which I maintain to have been the best which could have been selected, to gather from "exposed districts" and ship to the rear and with Richmond as the enemy's object, as safe as any other place. Pardon me for troubling you, and hoping that you can sleep when in bed, I am, as always yours L. B. NORTHROP.

P.S. I am going to append to my paper the entire document respecting Jordan with my endorsement, asking the Adjt. Genl. as to the functions and powers of Chief of Staff; his full reply including the rank of Brigadier Genl. and Seddon's endorsement "that he saw no good in going on with it" and your pencil remark "if there is no such rank by our laws it should be discontinued."

Now Wigfall explained to you that Johnston's information that Jordan had been a defaulter as a q.m. U. S. Army was the cause of the rejection of the nomination when first made. Wigfall being dead, you are the authority. Shall I state it or not? I am indifferent; I shall not trouble you again. Adios L. B. N.

P.S. Genl. Johnston's statement that Col. Lee furnished him information from his office on which he and Bgd. corresponded with the Govt. for economy &c &c. See p 67. I shall deny that Col. Lee ever had such proposition from me as proved by his declaration of feeding the army and by my list of letters to Fowle who never asserted it neither to me nor to Ruffin whom I sent to Fowle to see about the fraud in depriving the Govt. of the hides and feet of the beeves.

endorsed:

L. B. Northrop; ansd. 4th Feb. 1885.

Henry Gillman to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

79 East Columbia St., Detroit, 6 Febry., 1885.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Mississippi, Dear Sir.

Thinking that the following account of your capture may be unknown to you, and prove of interest, I transcribe it for you.

It is taken from the work entitled "Michigan in the War," and the official record of our State (compiled, by order of the Legislature, by the Adjutant General) in the late War. It is a large 8vo of 590 pages, with Part 2 of 269 additional pages.— The account is as follows:

"A commission was appointed by the War Department which decided that the 4th Michigan Cavalry were entitled to the reward for the Capture of Davis, and directed how it should be distributed. * * *

"The Fourth gained a national reputation, and a world-wide notoriety, by the capture of Davis. It was the accomplishment of an eminently special and important duty, for the nation, so distinctive and definite in its character, as to render a like service impossible, giving it a place in the history of the war,

without a parallel.

"The camp in which Davis and his family were found was pleasantly situated, surrounded by a thick pine forest, close to a small swamp, and not far from a running brook, affording healthful refreshment for the weary fugitives who rested near its banks. In the camp were standing three wall tents in line, parallel with the road, and facing in the opposite direction, while the narrow space between the tents and it was occupied by several horses, without equipments; still beyond, and in advance of this line of tents, was a small tent pitched against a large tree. In this cluster of tents, reposing all unconscious of the impending danger, lay Davis and his family, together with his military staff. Near by was the rest of the camp, and what seemed to be troops, with army waggons, ambulances, horses and cavalry equipments.

"The regiment charged into camp just at early dawn, completely surprising them, and made the arrest. A few guarded the tents, while the main force was called off by an unfortunate collision between a portion of the force and the 1st Wisconsin Cavalry, which had been mistaken for the enemy, while advancing on the Camp. The prisoners were then secured, and apparently resigned to their fate. They seemed cheerful, and chatted pleasantly here and there with the soldiers. The Camp was soon broken up, and, after a brief rest and breakfast, the male prisoners were mounted on their own horses, Mrs. Davis, family and servants were placed in the ambulances, Mr. Davis

politely assisting the ladies."

In connection with the foregoing is given in full Col. Pritchard's report of the capture, which, however, does not differ materially from the account given in your "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government."

Considering the numberless versions of the Capture, some characterized by the grossest exaggeration, this official account is of importance, and a valuable document historically, to which you will, I think, not fail to give credit for its dispassionateness.

Very respectfully,
HENRY GILLMAN.

endorsed:

Mr. Henry Gillman copies acet, of our capture from "Michigan in the War."

Duncan K. McRae to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Wilmington, N. C., Feby. 12, 1885.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss. My Dear Sir.

I was very much gratified to receive your kind letter, and shall esteem it a valuable heirloom to transmit to my descendants, for I judge, that down the corridors of Time, when History shall commend to the admirers of Patriotism, the Truth concerning those who acted in the "lost cause," chief above all the authorities, will be your testimony; let the disputants be who they may. Since I recd, that letter, I have come to read for the first time the Book published in 1865 by Mrs. Spencer of Chapel Hill, written under the inspiration, nav I doubt not, under the dictation of Gov. Swain, and intended for the most part to be a laudation of him, and Govs. Graham and Vance. On pp. 247-8 the authoress makes mention of my connection with "The Confederate" in 1864-5. What she or rather Gov. S. was pleased to say of me, though not so intended, conveys the highest testimonial of my life, for I can look back upon the unwavering support to "the policy" of the Confederate Government as the best test of my devotion to the welfare of my people, and to loyalty and honor, and I yet believe if our leaders had all done Iso we would not have been for near a quarter of a century grovelling in the mire of a dismal failure, and eking out a pittance of dubious restoration by humiliating expedients. I only mourn that my ability had not been equal to the "singular andacity" for which she gives me credit.

It was something of the same sort as appears on p. 144, in

which she is giving account of the embassy to Sherman, that I saw in a newspaper several years ago in Memphis, which induced me to send through Mr. Paul Cameron of Hillsboro a message to Gov. Graham containing a narrative of the exact part I did bear in that transaction, and of which I have given you an account in my former letter.

In the light of the recent debate in the Senate and the speech of Gov. Vance, and in the further light of this book's narrative,

the whole transaction shows extremely curious features.

1. Senator Vance now says he did authorize the "embassy" and that the embassadors and he had Genl. Johnston's full assent, and they had his permit to pass through the lines. It now appears (this book being authority) that Genl. Johnston, at the time Govs. Swain and Graham were in Raleigh, towit Monday Apr. 10 1865 "had retired in the direction of Hillsboro" and it was Genl. Hardee then the "officer of highest grade in Raleigh," who "prepared the safe conduct" pp. 143-4. If this were not so, Genl. Johnston would have shown a singular vacillation in revoking the permit or else he must have reed, information concerning the purpose of the embassy, of which he had been ignorant, which led him, like Genl. Hampton to doubt the

"propriety or expediency of the mission" p. 147.

2. You will remember I stated in my former letter that when I communicated to Gov. Vance what Mr. Rayner had said to me (I find this was on the 11th not 9th of Apl.) he wholly disavowed such purpose of the mission, alleging in language sui generis, his loyal intentions, to "pirouette" &c; now it appears that the real purpose was, whether Sherman advanced on Raleigh or not, that "the Governor (should) propose a confer-"ence, or send a commission to treat with him for a suspension "of hostilities, until the further action of the state shall be "ascertained in regard to the termination of the war." The act of the State in contemplation being the call of a convention "to wield the sovereign power of the state" in emergencies of which she was to judge, p. 142. Letter of Gov. Graham. It was as now appears, for such conference, the embassy was constituted, and for its "return" the Governor "was resolved to wait, and learn upon what conditions" he could remain and exercise the functions of his office, p. 147, and it was only when he heard that they were captured, that he retired with Genl. Hoke.

3. If Genl. Johnston gave the permit, and assented to the embassy, it would seem that before the surrender of Genl. Lee was known to him or the Govs. they had concerted together for

separate State action by No. Ca. involving the surrender of her Govr, and his taking the oath of allegiance, or else the recognition of him as a continuing Executive of a rebel state pending negotiations for peace. But the most bewildered timidity, and in its absence, the commonest good sense could not have contemplated any negotiations without the withdrawal of the N. C. troops from active service and this would present Genl. Johnston in concert with such a movement at the very moment when his army was yet in face of the enemy, with the contingency that surrender might not be possible, to say nothing of the all important fact, that the commander in chief and President of the Confederate Government was to be no party to the proceeding. But more curious still, in face of the facts that Genl. Hoke was a confederate officer, bearing the commission of that government, his troops also being confederate troops. By what puzzle of Logic could the minds of Govs. and Ex. Govr. attain the conclusion that the lovalty of a tried Hero like Hoke or of tried heroes like his brave soldiers could be overpersuaded or compelled to desert their comrades, their flag and their country!

Yet all these things must have been deemed possible, in the

plan of these embassadors.

What would have been their plight, if after negotiations were entered on, sufficient reinforcements from Genl. Lee and elsewhere had enabled Genl. Johnston's army to give battle and defeat Sherman and turn the tide?

I think Senator Vance must be mistaken in his statement that Genl. Johnston assented to all they contemplated, and notwith-standing the appearances against him, it is not incompatible with Vance's intellectual or moral nature that even his eyes were not open to the full measure of consequences which might flow out of the undertaking; nevertheless I shall always believe that the descendants of all concerned will some day feel that they owe me an obligation for "nipping their designs in the bud."

Looking over some old papers, I find a long drawn Bill of Indictment I framed vs. Vance, in the days when confederates were obliged to support him, involving the querulous and unreasonable fault finding of his which threw obstacles in the path of the Genl. Govt., as I read it over it recalls what a bitter pill we had to swallow, and it taxes our endurance now to hear him styled the "great War Govr."

I recollect when they had him prisoner in Raleigh, I was the only person of all his contemporaries who ventured to see him,

and I had to take the oath of allegiance three times in the effort to get to him. I asked the officer of the guard what they were holding him for, he had never done them any harm. It was I they ought to take and let him go.

I hope you will not be fatigued with this long letter, but that you may while a leisure moment with it. Of course, it is not intended to draw you into any discussion of these matters, no

expression of opinion about them is expected.

The Book is out of print, and this copy belonged to Mr. Iredell Meares, who would not sell it to me, but when I told him I wanted to send it to Mr. Davis, he said with much feeling, "Certainly, there is nothing I have which I would not cheerfully give to give pleasure to Prest. Davis," and this is the almost universal sentiment of the Southern people. Meares is a grand son of Gov. Iredell, a nephew of Col. Gaston Meares, who was with you at Buena Vista and was killed at Malvern Hill. His family gave four sons to the cause, and that of his wife Miss De Rossett three, all men of education and of mark.

With my best regards to yr. family

Very truly,

D. K. MCRAE.

Jefferson Davis to James D. Butler.

(From Wisconsin Historical Society.)

Beauvoir Missi. 22nd Feb. 1885.

James D. Butler Esqr.

Dear Sir,

Your letter of the 16th Inst. has been received and I comply with your request as far as my information permits. For greater convenience I return the sheet on which the questions were written and answer them numerically.

- * 1. In the summer of 1829.
- * 2. It was then known as the Four Lakes.
- *3. Never heard the region called Tychoberah.
- * 4. Do not know the meaning of the word.
- * 5. When on detached service I think I encamped one night about the site of Madison.
- *6. If I am correctly informed as to the position of Madison the nearest village was on the opposite side of the Lake, and

¹ James Davie Butler LLD. minister, lecturer and scholar of Madison, Wis.

was only occupied during the summer time. There was no French Trader on either of the Four Lakes at that time.

*7. I have no recollection of any tradition of le Sellier as having been on the head waters of the Rock river in 1823. While stationed at Fort Winnebago, I was sent on several expeditions and crossed the Rock River at various points but saw no evidence of any settlement above the point then known as "Dixon's Ferry"

* 8. Have no knowledge of tools of pure copper being in use

among any of the Wisconsin Indians.

*9. Fort Winnebago had been occupied but a short time before my arrival there and I think nothing was known to the Garrison about the Four Lakes before I saw them. Indeed Sir, it may astonish you to learn, in view of the densely populated condition of that country, that I, and the file of soldiers who accompanied me, were the first white men who ever passed over the country between the Portage of the Wisconsin & Fox rivers and the then, Village of Chicago.

* 10. Deer, pheasants, neither of them plentiful, and an abundance of fish and waterfowls in the streams and lakes, Indian corn and wild rice formed a large part of the subsistence of the

Indians

Reciprocating your courteous wish for a further and closer acquaintance I am

Very respectfully Yours,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Questions to which answers are respectfully requested

- 1. At what time did you first visit the Four Lake country?
- 2. Did it then bear that name?
- 3. Did you hear it called Tychoberah?
- 4. Does that name mean Four Lakes?
- 5. How near the site of Madison (between 3rd and 4th Lakes) have you camped?
- 6. How near that site was there any Indian village? or French trader?
- 7. Was there any tradition of Le Sellier who was in 1823 on the head waters of Rock River?
- 8. Do you remember tools of pure copper in use among any Wisconsin Indians?
- 9. From whom had you heard about the Four Lakes before visiting them?
 - 10. What game do you remember in the region?

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Minor Orcus (Va.) Feby. 25, '85

My dear Davis,

You are my only living friend except one in Carolina so I cling to you. I have finished one paper, which will cover about 6 pages in the Century. Knaves have no scruples in assertions. Honest men are at the disadvantage of telling the truth. I have completely demolished Bgd's statements in the Century, and Johnston's respecting His accumulations at Manassas—which were not mine as he falsely states, and his burnings of stores which he untruly says were "left" there, and at Thoroughfare.

The above is plainly proved.

I am now going to follow Bgd, up to Dept. No. 2 and Charleston; have progressed in it. This will require from 3 to 4 pages of the Century. His falsehoods about relieving Col. Lee and declaring to him his pleasure that he was relieved by his own request: must appear. Bragg was deceived, and practiced on by Jordan, who composed the order. These men were infamous, and it is well to demonstrate it. I wish to make a statement which appeared in my "remarks" on a paper referred to me by you, during Augt. '61. I have no one to confer with, and would be glad to have your opinion, as to its fitness—it is to go in the 2nd paper if advisable, respecting the capture of Washington by Bgd.—which he surprisingly adheres to still. If he advanced direct he was marching through and on supplies, and needed only that haversacks should be filled with cold cooked beef. If he crossed the river by one of the upper fords, rapid movements could thus be avowed and by plenty of fat beeves following along on July grass, dispensing with trains of provisions and needing only transportation for ammunition and hospital stores, which there was a plenty of. I should have had no hesitation to make such a move—relying on beeves, which were plenty at command. I have moved infantry 8 or 10 days on poor buffalo meat and they did well; detailed men could kill and supply every regiment every night, and it could be cooked by morning for 2 days. Would modern thought accept or ridicule such a proposition? I propose to publish Genl. ('ooper's long endorsement on Jordan's false claim to the rank of General. Wigfall told you that his nomination was first rejected on Johnston's information, repeating that he was a defaulter and would have been tried in

the U. S. service. I think it would be well to fix this on him. If disputed you are the only authority. I hear Wigfall is dead. Would you advise making this point, or omitting? Johnston may deny it. I do not care, only if one hits, hit the hardest. Jordan's libel—when we were in prison—ought to be brought in; now I am in it.

I hope you are well. You remember congressional examination approved of my whole course. I shall prove that by a potent letter from Baldwin, who was no friend of yours, nor of me; I never met him but once, and then refused what he wanted.

most sincerely your friend,

L. B. NORTHROP.

P.S. I find consolation against my exema and the other troubles of life physical and personal in the thought, that the end is not remote; old men ought to be much braver than young ones. You were always so haughty and brave as to be unable to make the comparison. Adios.

endorsed:

Col. L. B. Northrop; historical; ansd. 3rd March.

Jefferson Davis to L. B. Northrop.

(From The New York Sun of June 22, 1890.1)

March 3, 1885.

Yours of the 25th ulto, has been received, and the perusal of it intensities the regret I have long felt that we are so far apart. We might not talk as joyously as we used to do when encamped at the Creek Nation, but there are many things we could consolingly discuss now that our shadows have lengthened to the near approach of eventide.

I do not believe that knaves have entirely the advantage over honest men, because it is only truth which is consistent, and knaves are always laying traps which discriminating minds readily detect and expose themselves by self-contradiction. This is strikingly illustrated in the case of Beauregard and Johnston. Beauregard's excuse that he did not advance on Washington

¹The above excerpt of a letter from Mr. Davis to Col. Northrop appears in a special from Baltimore to the New York Sun written by Eugene L. Didier, who states that the original letter was in his possession at the time the special was sent. The present whereabouts of the original is not known.

for the want of provisions and transportation, is unfounded in fact and untenable in argument. The reasons he gave, as stated in my book, on the night of my conference with Johnston and himself, were the strength of the fortifications on the south bank of the Potomac, and the allegation that they were garrisoned by troops who were not involved in the panic caused by their defeat at Manassas. As to transportation, he had, as you say, more than was necessary for ammunition and hospital stores, and with a country then teeming with supplies required nothing more. Again, if he had not burned the bridge across Bull Run, the railroad could have been at his service all the way to Alexandria, it having been repaired by the enemy as they advanced, and left in good condition. When Lee marched across the Potomac, though the country had then been denuded, he went without a train to carry commissary stores, so that whether the railroad to Alexandria was used or not, the plea cannot be sustained, for he could not have intended to have crossed the Potomac higher than Lee did. Modern ideas, to which you allude, must have made soldiers very effeminate if they could not march through a country full of beef cattle and fields groaning under the weight of grain. When Lee made his march there were no droves of beef cattle to follow his army, and the men mainly subsisted upon the ears of green corn they gathered in the fields. Your position cannot be gainsaid, and your experience of living on poor buffalo is conclusive as to what could be done by an army having fat beeves and fields of grain. When Santa Anna advanced to attack Gen. Taylor, his troops were supplied only with corn, herds of cattle having been gathered at a point on his march, say some fifty or sixty miles from Buena Vista, where beef was given as an issue.

As to that contemptible fellow, Jordan, whose meanness was exhibited in his malignant publication against us when we were in prison, Gen. Cooper's endorsement is confirmed by the fact of the action of the Senate, concerning which it may be well that I should give you minute account. Appeals were made to me that for the good of the service Jordan should be separated from Beauregard, whose friends were most earnest in these appeals. Beauregard had recommended him for promotion to the grade of Brigadier, and, in weak compliance, I consented to the nomination. The Senate did not confirm him and when the Senate adjourned the nomination, by law and usage, fell, and should have been returned to the Adjutant-General's office. Senator Wigfall told me that the confirmation failed because Gen. J. E. Johnston, who had been Quartermaster-Gen-

eral in the United States army, gave some information that Jordan, who was a deputy Quartermaster, got involved in some trouble. I replied to Senator Wigfall that I had been ignorant of the fact, and in that case, as in any other, felt obliged to the Senate for rejecting any nomination I might make. It appears that the nomination which had fallen by the termination of the session, by the Senate was kept upon its files, and in the mean time the cabal which was fighting the Administration with a zeal which had been better shown in resisting the enemy, called up the defunct nomination, and went through the farce of confirming it, which, being a nullity, received from me no attention.

It is not probable, as you suggest, that Johnston will deny Wigfall's statement, because he was the only person who could have given the information, and the fact must be on record in the Quartermaster's office in Washington, and further because the intimacy between Wigfall and Johnston was such as to suggest the communication from one to the other. I remember the Congressional examination, and how utterly prostrate were all your assailants when the facts were fully revealed, and am glad you have a letter from Baldwin, whom no one will suspect of a desire to shield the Administration in any of its departments. The fact is you showed extraordinary capacity, but, like myself, were wanting in the quality to conciliate men who had private ends to serve, or who were vain enough to believe that they could teach us about things on which we had labored exhaustingly, and of which they were profoundly ignorant. Your successor had a support which was withheld from you. He followed your plans, and the aid he received brought the success which he attained. No one without that additional support, and with the laws as they stood in regard to impressment, could have made the commissariat effective in the last days of the war.

Thank you for your good wishes in regard to my health, which I am sorry to say is not as you would have it. To-day I am suffering from acute rheumatism in my foot, the one broken at Buena Vista. I do not find consolation for physical ills, as you do, in the prospect that they may soon come to an end. My downs have been so many, and the feeling of justice so great that I wish to hold on and see whether the better day may not come, and mine eyes behold retributive justice upon the knaves now flourishing "as a green bay tree."

Have you ever had your attention called to cuticura as a remedy for exzema? It has, in some cases within my knowl-

edge, been proved efficient, and I venture to invite your consideration to it, although, remembering that you are an M. D., I know my position to be something like that of the Presbyterian who went to Rome to instruct the Holy Father.

E. G. W. Butler to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

St. Louis, Missouri. March 7, 1885.

My dear Mr. Davis:

Your kind letter, of 23 October, was responded to on 10 November and 14 December; and, fearing, from your silence, that my letters were as unfortunate as those addressed to Judge Perkins, I waive ceremony and write to inquire after the well being of you and yours. Our poor friend, who was obliged to avail himself of his servant as amanuensis, wrote, from New Carthage, on the 25th ultimo; "Your kind letter written in October was received in November; and, strange to say, one written by you, two years before, reached me at the same time." Poor fellow! you and I have partially lost our sight; but, he is perfectly blind, and left alone, during the winter on his plantation.

An important family event has occurred since my last letter to you. My Son was married, on the 10th February, at Huntsville, Ala. to Susan Anna Mastin; sister of Mrs. John O'Fallon, of St. Louis; and we have a valued and valuable addition to our household. I have read the Inaugural of President Cleveland, and have an idea that he will be the nearest approximation to "Old Hickory" since the Civil War.

His cabinet is a good one; save the absence of Thurman and the presence of two members from *New York*. I wrote to Mr. C. on his nomination, that I was opposed to a nominee from the "Empire State;" which, I feared, would dominate the Union.

Mississippi will have to furnish a new Senator, in place of Lamar; and my son expresses the hope that he will be your Friend, Walthall. I am concerned at the Radical control of the Senate; but, you remember how ignominiously Webster and Clay failed in their war upon my dear old Friend, at the "White House". Those Black lines around their Resolution of Censure, stand as a lasting evidence of their injustice and infamy. You seem to have silenced the battery of that Blatherskite, W. T.

Sherman; and I hope you will give him no future notice. Do you recollect when my old Friend, Lorenzo Thomas, Atty. General, was sent to Kentucky, to inquire into his conduct, and reported him "crazy."

Mrs. Bugn writes me that the "young Couple are very happy and Gen. Harney ten years younger." I hope he will not receive

those devoted children of his.

I am sorry our Exposition has had so much to contend with;

but, hope it will now do better.

My old Friend Alex. Duncan is pretty well and promises to come to me in the Spring, after his arrival in New York. I hope Mrs. Davis and your sweet Daughter are well; and beg you to commend me kindly to them and, with Son's and my own affectionate regards and abiding good wishes,

Very truly yours,

(Signed) E. G. W. BUTLER.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

(Charlottesville, Va.) Mch. 9, 1885.

My dear friend,

Many thanks for your affectionate letter. Age quells emotion, and crowns reason, the fidelity of friendship grows, and the love of a faithful parent resumes its sway. I love my mother now more than wife, or children, and her last words to me, as her child, are the jewells of my life, due to my conception of her elevation, integrity and devotion to truth. After her death lying on her bed John Bellinger came to me after a few moments.—we were alone—he said, "Lucius the characteristic of grandmother's life was that she scorned a sham." He was her nephew and married my sister. I remember seeing that her sweet simplicity struck you obviously, though time probably has obliterated her memory. Is it justice to me that such a moral tie should be severed;—only, unless an endless restitution follows. And justice will never prevail among finite beings except at the final state, or among feeble beings who do not cultivate it, as part of infinity. Most people seek their ends, and shrink from everything that does not advance them, for it may impede them-otherwise knaves will trip, for truth does not underlie their actions, and the "discriminating" have their

ends too, (which if not advanced by exposing the tricks) will be quiet generally. Justice will not prevail on this earth, and sadness awaits those who expect to see it, and irritability may follow it. Men do not want to see justice prevail; the slippery style suits them best. If justice prevailed Johnston and Beauregard would require execution, for they ought to be and should be removed having no sense of its existence, or of its requirements. I believe the former wanted the public property to be destroyed both at Manassas and Thoroughfare. He promised Noland "a train for two weeks" which would remove all at the latter place, to Culpepper C. Hse.

"Many empty trains passed, the meat being in piles on platforms erected along the road, corresponding to the doors, and

hands ready to load and replenish .-- ,,

N. visited Manassas over three times—"many trains remained idle standing there for days; Thoroughfare was ignored and Manassas' surplus stores remained,"—Johnston says 15 days were devoted to removing the stores; N. says "the troops did not devote one hour to removing stores" and he says then, "burned at both places by order,"—and J's narrative with confusing sentences throughout various pages shows that he is covering up a known lie, by criminating another.

I have got Bgd's book,—it is a tissue of calumnies and false pretences from beginning to end. Nothing said, or to be said, will hurt either of them in *this* life. Justice must be penetrating into intentions, as well as acts; only infinity can make restitution to justice's demands, and wickedness will suffer then.

I wrote to the Century 2 weeks ago, and 3 days ago I got an answer, polite but they "doubt if they have room,"—will examine if I send; they published some of Jordan's trash in the February number. Yesterday I wrote to Mc. Klure and offered to send a paper for him to examine, saying I would follow up Bgd and correct his misstatements in Miss. and Charleston; if he declines, I will try a Charleston paper. I want them published in Charleston, weather McK. publishes or not. The true man may be content if he can get his say out and then . . . Neither Hampton, or you, or Sherman's own admission in the former case will hurt him, and Congress has cloaked him; only petty rogues get justice in this life. Kind regards to Mrs. D. and happiness to your daughters is my wish.

ever yours, L. B. Northrop. P. S. I did not remind Noland that I had written before; I wrote afresh, and a much feebler and shorter answer came. The article of Bgd. must have stirred him.

P.S. I forgot your flattering comparison of me to the Holy Father, and the ignominious one of yourself to the "Presbyterian." How can a Calvinist instruct, when fatalism is his creed? Cutieuria is the relation which elicits your comparison. You have nothing of the Presbyterian about you, though don't get vexed at me for saying that you tolerate opposite constructions of Devine words so called, for man's instruction with eternal consequences.

But you have never admitted that such inconsistencies are permissible in temporal matters—no man has ever been more stern against such than you are. I have studied Peffand—high recent authority—and now have Bulkly a student in Vienna of Hebra known everywhere as the first authority on skin diseases. Exema is Bulkly's subject.

One of the main features is that the same proclivity to disease will act differently, and be influenced differently in different persons, and on different parts or members, of the same person; from foot to head treatment requires variation. Cuticuria will no doubt do good in many cases—for every quack steals his secret—falsely called, from some respectable authority—medical or botanical.

Attention to digestion; exercise for the circulation is essential; for the disease is constitutional, and usually synetical. I have tried many applications, the Alkaline and carbolic suit me best. I don't like what I don't know; I hope you will not get it. That the impaired action in your broken foot should first yield to rheumatic tendency is undoubted and ominous of recurrence; your life has been hard, and been in a manner thrown away on an unstable and ill regulated people—rash in judgment. But many are attached to you. I had the sentiment of serving you in your position, as well as duty to the requirements of mine. I have no faith in one party or the other; I am a prisoner on parole to appear when called for by "Secretary of War" and I hate the government, and believe in God, am sick of this world and hope for the better. Adios.

endorsed:

Col. L. B. Northrop; very interesting; 9 Mch. '85.

VOL. IX

C. W. Frazer to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Memphis, Tenn. March 11th, 1885.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

Dear Sir:

I enclose copy of a communication by A. J. Murray, in regard to the Confederate colors. He is assistant City Engineer, was for a long time in the Ordnance Dept, if not during the war and while he writes somewhat like a fool, he may be telling the truth.

The question will always be material to us, but is especially so now, as I have appointed a committee to report on a seal for our Association; and am told, that the *colors* can be properly represented by the engraver.

I do not know what they were, those at the front, being all that I saw. Please tell us, or refer me to some one who knows.

Our Association is reorganized, and revitalized. I make regular details and splendid articles are coming in each month—and when the Historian calls we will be able to furnish material.

I am,

Yours most respectfully and truly, (Signed) C. W. Frazer.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Minor Oreus, (Va.) Mch. 27th '85.

My dear Davis,

Any reference to Confederate matters ought to be considered as an infliction. I have been reading Bgd's Operations by Roman—a tissue of boasting and perversions. The Hendren money matter is treated Apl. 15th,—Hn. gave Bgd. your letter and wished to turn over the "\$39000''—making no allusion to "\$1200 taken by the C.Gl.''—Bgd. referred it to Johnston. Hn. pressed to be relieved on the 16th, Bd. repelled him, so Johnston's account comes in, with his statement of having received "two letters from you"—a plain blunder—and explaining 1200 taken by C.Gl. of which Hn. says nothing to Bgd. Who did take that

\$1200 is the question. These things are grim absurdities. Both Genls, show that they are not slow in distortions.

I wrote to the Century, the answer did not please me, so McClure was addressed, his did, and I sent him the MS. to examine, on the 16th inst.; on 21st he acknowledged it, and not returning it, as I required if not to be published, I suppose it will be.

I want to follow up Bgd. into Miss. and then Charleston; his career in both places admits of many exposures, some flagrant prevarieations. I am puzzled how to arrange them, with matters that may make a readable article, incidentally introducing them. It is probable that you have read the letters of the Governors lately published and may have forgotten them. They plainly show that the Confederacy was to be split; Magrath was going to make a separate treaty, and submission, and the others would have gone into it. They did not have time to effect it so suffered with the rest.

They were for playing the fraud that our early patriots played with the French. The only point exacted by the latter, being that a separate treaty with the English Govt. should not be made—privately or rather secretly.

France asked no indemnity for ships and men and money. When the King exposed the secret treaty, he merely remarked. "We did not know the gentlemen we were dealing with." Our gentlemen did worse being arranging to betray their own government and divide and forsake. There could have been no other end to our affair but failure: better as it was, than a more disgraceful one. North and South it is a base conglomeration, in which I have no respect. Fortunately I have no moral ties to this country, and have an impartial aversion to all parties and no spark of patriotism or obligation—being a prisoner on parole to report monthly to the military commandant of Va., and appear for trial when called on. I did for months. The commandant having vanished, that obligation ceased. Bgd. claims to having inspired S. Johnston &c &c after he was sent "to take the helm when the ship was on the breakers." In Nov. 1861,—two months before—J. Jn. was using his agent—under my directions -to prepare a series of large suppliing depots at Jackson Tenn., Grand Junction, Holly Springs, Corinth, and Memphis, which was done and going on when Bgd, came to Tenn. He was gambling for Glory then, as he is now doing for money. I am sorry that Early has united himself with him. Were you aware of this caution of Johnston's so long before? I have completely exploded Johnston's burnings at Manassas and Thoroughfare, and fixed both on him. I am waiting for the paper—it gibbets them both as frauds without violent terms. I suppose you take the Times.

Adios.

yours ever, L. B. Northrop.

P.S.—28th—I am well aspersed in Roman's book of todiism—"violent eccentricities" as the explanation of my wrong doings and ways. You are *libelled* clean through, morally and intellectually, as well as in the military and political order; there is no good in you, especially in contrast with such able unstained men as Johnston and Bgd., who are supported by deeds instead of words. Justice and Liberty have both vanished on earth; and faith also disappears at doomsday—proximate?

endorsed: L. B. Northrop; ansd. March 31st, '85.

$Thomas\ F.\ Drayton\ to\ Jefferson\ Davis.$

(From Confederate Museum.)

Charlotte, N. C. 28th March, 1885.

Dear Jeff:

I regretted to see in one of our papers that sickness had kept you away on the "Mississippi Day" of the New Orleans Exposition. I hope however that when this reaches you, you will be as well as usual.

I am sorry to tell you that I heard the other day from Austin at Newport, through his daughter, that he was confined to his bed by a stroke of paralysis which has disabled his whole right side. The Doctor tells him that the attack is not a severe one and that if he will not read or talk much and keep very quiet, he may soon be out of bed again. But what disturbed his feelings more than his sickness, was that the Doctor would not allow him to be present at the wedding of his daughter that was solemnized in the room below his chamber. I feel some anxiety on his account, as paralytic attacks at our time of life are critical visitors.

The North Carolina Day at the N.O. Exposition comes off on the 2d of April and will be attended by the Governor and a goodly number from all parts of the State. Do you know that I have been told by a very observing gentleman who spent several weeks in New Orleans, that hundreds of the people of New Orleans never take the trouble of joining the crowd at this National gathering and planters of the state visit the City remaining several days and do not put a foot within the Exposition Grounds and Buildings. They say they have no time. Now I don't think that my informant erred in his statement, for besides being a close observer himself he got his information from some of the largest Factors in New Orleans. This is characteristic of Southern people who are too apt to long after distant objects when they have better of the same kind at home.

I should have liked very much to have spent a week in New Orleans next month, as on my return to Charlotte I could have paid you a visit. But altho' quite well enough to make the trip it don't suit either my pocket or business. Perhaps before the

year ends we may greet each other again.

Can you spot Bob Clary? I have never seen him since his marriage with Miss Philippson at Madame Sangrin's, when none of you other groomsmen had any money to pay the Catholic priest for witnessing the proceeding in the Parish Register. I had to fork up as the only one in funds—and worse than all, none of you would give me back the \$2.00 I gave the Priest for each of you! And yet of that gay crowd, three are still alive, and 4 if Mrs. Clary has not left Bob a widower.

Hoping that this may find Mrs. D. and yourself quite well

and with my love,

As always, your friend, (Signed) Thos. F. Drayton.

Jefferson Davis to L. Q. C. Lamar.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Beauvoir Missi 28th March, 1885.

Hon L. Q. C. Lamar, My dear Sir,

Illness has delayed my acknowledgement of your very kind letter which was not received until after you had entered the Cabinet when it was therefore useless to express an opinion

as to whether you had better do so or not.

Recognizing the reason you give of a hope of broader usefulness I would only say that I believe it will be better for the public than yourself. If I had had a choice on the subject, I would have preferred to see you in some other Department where unity in its duties would have afforded a better opportunity

for the exercise of your genius, but I will not weary you with

a further expression of my views on this subject.

In regard to my letter about that heretofore selfconvicted liar, W. T. Sherman it was not written because I felt any thing more due to myself than had been done when I demanded his authority and in default of it branded him as a base calumniator, but because his endorsement by the War Dept, and a majority of the Senate required of them, rather than of him further notice, which could only be given by whipping them over his shoulders. Admitting the maxim that no one is a good counsel in his own case, I accept your decision as that of a friend to whom I had submitted the question.

That I have not been disposed to prolong controversy has been certainly shown in my failure to expose the gross misrepresentations and secretly circulated slanders of J. E. Johnston. His miserable attempt to make it appear through a timeserving Interviewer that I had kept public treasure after our defeat was denounced all over the country as well for its mendacity as its meanness, and I who could have added many facts to those stated by the custodians of the public funds chose to remain silent. When writing in regard to his surrender I left the public to draw their conclusion from his own admission that he had done it in disobedience of my orders & did not choose to bring forward the evidence which had been presented to me by N. Carolinians that while he was in command of the army he was scheming to have the N. Carolina troops withdrawn by separate state action. Let one example suffice though it is not the only one which could be presented of my forbearance.

I have received many requests for letters of recommendation to you as Secty of the Interior, but have uniformly declined because it seemed to me indelicate, if not improper that one disfranchised should be put on record as recommending others for federal appointment. Under the radical administration I supposed that the fact of one being my friend would be an obstruction to its success as an applicant for office. I hope this will not be so under a Democratic Administration from which I hope much for the country but can expect nothing for myself. Wishing you the greatest possible success in the multifarious and even incongruous duties of your Department and affectionately warning you against the too severe application to the office labors you have I tender you for myself and family earnest prayers for your health and happiness and am ever

> Yours faithfully JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Norman Walker 1 to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

The Times-Democrat,

New Orleans, March 31st, 1885.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Dear Sir,

A Northern paper of considerable influence, the Boston Globe, the leading Democratic journal of New England, has requested me to obtain, if it be possible, your views on a topic of great present importance. I readily appreciate how much you have been persecuted in this way; and I hope you understand how unwillingly I approach you again; but as I have promised the Globe to attend to this matter, I write you this letter, although my father, Judge Alexander Walker, who knows you well, thinks there is little hope of success for me.

In view of the present condition of General U. S. Grant, the Globe is desirous of obtaining the views of the leading men of the world, as to his military and political merits and his strong and weak points as a general; to give the estimation in which his military acts are held by those competent to speak on them, in order that the world may have the benefit of their knowledge, in passing its judgment on his campaigns. To this end, the Globe has secured opinions and criticisms of Grant by the most eminent generals and military men of Europe and this country, as well on the Confederate as on the Federal side. It is, of course, specially desirous of getting your judgment as the man best capable of speaking on this point because best acquaintances with the resources of the Confederate armies opposed to Grant.

If you will consent to give your views, it will be a favor not to the Globe alone but to the world and to history. If you will write anything on it, it will be of the very greatest value; or, if unwilling to do this I can call and see you some day, if you will allow this; or finally, if you will not consent to either of these requests, will you allow me to use some portions of your history as your present opinion and judgment of Gen. Grant's merits.

Again apologizing for annoying you with these questions, I remain

Most respectfully yours

NORMAN WALKER

care of Times Democrat.

endorsed:

N. Walker for Boston Globe; reed. and ansd. 3rd April.

¹ Editor Times-Democrat, New Orleans.

Norman Walker to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

The Times-Democrat,
Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Dear Sir.

New Orleans April 2nd 1885.

Allow me to express my regret that you should have misunderstood the purpose of my late letter to you, relative to General Grant. I had no idea of any criticism of him or of publishing your view of him while he is lying in his present condition, agreeing fully with you, that it would be unkind and ungenerous. We desired simply to secure your views, to serve as a sort of obituary when his death should be officially announced, which is a question of but a few hours at most. While I cannot justify the journalistic custom of writing obituaries in advance even when the subject is confessedly dying, I would say by way of excuse, that there is no other mode in which such information can be collected, so as to be used in time. We never contemplated saying a word about Gen. Grant, except when the country was called on to pay a tribute to his memory.

Hoping that you will acquit me of any idea of aggravating the trouble the ex-President is now undergoing by doing otherwise, and thanking you for your reply, I remain,

very truly yours, Norman Walker.

endorsed: Norman Walker explains.

Chas. Herbst to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Museum.)

Public Library and Historical Society. 94 Mulberry St.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss. Macon, Ga. April 3, 1885.

Hon. and dear Sir:

I enclose long slip from "Telegraph & Messenger" (of Macon, Ga.) that you may see in what kindly remembrance its Editor Mr. Albert Lamar bears you.

¹ IS SECTIONALISM DEAD?

In the course of a leading editorial the Augusta Chronicle and Constitutionalist holds this language: "We would like to believe somewhat with our Macon contemporary that President Cleveland had killed sectionalism." If our esteemed contemporary intends to convey the idea that we believe sectionalism to be dead, then it is wofully mistaken. The country

As Librarian I can safely say it is the Sentiment of our people. I am rereading Mr. Alfriend's life of yourself and of course with interest.

was told during the campaign, very often and authoritatively, that the election of Mr. Cleveland would kill sectionalism.

If we are not in error our Augusta contemporary frequently and valiantly swung that political battle axe. We were among the doubters. If sectionalism is dead we have seen no evidence of the fact. That Beecher travels throughout the South selling taffy at a very high price fails to convince us. Beecher is dead, in the circles which once flattered and fed him. Neither have the prospecting tours of Schurz and St. John in this section convinced us. The tawdry eloquence daily inflicted upon the defenseless people who may go to see the New Orleans exposition is not a satisfactory certificate of the death of sectionalism. Even the appointment of Mr. Pearson, a Republican, to the best paying post office in the United States, will not pass as a post mortem.

Sectionalism, so far from being dead, is not even sick enough to be quiet. The journals of the North are loaded with cowardly, brutal and false assaults upon Jacob Thompson, a dead Southerner, and upon an officer of the government who, in pursuance of law, paid the usual tribute of respect to the memory of one of his successors in the Interior Department. The fact that this officer, a Southerner and a Democrat, years ago eulogized the dead Sumner, of Massachusetts, the reviler of the South, has not saved him from insult and detraction. The South has been vainly

attempting to kill sectionalism, but it will not die itself or be killed. It will be kept alive, active and arrogant, by the Northern preachers, who made a war possible and added horrors to its legitimate results to the defeated. Side by side with the attacks upon the dead Jacob Thompson and the live Lucius Lamar, may be found the messages of condolence from individuals, corporations, churches and organizations of soldiers at the South for the dying Grant. Does this look like sectionalism was either

dead or disabled? We give one incident that speaks for itself:

When the Newark Methodist Episcopal conference opened this morning, the committee appointed to draft resolutions of sympathy with General Grant reported. The resolutions make feeling references to General Grant's illness, recall the splendid qualities he showed during the war, and express the heartfelt sympathy of the conference with him in his sufferings, express admiration for his calm and patient endurance in the midst of the afflictions through which he is passing, and direct that a copy of the resolutions

be forwarded to the illustrious sufferer and his afflicted family.

In compliance with the last clause of the resolutions the Rev. Howard Henderson, pastor of Simpson Methodist Episcopal Church, on Jersey City Heights, was appointed by Bishop Walden a committee of one to bear the resolutions to the family of General Grant. The selection was doubtless due to the fact that the Rev. Mr. Henderson is on terms of the closest intimacy with General Grant's family. General Grant's mother attended his church during her life, and he led the service over her bier and this notwithstanding the fact that the Rev. Mr. Henderson is a Kentuckian and served during the rebellion as a colonel in the Confederate army. His appointment brought the Rev. L. K. Dunn to his feet. He moved that a second man be appointed to accompany the Rev. Mr. Henderson on his

"I think," he exclaimed at the conclusion of a lengthy address, "that it would be right to have one man on the committee who was on the right side in the great struggle for liberty."

The Philadelphia Times, one of the fairest of Northern journals, has

addressed itself to this subject in this language:

Secretary Lamar is criticised because he recognized the death of ex-

I sincerely hope this bright spring weather may find you in improved health.

Yours Sincerely (Signed) Chas. Herbst (of Ky) Librarian.

Secretary Thompson in the usual perfunctory way of lowering the flag of the office at half mast and giving the employees a half holiday, as has been done in every like instance since the foundation of the government, even

including Vice-President Burr.

It is only a few months ago that a like ex Confederate soldier and statesman died in Georgia, who had filled the Attorney-General's office, and the usual perfunctory signs of sorrow were exhibited at the office he had filled; and one of these days the Post-office Department will go through the same perfunctory symptoms of sorrow when Ex-Postmaster General Key, and ex-Confederate soldier and statesman, shall go to join the great majority.

Mr. Buchanan's Secretary of the Interior left his place with discredit, as have many others, some of whom have returned to enjoy the fatted calf at the prodigal's feast. The Senate flag would be at half mast if Mahone were to die, as the House flag would have been at half mast had Chalmers died when filling a seat into which he had cheated himself, and the death of Mosby would call the American flag to half mast on all the seas that

wash the cradle of the human race.

The truth is that the American people began to sponge out the war, and the errors of its actors, some years ago under Republican Presidents like Grant, Hayes, Garfield and Arthur, and they have just about finished the work under Cleveland, much to the satisfaction of the whole country. They will give out the usual perfunctory signs of regret when death comes home to high station, and the convincing evidence that the passions of war are entirely sponged out will, at no distant day we fear, be given when in every city and capital of the South, there will be not only perfunctory emblems of sorrow, but universal sorrow in the hearts of the people who mourned with Lee at Appomattox, over General Grant, the conqueror of rebellion, having gone to the City of the Silent.

The perfunctory grief of sundry people at the South over Garfield failed to kill sectionalism, but the Times hold that the grief of the South over

Grant will finish it.

Perhaps there may be a sooner and stronger test. As these lines are written General Grant may be dead, surrounded by the crowds of a great

city.

Down in a little country home, attended by his wife, a man is dying from the effects of a wound received in the honorable defense of his country and its flag. He has been a soldier, a statesman. He is a Christian. Some miserable political mummery declares him not a citizen.

He has the respect, the admiration and the sympathy of the good and great of all nations. Around him cluster the love and affections of the people who have shared his aspirations, his sorrows and his disappointments. The judgment of no court attaches stain to his name. A life emblazoned with great enterprises, has no blur upon its escutcheon. Jefferson Davis may go with Grant. At least he must soon follow. It will not be forgotten that Jefferson Davis, as Secretary of War, saved Grant, a sublicutenant, from lasting disgrace by permitting him to resign in the face of a court-martial.

If the North expects the South to weep for Grant, may not the South expect the North to dismiss its malignity at the side of an open grave, and treat Jefferson Davis, the United States officer, the United States Senator, and once the Secretary of War, with becoming respect?

We shall see if sectionalism is dead.

John Augustin to Jefferson Davis.

The Times-Democrat, New Orleans, April 4th, 1885.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Dear sir,

It affords me pleasure to introduce the bearer Mr. Willis Abhott of the Times-Democrat staff who visits Beauvoir to pay his respects to you and will himself explain his further desires.

With my best compliments and respects for Mrs. and Miss Davis and trusting this will find you well, I remain, dr. sir

Your most obdt. servt.

JOHN AUGUSTIN.

L. McLaws 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Savannah, Georgia. April 7, 1885.

Hon. Jefferson Davis. Respected Sir:

The report of your sickness, though exaggerated, I am glad to say, brought forth expressions showing much heartfelt sympathy—elicited that which but lies dormant and waiting an occasion, to make known that it exists, throughout the land; in the South with rare unanimity and I believe generally through the whole country— But it can be sympathy for your suffering in sickness only for otherwise you occupy such a grand position that not one in this age or generation can hope to attain it while living, nor to leave such a record after death, although, many would strive for it, could it be attainable at sacrifices, to the limit of human endurance— The number is small that will live

¹McLaws, Lafayette (1821-1897), a soldier, was born at Augusta, Ga., January 15, 1821, and graduated at West Point in 1842. He was stationed at Fort Gibson, 1842-1844. In the Mexican War he was engaged in the defense of Fort Brown, and was in the Battle of Monterey and the siege of Vera Cruz. He was on frontier duty when the Civil War began, resigned his commission and entered the Confederate Army. He became brigadier general, September 25, 1861, and major general May 22, 1862. After the Battle of Fredericksburg he was attached to Longstreet's corps, and engaged in all the battles of that corps. General McLaws was for many years Postmaster of Savannah, Ga. He died at Savannah, July 24, 1897.

in history, who have shared such unswerving devotion to a cause and to the people whom they represented, or who have illustrated their people in war, in peace and in counsel, with such unselfish devotion and untarnished honor.

I hope you will permit me to express my humble sorrow for your suffering, as I earnestly wish for your speedy restoration.

I have the Honor to be
Very truly
Your obt. Servt.
(Signed) L. McLaws.

Jefferson Davis to Edward L. Sutton. 1

(The original letter now in possession of Herbert M. Martin, Danville, Virginia.)

Beauvoir, Miss. 13th April, '85

Ed. L. Sutton, G. M. and Brethren of Chapter P.

Accept my thanks for your invitation to the convention in June next. I regret that it will not be practicable for me to meet you on that occasion.

Your good wishes and kind expressions are cordially acknowl-

edged and fully reciprocated.

In compliance with your request I send a copy of a photograph taken for an engraver, if I had a better likeness you should have it.

With prayers for your individual and collective welfare,
I am Fraternally,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Minor Oreus, (Va.) Apl. 16th, '85

My dear friend,

Your last informing me that you were "ill" was very unpleasant—that you could not move about, but did not suffer

¹ An officer of the Kappa Sigma Fraternity.

particularly led to the inference that the rheumatism has become chronic in character and the old wound irritable or tender when used is quiet otherwise. You do not mention any medical treatment. I think it not unlikely that compression, uniform, would be the course. Roller bandages are now made of thin pure india rubber; 11% inches wide would suit your foot and leg. and if applied carefully, with equal tension and adaptation would be like the skin. You could try and fit and refit until you got the best mode of application. You could determine how high it felt pleasant, and thus see what length of roller you wanted—if too tight, readjust, after you get in bed take it off, and put on again before letting the leg be upright. It can be removed if too tight, wiped off, or if there is any rupture of skin to soil it, washed with warm water. If I did not know your independent habits I would not say anything but you may not have heard of the india rubber rollers.

I am under the impression that I wrote that it was an inference that McClure would publish, because on the 21st of March he acknowledged the receipt of my paper mailed on the 16th, and I had conditioned for its return, if he declined publishing, and promised to remit the postage back in the latter case. I have heard nothing more. I hope he will publish. The article had more reason and truth than both of the works of Johnston and Bgd combined. They are paltry trash, and show how self love and vanity, without honour, will degrade both heart and mind.

It seems strange that Hampton and Lamar did not prevent a sinecure beeing given to Johnston; it is a shabby thing—like Pontius Pilate one may ask "what is truth?" He did not want it, and got it not. We want it, but will never get it in the U.S.; north or south, both degraded by the sovereignty of the vulgar, and the greediness of the tricky politicians. If I was not a catholic I would be profane, but I aspire to patience, and await final adjustment—looking to the end as you close your letter for "peace" which means absolute adjustment to the last spark, of mind. If one can't comprehend the Infinite, one can understand its existence, and the initial necessity of that existence, and of final adjustment; or there would be no beeing now, and no purpose or end. I hope you will be better—beeing confined my letter will not be annoying.

Yours faithfully, L. B. Northrop.

endorsed: Northrop; 6 Apl. '85.

Jefferson Davis to L. B. Northrop.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Beauvoir Missi, April 17th 1885.

Dear Northrop,

Since I received your last letter I have been slowly improving and am now ready to go off the sick report as I have no marching to do; my feet still refusing to answer ordinary demands upon them.

I wrote to Col McClure and requested him, I not being a subscriber to his [paper] to send me copies of all numbers containing anything from you, but have received nothing so far.

I have ceased to be surprised at any amt of harmonizing & even effort to forget events of the war by the men in whom we place most confidence. Hampton knew the course of J. Johnston in No. Carolina & so far from approving of the surrender, came to me for authority to withdraw his cavalry command. Having received that authority so far as not to allow them to be included in the surrender if it should be made contrary to the orders I had given he returned to his camp to find that Johnston had so improved the time as to surrender his cavalry during his brief absence, yet in Johnston's narrative is a letter from Hampton written after the war to endorse Johnston, and summon the dead Lee for a sponsor. I wrote to Hampton and told him the circumstances rendered me unable to comprehend what he had written, Lee never having been consulted as was described. Lamar knew enough, but not so much as Hampton about Johnston's conduct in the latter part of the war. Truth may survive, but its fruit will be too late for justice in this world to you and me. Ever truly your friend

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

J. A. Early to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Lynchburg, Va., April 20th, 1885.

My Dear Sir:

Your letter was received to-day. I was sorry to miss you in New Orleans, but I did not hear of your being there until I had started for the depot, where I met Mr. Pendleton, who informed me that he had seen you that morning. I had then had my ticket stamped and paid for my berth in the sleeper, or I would have waited until next day in order to see you.

The fact is that I was confined to my bed or my room the whole time I was in New Orleans, except when necessarily absent on business.

I had the discretion to keep out of the hands of the Doctors. or I might have had a serious spell. I was for some time hesitating whether to go to the Arkansas Hot Springs, or come home, but finally concluded to come home, and am glad that I did so. I had quite a comfortable trip home, considering everything, and I am now doing very well indeed. In fact I have no apprehension about my health, and am satisfied that I will soon

be all right again.

I cannot think with you that Grant displayed any magnanimity to General Lee at the surrender. It is true General Lee's army was not in a condition to fight a battle, but at Appomattox he was in sight of the mountains, and if he had abandoned his trains and artillery he might have cut his way out, and made his escape into the mountains, where he could have dispersed his men and made his way to some of the armies still in the field —in the Trans-Mississippi, for instance. Some of the cavalry and artillery did actually get out. I know that General Lee told me very emphatically that he had determined to cut his way out at all hazards, if such terms were not granted as he thought his army entitled to demand. Grant saw the mountains not far off, and his experience with Genl. Lee's army was such that he knew it was possible for it to do almost anything. I have no doubt his anxiety to have the glory of General Lee's surrender to him, and his fear of failure to obtain it, induced him to consent to the terms granted.

Do you recollect how he endeavored to thwart Andy Johnson when the latter concluded to favor liberal reconstruction in the Southern States, and that his first official act as President was to remove Hancock from New Orleans and send him to Dakota, and restore Phil Sheridan to the command of the District of Louisiana? This on the 5th of March 1869, per "Order No. 1".

My opinion of Grant's "magnanimity" was expressed years ago, when he was President, in an address I send you.-Preserve it.

Give my best regards to Mrs. Davis and Miss Winnie, and believe me

Faithfully and Truly yours, J. A. EARLY.

Hon. Jefferson Davis. endorsed:

J. A. Early: about Grant and Lee; ansd. 30th Ap. 1885.

M. H. Clark 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Clarksville, Tenn. April 21, 1885.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss. My dear Sir:

Dr. D. F. Wright sends you a communication which explains itself. The death of Col. Jacob Thompson, and the respect paid his memory by Col. L. Q. C. Lamar by closing the Dept. of the Interior upon announcement of his death; caused a renewal of those slanders against which Col. Thompson never seemed to care to defend himself during his life time. The task of proper defence now falls upon surviving Confederates who appreciated his services to the great cause, and who revere his memory. If you can add anything to the material in hands of Dr. Wright, I feel sure that you will be glad to do so when leisure and health permit you. Dr. Wright was a surgeon in Archer's Brigade, Gregg's Brigade, and part of the time on important Hospital duties at Canton, Miss. and Richmond, Va.

With best wishes for your health, I am,

Faithfully yours, (Signed) M. H. CLARK.

L. H. Whitney to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Chicago, Ill., April 25, 1885.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Dear Sir,

I am engaged in writing the history of the late war—am at that point when you were elected President of the Confederate States; and, as all facts concerning those characters in history who stand very prominent, are sought after and devoured with avidity, I am anxious to settle a point in your career. It may seem trivial, but it is the penalty of great fame.

I have read somewhere, but can't vouch for its verity, that when you married Gen. Taylor's beautiful daughter, the General was unfriendly until he saw you at Buena Vista, wounded,

¹ Last treasurer C. S. A.

still in your saddle, and bravely holding your line against a superior force. Is this true?

I should like the privilege of publishing your answer in my history.

Very Respectfully (Signed) L. H. Whitnuy.

E. G. W. Butler to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

St. Louis, Missouri. May 13, 1885.

My dear Mr. Davis:

Having nothing from you since your very kind letter of 19th February; doubtless designed to reach me on my 85th birthday: and in view of your exalted compliment, in comparing me to Lord Chesterfield; for all of which I thanked you, on the 13th April and the 4th May; I am forced to the conclusion that you are sick; for the newspapers constantly speak of your indisposition; and making you an exception from my rule, in regard to my correspondence, I write to inquire after your health, and to beg in case you are not able to write that Mrs. Davis or that sweet daughter will be so kind as to inform me of your condition. Were I not a modest young man, I would surely be spoiled by the compliments paid me by you and others, on my birthday. Among them, my old friend, Alexander Duncan, spoke of the 22nd February as "the day made celebrated by the advent of Washington and yourself into this world." By-theby, I fear that Heart attack will deprive me of my annual visit -for he generally writes me, when about to embark from London for New York: "If God spares me, I will go to you; whereever you may be. We have been friends and correspondents during 62 years.

The last official act of "Old Hickory's" administration was to order Pres. Madison's anomalous Order, Brevetting "Col. and Adg. General Robert Butler" Lieut. Colonel, to be "cancelled", and his complimentary Order to "be put upon file and record, in the Department of War." Yet, strange to say, the order was never executed and after failing in my attempt to get the Executive or Congress to carry it into effect, I appealed to President Cleveland; and on the 5th Instant, he wrote—"The duplicate Order of President Jackson, in the case of Colonel Robert Butler, has been referred, as requested, to the Secretary

of War, for the files of his Department." So after long years, I have found a *Democratic* President who could do justice to my devoted Friend and 2nd Father, of "the Hermitage" and

my gallant old cousin, his Adj. General,

When Barrios commenced his outbreak in Central America, I wrote to the President that I had a grandson there, on Engineer Service, who was partly acclimated there and knew the people and their language; and would take pleasure in affording him any aid or advice in his power; and he replied: "What you have said regarding Mr. Williamson's peculiar fitness for service in Guatemala will be brought to the attention of the Sec. of State." I did not apply for office.

My son and his new wife join me in friendly regards for your

household; whilst I remain, with abiding good wishes,

Faithfully and truly your friend, (Signed) E. G. W. BUTLER.

Hon. Jeff. Davis. Beauvoir. Miss.

P. S. Those dates were from the wrong letter. Pardon the mistake.

William Preston Johnston to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Tulane University of Louisiana. New Orleans, May 25, 1885.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

My Dear Sir,

Your letter of May 22nd has just been received calling my attention to the publication of a mutilated copy of Dr. Yandell's letter during the War.

In reply to your inquiry I must state that my verbal memory is poor about everything, and that I have recognized the fact since that my illness in January 1862 impaired my memory of facts that occurred.

I remember of Dr. Yandell's letter that it was an anonymous criticism arraigning the administration, and that you said at the time it was impossible for any one to have written it without access to Gen. J. E. Johnston's letter books. You called on Genl. Johnston for the author and he gave up Yandell's name. Yandell endeavored at Meridian, I believe, through me, to make

an explanation of his letter, but you were not satisfied with it.

I do not recollect any of the points in the letter; but it will be very easy for Secretary Lamar, or any other friend in Washington, to procure you a transcript of the letter from the Records, if it is among them. You, doubtless, have your correspondence on the subject in your Letter Book. I am almost sure you have. These documents would be more satisfactory than the fading memories of them.

Hoping you are well, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

WM. PRESTON JOHNSTON.

endorsed:

W. P. Johnston about Dr. Yandell.

Jefferson Davis to Albert Greenleaf.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Beauvoir Missi 15th June 1885.

Albert Greenleaf Esqr.

My dear Sir,

I pray to pardon, I cannot excuse the delay in this acknowledgement of your letter of March last, but I must say in extenuation of what may be mistaken for neglect that my health has much interfered with a correspondence which has become voluminous.

With this I return the letter of the Hon Mr Nicholson & enclose a note of introduction to Sen. Harris as requested. The many years which have elapsed, have not, as you suggest, caused you to fade from my memory and you will be assured that you have been and will be among the friends of the past from whom I am sorry to be separated and henceforth to be unable to cooperate with you in the great work which the good of the country requires to be done and the eternity of truth gives reason to hope will yet be effected when reason holds dominion and force is the weapon of brutish beasts.

Very truly yours, JEFFERSON DAVIS. Jefferson Davis to Isham G. Harris.¹

Beauvoir Missi, 15th June, 1885.

Hon Isham G. Harris, My dear Sir,

Permit me to present Albert Greenleaf Esqr, who in the days when Democracy administered the affairs of the Government and Staterights was the Shibboleth of every patriot was a Federal officer whose accounts it was never deemed necessary to have investigated.

Ever truly
Your friend
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to J. L. Power.²

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Beauvoir, Mississippi, June 20, 1885.

Colonel J. L. Power, Clarion Office:

"Dear Sir,—Among the less-informed persons at the North there exists an opinion that the negro slave at the South was a mere chattel, having neither rights nor immunities protected by law or public opinion. Southern men knew such was not the case, and others desiring to know could readily learn the fact. On that error the lauded story of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" was founded, but it is strange that a utilitarian and shrewd people did not ask why a slave, especially valuable, was the object of privation and abuse? Had it been a horse they would have been better able to judge, and would most probably have rejected the story for its improbability. Many attempts have been made to evade and misrepresent the exhaustive opinion of Chief-Justice Taney in the "Dred Scott" case, but it remains unanswered.

From the statement in regard to Fort Sumter, a child might suppose that a foreign army had attacked the United States—certainly could not learn that the State of South Carolina was merely seeking possession of a fort on her own soil, and claiming that her grant of the site had become void.

*Editor and publisher of Jackson, Miss.; secretary of state.

¹This appears on the foregoing letter in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History Collections.

The tyrant's plea of necessity to excuse despotic usurpation is offered for the unconstitutional act of emancipation, and the poor resort to prejudice is invoked in the use of the epithet "rebellion"—a word inapplicable to States generally, and most especially so to the sovereign members of a voluntary union. But, alas for their ancient prestige, they have even lost the plural reference they had in the Constitution, and seem so small to this utilizing tuition as to be described by the neutral pronoun "it!" Such language would be appropriate to an imperial Government, which in absorbing territories required the subjected inhabitants to swear allegiance to it.

Ignorance and artifice have combined so to misrepresent the matter of official oaths in the United States that it may be well to give the question more than a passing notice. When the "sovereign, independent States of America," formed a constitutional compact of union it was provided in the sixth article thereof that the officers "of the United States and of the several States shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution." and by the law of June 1, 1789, the form of the required oath was prescribed as follows: "I, A B, do solemnly swear or affirm (as the case may be) that I will support the Constitution of the United States."

That was the oath. The obligation was to support the Constitution. It created no new obligation, for the citizen already owed allegiance to his respective State, and through her to the Union of which she was a member. The conclusion is unavoidable that those who did not support, but did not violate the Constitution, were they who broke their official oaths. General Government had only the powers delegated to it by the States. The power to coerce a State was not given, but emphatically refused. Therefore, to invade a State, to overthrow its government by force of arms, was a palpable violation of the Constitution, which officers had sworn to support, and thus to levy war against States which the Federal officers claimed to be, notwithstanding their ordinances of secession, still in the Union, was the treason defined in the third section of the third article of the Constitution, the only treason recognized by the fundamental law of the United States.

When our forefathers assumed for the several States they represented a separate and equal station among the powers of the earth, the central idea around which their political institutions were grouped was that sovereignty belonged to the people, inherent and inalienable; therefore, that governments were their agents, instituted to secure their rights, and "deriving their

just powers from the consent of the governed, whence they draw the corollary that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it," etc. What was meant by the word "people" in this connection is manifest from the circumstances. It could only authoritatively refer to the distinct communities who, each for itself, joined in the declaration and in the concurrent act of separation from the government of Great Britain.

By all that is revered in the memory of our Revolutionary sires, and sacred in the principles they established, let not the children of the United States be taught that our Federal Government is sovereign; that our sires, after having, by a long and bloody war, won community-independence, used the power, not for the end sought, but to transfer their allegiance, and by oath or otherwise bind their posterity to be the subjects of another government, from which they could only free themselves by force of arms.

Respectfully,

Jefferson Davis.

Geo. B. Loucks to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Union College.

Schenectady, N. Y.

June 29, 85

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

Dear Sir,

Will you spare a moment to enlighten me, for my own personal satisfaction, wether it is true or not that you thought of establishing at one time the Confederate States Government at Greensboro S. C.? And if it is indeed true that your Wifes Trunks were pillaged and articles taken therefrom after you were imprisoned in 'Fortress Monroe'?

I am a Southern boy and live in South Carolinia and wishing to be fully informed upon all matters and things pertaining to, and relating to the late war determined to write you in relation to these two things, and respectfully ask that you kindly favor me with a reply if possible.

And trusting sincerely you may be favored with many years of good health I am sir with great respect

Very truly yours

(Signed) Geo. B. Loucks.

Hon, Jefferson Davis.

J. A. Early to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Lynchburg, Va., August 2nd, 1885.

My Dear Sir:

Your letter, with the enclosure, was received yesterday evening. I have ascertained from a gentleman living here, Captain L. S. Marye, who is a native of Fredericksburg, that the name of Major Barton, who held some position in the Adjutant General's Department, is William S. Barton, and that he is at present judge of the Circuit to which Fredericksburg belongs. I have not, however, forwarded your letter to him for the following reasons.—Captain Marye informs me that he is the brother of General Seth M. Barton who was a Brigadier General in the Army of Northern Virginia (Pickett's Division), but was relieved for some reason, (for being too much addicted to liquor Capt. Marve thinks). (apt. Marve says that old Mr. Barton became very much embittered against you and General Lee, and maintained up to the time of his death that General Johnston was the greatest general in the Confederacy and had been treated by you with great injustice. He also says that the sons shared the feelings of the old man. I have, therefore, thought it best not to send your letter until you were informed of the above facts, as it is apparent from your letter that you propose to prove that General Johnston has not told the truth about your visit to his army in March 1862, and I thought it very probable that Judge Barton would either decline to answer you, -answer you unsatisfactorily,—or apprise General Johnston of your purpose.

I would therefore suggest that, if you still desire to make the inquiry of him, you write another letter without making any allusion whatever to General Johnston's paper in the Century.

Captain Marye has a brother living in Fredericksburg whose name is John L. Marye, who is a man of high standing, and who probably knows all about the visit of yourself and Genl. Johnston to Fredericksburg, as he was a close neighbor of the Mr. Doswell you mention. His address would be "Hon. John L. Marye Jr. Fredericksburg". Mr. Doswell is also living, and Captain Marye thinks his name is Temple Doswell, but he is not certain. He says that he is a man of very high character, and can be relied on. I will try and ascertain the correct name of Doswell.

General Johnston's article in the May Century is outrageous

and untrue in several respects.

You will find in the 11th volume, part 3rd of The War Records, Series 1, on page 392, an order to General Johnston, dated at Fredericksburg, March 22nd, 1862, in regard to relieving General Holmes, and ordering him to Richmond, immediately followed by Johnston's order in compliance with yours.

This is very conclusive evidence to my mind that your statement is correct; for why should you go to Fredericksburg to see about Holmes, and not go to Johnston's headquarters, which

were quite as accessible?

You will see that Johnston's order is signed by A. P. Mason as Asst. Adjt. Genl. He is now in New Orleans, and perhaps could give definite information on the subject of your visit, if his memory has not failed also.

If any member of Holmes' staff is living, he could also probably give information about your joint visit to Fredericksburg. You will see Genl. Johnston does not call on Mason for his state-

ment.

I had intended to visit you when I was in New Orleans in June, but I had to go to Missouri to see about the family of a deceased brother living there.

I had also intended to visit you in July but the weather was so hot that I had to get away, for I was suffering intensely,—more than I have ever done from heat in New Orleans.

I leave for New Orleans again in a few days, and if there is nothing to prevent it, I will call by and see you on my return.

Present my best regards to Mrs. Davis and Miss Winnie, and receive for yourself the assurance of my highest esteem and best wishes.

Very Truly and Sincerely yours,

Hon. Jefferson Davis. endorsed:

J. A. EARLY.

J. A. Early; 2d Aug. in re Johnston and Fredericksburg.

D. A. Mims to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Museum.)

Newport, Tenn. August 7, 1885.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

My dear Sir,

Will you pardon me for these interogatories—will make them short. Am an E. Tennessee Democrat, but not an admirer of

Andrew Johnson decd did Johnson denounce the terms of surrender made by Grant and Lee, and also, that made by Sherman and Johnston, as being too liberal, saying at same time, that traitors must be punished and Treason made odious. did he not at Nashville, Tenn. on one occasion say that he had long, long, looked for the day, when he could proclaim to the Negro, that he was as free, as he was, and that if no one could be found to be their Moses, to deliver them, that he would be their Moses. I am desirous to procure the rash, hard sayings of Johnson, on these subjects, or any other like declarations made by him, that you may be disposed to give, your compliance, will very much oblige,

Yours very Respectfully etc., (Signed) D. A. Mims.

J. T. Doswell to Wm. S. Barton.

Fredericksburg, Va. 10th Aug. 1885.

Judge Wm. S. Barton, My Dear Sir,

In reply to your inquiry whether I know that President Davis visited Fredericksburg in March 1862, I beg to say that I know he did. At what time of the month it was, I cannot now state positively, but my impression is it was between the 15th and

20th.

The President and Genl. Joseph E. Johnston reached my house (I was informed) about 10 p.m. I had gone to Richmond that day, and remained there that night.

Genl. Holmes who was my guest at the time took Presdt. Davis and Genl. Johnston to my house, where they slept that night, and breakfasted the next morning. On my return from Richmond about 9 or 10 A.M. I found Presdt. Davis, Genl. Johnston and Genl. Holmes at my house. Very soon after Genl. Holmes ordered me (I was his aide) to go with the President and Genl. Johnston across the River, to make a reconnoissance of the country &e.

President Davis and Genl. Johnston, with myself and some one or two others, I think (whom I now forget) left my house about 11 A.M., crossed Scott's Bridge and rode over to and beyond Phillips house and farm, and in that neighbourhood &e and then returned through Falmouth, and across Ficklen's bridge. On returning to my house between 1 and 2 p.m. we found several persons, mostly ladies, there waiting to pay their respects to the President.

I suggested to the President that as many desire to call on him, I should name a time for visitors to which he consented, and I then let it be known that all who desired to call would be received from 2 to 3 o'clock; many called. As the President intended to return to Richmond at 4 p.m. I had ordered dinner at 3 p.m.

I invited your father to dine with the President and he did so. President Davis, Genl. Johnston, Genl. Holmes and your father were my only guests at dinner, as well as I remember. I remember that we hurried through dinner for the President to take

the train for Richmond at 4 p.m. I think.

On the return from the reconnoisance across the river, I well remember in coming through the little town of Falmouth, the President at whose side I was riding at the time made this remark to me, "To use a slang phraze, your town of Fredericksburg is right in the wrong place,"—to which I replied, I was well aware of the fact, so far as its capability of being defended against an invading force was concerned.

Yours truly, J. T. Doswell.

D. H. Maury to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Fort Worth, Texas.
August 11, 1885.

Mr. Jefferson Davis, My dear Mr. Davis:

You were in all of our thoughts and frequently and affectionately and with reverence remembered in our encampment here last week.

A noble body of men assembled—good sense and dignity marked their conduct—

They were the men who had done their whole duty under all circumstances and are in no sense politicians.

They never forgot their Cause nor what is due to the dead and living who defended it—

While they submit to the result which they could not avert they indulge in no hollow pretense of unnatural emotions.

Their resolutions about Grant are honest, as all their action has been, and are full of justice to the dead man.

Had he died in the odium of the Grant, Fish and Ward failure. He would have escaped the penitentiary—but in the estimation of that people would have passed into that forgetfulness which follows all who as they did, fail in such schemes of robbery.

But a Cancer came in the nick of time—and never before was

a blessing disguised in a cancer—

Unfortunately it was so slow in its work that he was able to write his "narrative" from his death bed—with the sanctity that imparts.

Considering Grant's account of Shiloh, and Beauregards of the first Manassas—it seems to me that after 25 years study, they have found out how they might have fought them better, and may have convinced themselves that was the way they did it.

Senator Butler and I saw Mr Corcoran about buying those Mason papers—we both thought he would pay well for them, and then present them to us. I do not know what changed his

purpose.

Miss Mason freely offered them to me, but I hoped to make such an arrangement with her Father's friend, that without wound to her pride she might transfer his papers to where they were intended to go—and in such a way that they might be to her a real legacy.

I send you a very pleasant account of our "reunion" by a

clever correspondent of the Missouri Republican-

It is especially agreable in my eyes because of its kindness to me.

I hope before I go back to Virginia to pay my respects to you in person

Please give my kindest regards to Mrs. Davis and Miss Winnie and believe me with high respect

Your friend,
(Signed) DABNEY H. MAURY.

J. Williams Jones to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Richmond, Virginia, August 11th, 1885.

President Jefferson Davis;

My Dear Friend:

I enclose two articles which I have recently published in the "Richmond Dispatch" in reply to the absurd story that Lincoln offered to pay for the slaves and give the Southern States all their rights in the Union if they would accept these terms of peace. I am preparing for Volume 13th S. H. S. Paper (which we expect to issue about 1st of November) a full exposé of the

"Peace Measures of the Confederacy," and should be very glad of any suggestions from you, or of anything on the subject which you might be willing to publish. My idea is to gather within the briefest compass possible a clear statement of the fact that the Confederacy was always for peace and independence, and the Federal Government for war and subjugation.

I have deeply regretted that I have been so often disappointed in my purpose of visiting you at your home, and I cherish the

hope of doing so before many months.

I have not forgotten your kind permission of several years ago to write your biography, and your promise to save certain material for me. I have been myself diligently collecting material, and hope to be able to produce something which, however unworthy of the great subject, will be at least the product of earnest work and a loving heart. Meantime no slander of the patriotic chief of the Confederacy shall be published without my burning protest, so long as I can wield a pen, or utter a word.

With best wishes for the health and happiness of yourself and family, in which Mrs. Jones heartily joins,

I am, as ever,
Yours very truly,
J. Wm. Jones.

J. A. Early to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

New Orleans, August 12th, 1885.

My Dear Sir:

I had made my arrangements to leave this afternoon on the coast train, and stop over at Beauvoir to see you; but for the first time in my experience the train was on time, or rather, a few minutes ahead of it, and when I arrived at the depot it had been gone just five minutes. So I could not go over this afternoon as the through train does not stop, and my ticket would not answer if I were to wait until to-morrow evening. Besides the weather is so hot that I do not wish to encounter the risk of staying here longer than is absolutely necessary.

I wrote you a note in which I gave the name of a young man here, *Menard Doswell*, who recollects the visit of yourself and Genl. Johnston to Fredericksburg in March 1862. Also the name of his father, who is still living. I hope you received it. Col. A. P. Mason is not at present in the City, as I have ascer-

tained from Col. E. A. Palfrey.

I go from here to the Yellow Sulphur Springs, Montgomery County, Va., where I will be until about the middle of September, except when I come here. I will try and visit you on my September trip.

With my sincere regard and highest esteem,

Yours very truly,

Hon. Jefferson Davis.

J. A. Early.
endorsed: J. A. Early; 12th Aug.; in re. Johnston and Fredericksburg.

John L. Marye to Wm S. Barton.

Fredericksburg Va. August 11th, 1885.

Hon. Wm. S. Barton, My dear Sir,

In response to your enquiry whether I was personally cognizant of the fact that President Davis visited Fredericksburg in March 1862, I have to say that I have distinct personal knowledge about it. In March 1862 I was occupying my residence across the street from that of Major J. T. Doswell. During that month (I can't remember what day of the month) President Davis and Genl. Joseph E. Johnston were guests together in Major Doswell's house, and spent a night together there; a son of General Wade Hampton who accompanied President Davis on this visit to Fredericksburg was my guest during this visit. I saw President Davis and General Johnston, accompanied by Major Doswell and other gentlemen (whom I cant now recall) ride off during this visit upon a reconnoisance of the country around Fredericksburg; they were absent several hours on this ride, and returned to Major Doswell's house, where President Davis and Genl. Johnston dined, and the President took the train the same evening to Richmond. Major Doswell informed me that evening of the remark made to him by President Davis during this ride that Fredericksburg was "right in the wrong place" for military defence of the Town, and it depressed me because of the foreshadowing it gave as to the future awaiting its citizens. Yours truly,

JNO. L. MARYE.

(Statement with letter of John L. Marye to Jefferson Davis, Aug. 15th, 1885.)

I saw President Davis and Gen. J. E. Johnston, with some others,—whom I do not remember now,—riding in this town,

after examining the Ridge on the North bank of the Rapphnk.,

in Stafford county.

This was in March 1862. I am unable to fix the day of the month; but from matters relating to myself personally, know and am able to state positively that it was a short time before any of the Confederate troops reached here, moving from Manassas towards Yorktown.

FRANK T. FORBES.

Fredericksburg Va. August 15th, 1885.

R. W. Adams to Wm. S. Barton.

Fredericksburg, Va., August 12th, 1885.

Dear Judge,

In answer to your enquiry of yesterday I would say that some time in March 1862, I remember to have seen riding past the Commissary Depot where I was then engaged, President Jeffn. Davis, Gen. Jos. E. Johnston, the private secretary of the president (I think), and Major J. T. Doswell, and perhaps others, but my attention being fixed particularly upon President Davis and Gen. Johnston, I cannot now recall others than those I have named.

Yours truly, R. W. Adams.

Hon. W. S. Barton

J. W. Anderson 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Newnan, Ga., Aug. 17th, 1885.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss. Beloved and Revered Sir:

At a reunion of the "Newnan Guards" (Company "A" of the 1st Ga. Regt. and afterwards Company "A" 12th Ga. Battalion), held in Newnan, Ga. on Friday, August 14th, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved: That we do now, and will ever continue to cherish with the profoundest love and reverence; and shall ever honor

¹ Major First Georgia Volunteers C. S. A.

the name and memory of our beloved and illustrious Chieftain, Jefferson Davis.

Resolved: That a copy hereof be forwarded to him by our Secretary.

Before the vote was taken, other Confederate Soldiers present, but not members of the Company, asked permission to testify their fidelity to the "Lost Cause" and its heroic leader, by joining in the vote. The vote was taken by rising, and every old veteran present promptly rose to their feet.

With a sincere hope that your last years may be unclouded by Sectional hate, and that the cause you represented may continue to challenge respect as the years go by. We subscribe

ourselves as,

Yours most respectfully,

(Signed) J. W. Anderson, Chairman.

Y. H. Thompson, Secretary.

W. S. Barton to Jefferson Davis.

Fredericksburg Aug: 17th 1885.

My dear Mr. Davis,

On reaching home a few days since, after an unexpectedly protracted absence, I had the agreeable surprise to find your letter of the 3d Inst.

I am much gratified by your kindly remembrance of us, and by your request to render you a service, which has given me great pleasure. I beg that you will always understand that, for any service in my power to render to you and yours, and for any thing by which I can show my profound respect and affection for yourself personally, and my recognition of your representative position, I place myself unreservedly at your command.

My absence from home and the pressure of some official work demanding immediate attention have somewhat delayed my

response.

Enclosed, please find statements made by myself and some of the more prominent citizens of the Town covering the point as to your visit to this place, in the month of March 1862. The fact was well known, and any number of certificates to show it could be obtained. I send these, without waiting to get more, lest the delay might be inconvenient to you. Should you desire more, it will give me pleasure to secure them.

Permit me to assure you that every word written by Miss

Knox comes right from her heart.

You will perceive that your recollection was at fault as to

your being a guest of my Father on that visit. I have some reason to think that such statement in your book was a little

mortifying to Mr. Doswell.

Pray present me most respectfully and cordially to Mrs. Davis. The day spent at Fort Monroe in October 1866 is one of the most cherished remembrances of my life, and except my wedding day,—now nearly forty years ago,—the most vivid.

Trusting that you may long be spared to us in health and

comfort, believe me, most truly and respectfully

yours

W. S. BARTON.

For

Presdt. Jefferson Davis.

In March 1862, President Davis and Genl. J. E. Johnston visited Fredericksburg, and were guests of my friend and connection Mr. J. T. Doswell.

The morning after their arrival, they crossed to the north or Stafford side of the Rappahannock river, and were absent some hours examining the country.

On their return to Mr. Doswell's house, many citizens called to

pay their respects to the President.

The result of their examination of the locality was understood here to be unfavourable to the defence of the Town itself against an attack from the opposite bank of the river. I am unable to give the exact date of that visit. But some matters, personal to myself, and distinctly remembered, enable me to state positively that it was before the arrival here of any of Genl. Johnston's troops on their movement towards Yorktown, and before any of Genl. McClellan's transports had passed down the Potomac river.

W. S. BARTON

Fredericksburg, August 17th, 1885.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

(Charlottesville, Va.) August 22nd '85.

My dear Friend,

I have deferred replying to your last untill I could get the May Century and read Johnston's "reply" to your book, which I have now done. It is more cautious than his rash book though the trick of attributing his hasty move to you is identical, and

the destructions at Manassas and Thoroughfare to me, is made on the same false statements, but he carefully omits his "best authority" Cole's letter-which he did not perceive, then, convicted him of accumulating at Manassas and of failing to check, and letting go on for 12 days, after he had been informed by Cole that they had a surplus. Cole represented me, I could not define how much they needed. Cole bought as Blain did. and so soon as they had received what they wanted. Cole should have telegraphed the shippers, but accepting the checking through me (absurd as it was) Cole and Johnston only asked that the stores coming from Rhd should be sent to Culpepper, thereby approving the further accumulation from the other points, and

only on the 26 Jany, stating that there was excess.

Genl. Imboden's article reveals for the first time to me that Johnston called a board of inquisition—Lee himself and Cabell -Lee joined on the 20th, was "disparaged" at not beeing Commissary Genl., knew only what Fowle told him, so they condemned on that. I was called on, and proved that only on the midnight of Johnston's army coming in was I aware of any move, that every requisition of Fowle's had been sent to the depots. No prohibition of Fowle's purchasing had been ever given, but on the 6th June I had ordered him to buy all the corn meal he could so as to diminish the need of flour, thus adding to his resources of getting as much as he wanted. Bgd. claims to have been supplying his army by the purchases of his commissaries and ought to have provided for Johnston's army, and failing in that he charges me with removing the commissaries-I had added 2 more-removed no one. No wonder Mr. Benjamin refused such an ex parte board. Genl. Jackson's child was born a year after Imboden tossed it in his arms to its great delight. D. H. Hill was never arrested, and was 9 miles off on the alleged occasion—so much for active imagination. I got my article back, by a registered letter asserting rights based on my communications anterior, and on a note to the Editor appended to the article—requiring return if not to be published. This letter with 40 cts stamps sent by me got back the article. I have no money to hire a man expert in such preparations to aid me. I have regretted that I could not hire D. G. Reed to come on, but must depend on myself. I shall write to the Century editor—who has now published three articles libelling me, and allowed Johnston to reply to your book, published years ago and to allow me to refute the statements of both Genls, who have now contemptuously summarised their previously published misstatements against me. I should like to know what you propose to do. I know not how to get up the evidence of Johnston's statement repeated to you by Wigfall, that Jordan was a defaulting Qrmaster. If you have any one in Washington who would do it, it would we well against Bgd, who praised him Jn. (as a witness in his work) as "Genl. Jordan." If that evidence is not attainable Johnston would deny your statement from Wigfall. Genl. Jn. will go on writing till he expires. Since your defeat of Sherman, all the north is your enemy, and distrust the Southern leaders; Fitzhugh Lee for example is obsequious. I care nothing for the opinion of Americans, but think that such knaves as Jn. and Bgd. should not be licensed without check to "eat the flesh of others" ad libitum, for their glorification. Yours ever,

- P.S. Was anything ever said of invading Washington before the battle—was not the whole idea an afterthought, and supported by the lies of insuperable difficulties by the Govt. and its bureaus, invented and constructed by the Generals after the victory—false plea marching on supplies, when plenty of cattle was available. Had Noland sent on July 5th been allowed to act by Fowle, nothing else would have been needed for instant marching on.
- P.S. I suppose you have Hood's book. Johnston's denial of McFarland's statement is self convincing,—he rests it on the proof emphatic that he was not a "volunteer aid"—"fat Irish" -had not known him for 4 years-time to have become communicative. Remember that C. M. Conrad, friend to Jn., repeated the statement in correspondence with Hood. Johnston omits defending "Atlanta forever"-having to the Genls, at New Hope mentioned "Macon" as his further point of retreat. Remember the statements of Genl. Shoupe and Dr. Polk and Walter Morris, respecting Johnston's false charges that Genl.s. P. and Hood prevented him from fighting at Cassville, while they expressly urged him to offensive operations, instead of retreating, objecting only to standing to receive attack. My opinion is that his veracity will have to be attacked; also about the losses on that campaign; his chief of Ordnance-I forget the name, says 1600 stand of arms were lost. (Many occupations have caused me to forget mailing this letter on same day.) endorsed: Northrop: Aug. '85.

John L. Marye 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Fredericksburg, Va. Sep. 2nd, 1885.

Hon: Jeffn. Davis.

Dear Sir.

Your letter of the 5th ulto, came to me to-day from the Dead-Letter Division of the P.O. at Washington. You had inadvertently addressed it to me at "Fredericksburg, Miss."; it appears to have gone to "Fredericksburg Missouri," thence to Washington.

At the request of Judge Wm. S. Barton I gave him a written statement touching the matter enquired of in your letter; this, with a like statement made by Major J. T. Doswell, was mailed to you, some 2 weeks ago, by Judge B. I hope these, with Judge B's statement, cover the ground.

I am, with great respect,

Yours.

JNO. L. MARYE.

endorsed:

Jno. L. Marye; testimony as to visit to Fredericksburg.

Geo. H. Coursen to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

115 Columbia St., Elmira, N.Y. September 3, 1885.

Mr. Jefferson Davis,

Dear Sir:

About one year ago I read what purported to be an interview with you, in which you was reported to have said that while you was Sec. of War and on a visit to the Pacific Coast, Grant was brought before you charged with drunken, disorderly conduct. that you gave him the choice of resigning and leaving the army,

² John L. Marye was born in Fredericksburg, Va., Nov. 24, 1823. He entered the University of Va. in 1840, and upon his return home began his successful career as a lawyer. He served in the Legislature of Va. 1863 to 1865; in the State Convention of 1869 he rendered great service to the Commonwealth during the re-construction period; In 1870 he succeeded John M. Lewis as Lieut. Gov. of the State. For years he was a member of the Board of Visitors of the University of Va. and also served as Rector of the Board. He was an able debater and popular upon the Hustings. He died at his home in Fredericksburg, Va., in August, 1892—one of

the city's most highly respected citizens.

or court martial, that he chose the former. Will you please

inform me if the above is true?

You was also reported to have said that Grant counted his men as so many cogs in a wheel. That whether you said it or not, was the key note to Grant's success. If Lee had had men enough to go around the Grant wheel, the Confederacy would have been a reality, and the Commander of that "splendid army of tattered lines and bright bayonets" would not have surrendered to the man who proved himself a tool with a smooth handle which capitalists knew how to use.

Grant is not my hero, although I was a boy soldier under him, I have been an invalid over twenty years as the penalty for that service. I have also learned that to be a slave with a responsible master, preferable to being a serf to a heartless, unfeeling en-

slaving, irresponsible monopoly.

Sincerely I wish you peace and prosperity while I remain, Yours very truly,

(Signed) GEO. H. COURSEN, Jr.

Basil W. Duke to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Louisville, Septbr 7th 1885.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss. Dear Sir:

Some three or four years since an effort was made here to start a Magazine which should be an organ—at least locally—of

the ex-confederates, and was partially successful.

The "Southern Bivouac," as the magazine was termed, obtained and held some 2000 subscribers; but backed by no capital could accomplish little, and made no improvement which would attract a larger patronage. Last April, Mr. B. F. Avery of this place, bought it, and determined to make a fair trial of what could be done in an enterprize of this sort, with money and energetic pushing.

He requested Mr. Knott, one of the editors of the Courier-Journal, and myself to conduct. It has been very greatly improved in general appearance, typographical, &c., and, of course, as contributors are now fairly compensated, in matter.

We desire to make it a vehicle for the best Southern thought and the most genuine Southern sentiment. Avoiding, as far as possible, all acrimony, or controversy in which resentment or ill feeling can enter, we wish in all ways pertinent to the conduct of a Magazine, to represent the Southern people, their ideas and their action correctly. We wish to present a true portraiture of the South, in her history, her literature and in her social creeds and conditions, ante bellum and post bellum, believing that even if much may be found in such a picture for criticism, more will appear to induce respect and esteem. Dealing as little in extenuation and apology as in denunciation, we think her best defense, her best claim to the admiration of the world, will be found in the sincere utterances, (by her representative men) of her real thought. The circulation in the three months in which it has been under the new management, has reached nearly 6,000. We have every reason to believe that it will reach 12,000 or 15,000 by the end of the year, dating from Mr. Avery's purchase of it.

It has not only gained subscribers in the Southern States, but also in the North, where we, of course, wish it to be read.

While, for the present, making military articles and the narrations of events of the war our chief staple and the principal characteristic of the publication, we desire to supplement them with other matter, which will ultimately prove yet more important. Historical articles of a Social and political character especially.

I write to ask that you will assist us to the extent of furnishing at least one article—we would be extremely gratified to have anything and as much as you would choose to let us have. Of course we leave the subject to yourself. But if you can do it, and I might be permitted to suggest, I would say that a paper from you on the political status and temper of the South just previous to the war, or about the time of the Charleston Convention, would elicit the profoundest interest, and be very widely read. I feel that I am asking a great deal, and apologize if I am overbold. But I believe that you will recognize and sympathize with the plan I have endeavored to explain and the effort. One article—if no more from you, would greatly aid an enterprize like this.

I trust I will receive a favorable response, and in any event I beg to be remembered as

Very Sincerely and Respectfully
Your friend
(Signed) BASIL W. DUKE.

L. Pope Walker to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

New York, Sept. 8th 1885.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Dear Sir:

As the only representative of your first Sec. of War, (now passed away) who always entertained the highest regard and admiration for you, I hope you will not consider it in the light of a liberty, if I ask you for your photograph and autograph.

I know you are constantly annoyed with similar requests, and I intrude on your privacy with much hesitation. But as I have very few mementoes, of the great men of the South, I would esteem it a very great favor, if you the bright particular star of that illustrious galaxy, would gratify me.

I have the honor to be, with highest regard,

Your obedient Servant, (Signed) L. POPE WALKER.

Address # 218—2nd Ave. New York City.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

(Charlottesville, Va.) Sept. 11 '85.

My dear Davis,

I wrote you after getting the May Century; before reading with attention Imboden's recollections of the board called by Johnston,—composed of himself R. B. Lee and Cabell. No documents or orders are referred to, though "the report was" elaborately written out, "but, the C. G. Col. Northrop interfered with, and interdicted the efforts of officers of the Dept. who were with Genl. Beauregard to collect supplies from the rich and abundant region lying between the hostile armies;—having failed to send forward adequate supplies for such an emergency as arose, when Genl. Johnston brought his army from the valley—they made an exhaustive investigation and detailed report."

Bgd. said, in Nov., that I removed his purchasing officers,—He, Lee, and Imboden, all tell different tales and his book implies another. At that very time Lee had reported to me his approval of Fowle; and his determination to "carry out my views" which by his own statement, must have been known to him from my letters to Fowle, as I gave him (he wrote) no

details. Lee was a garrulous knave of no principles but self, Bgd. the vainest liar I have met, and Roman a rhetorical blunderer. I never heard of this board before now. Mr. Benjamin treated it justly, and these traitors to equity and military honour are writing up their ex parte malice,—to be caught. If the Century won't publish, I will try the Historical society.

Did you ever hear of the report of the above declared board? Please answer this. Fowle was provoked by my breaking up his fraudulent cattle arrangement, and it seems clear to me that my letters to F. were never read by that board; that Lee had never read them, and that Fowle's statements were the total sources of the information reported. Fowle was the only officer to whom I wrote—no other officer was buying. Bgd. wrote to you Augt. 10, replying to yours about his to Miles which was read in Congress. He states the want of food, his previous effort by order to Fowle July 7 to collect 2 weeks supply, which he said "drew from me so discourteous a letter that the want of time alone prevented him from disclosing it to you for your consideration." It could have been of no official consequence to the supply of the army therefore Fowle (under Genl. R. E. Lee) had been purchasing commissary at Manassas; continued it under Bgd.; Johnston's commissary did the same in the valley, and if a junction was hastily made it devolved on Bgd. to have prepared beef. If notice had been given to me in time, and I had known that Bgd had let his communications be curtailed and his depot blocked, beef should have been my resort. I find that I on two occasions mentioned that sufficient mode of supply for movement. I am sorry to see in Bgd's book a pompous letter of admiration by Col. Chestnut to Bgd, years after. I must combine the two Genls, and Imboden, and Jordan; the 4 slanderers and distortors. You wrote to me, Wigfall's statement of Johnston's information respecting Jordan's having been a defaulter, as the cause of his rejection—also that you first nominated him because friends of Bgd. wished them separated. Let all come out,-Jordan never had any commission at all in staff, or line. All of them are a set of knaves, combined by a common hatred. Jordan's Harper article in Oct. 1865 is the text on which all preached it. Are you able and willing to say who urged you thus to nominate him? This point and Wigfall's explanation, can be very well omitted if you prefer it Yours ever, L. B. Northrop. however.

P.S. I suppose you knew that McDowell's men in large force camped near the Stone bridge, with large camp fires, on the

night of the 20th, within 2 miles of our left—reconnoisances and anticipating plans were equally valueless against surprise by "McDowell's Mob."

endorsed:

L. B. Northrop.

Jefferson Davis to Marcus J. Wright.

(Davis Letter in Collection of General Marcus J. Wright, Washington, D. C.)

Confidential

Beauvoir, Missi 14th Sept. 1885.

Genl Marcus J. Wright, Dear Sir,

In the latter part of our war, Thomas J. Jordan, who you may remember as on Genl Beauregard's staff was nominated to the Senate to be a Brig Genl, but the Senate declined to confirm him & Sen. Wigfall explained to me that it was because Gen J. E. Johnston said that Jordan was a defaulter on his Quarter Master's acets & would have been dismissed if he had not got out of the army by the secession of Virginia.

I accepted the explanation as quite sufficient & with the adjournment of the session which of course terminated the life of the nomination & the subject was dismissed from my mind.

It appears that long ago I repeated the statement which Senator Wigfall had given me & I have been recently asked if I had record evidence of the fact of Jordan's malfeasance & his being about to be dismissed etc. I do not know whether charges were preferred or whether he was only reported to the Qr Master Genl, then J. E. Johnston for arraignment & trial & therefore do not know whether the record would be in the Qr Mast. Genls Office or in that of the Adjt. Genl. or possibly Judge Adv. Genl. & as I have no relations with either of these parties that would justify me in calling for the record I write to you to request that you will kindly get me the needful information and send it to me.

I do not wish to involve you in any responsibility which might be disagreeable to you & your communication shall be regarded as strictly confidential. There will be no necessity for your name appearing at all in the transaction.

As ever sincerely Your friend, JEFFERSON DAVIS.

E. G. W. Butler to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

St. Louis, Missouri. Sept. 20, 1885.

My dear Mr. Davis:

Having no response to my letters to you of March 7, and May 13, I fancied you sick and am concerned to find, from yours of 15th Instant, that my supposition was correct. The approaching elections in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, have caused the Radicals to exhume "the bloody shirt"; and now they are resorting to the vile slanders of 60 years ago, against a model wife and innocent woman. You state the case of the Robards difficulty and divorce nearly according to my recollection; but, I have inclosed your letter to my young Friend, Andrew Jackson, and requested him to obtain the facts from the surviving members of the Donelson family and other Friends of the Old Hero. I think he and his wife went to Natchez instead of New Orleans; and that she was a brunette, with dark eyes. She had two Sisters, Mrs. Col. Robert Hayes, and Mrs. Caffery; and three Brothers, Alexander, John and Severn-the latter the father of the twin-boy adopted by the General and Mrs. J., and called "Andrew Jackson."

The origin of the Duel was an insult offered by Capt. Joseph Erwin, on the race-field—he being drunk, and angry, because the General's horse had beaten his—and Charles Dickinson: Erwin's son-in-law and a duelist was instructed to substitute himself, by slandering Mrs. Jackson and challenging the General. He put himself somewhat upon equality, by fighting at 6 feet, and firing at their option; after the word Fire. At the word Dickinson fired; and his ball struck aside and glanced around under the skin, and was extracted on the left side. The General then took deliberate aim; but, the hair-trigger not being sprung, deliberately arranged it, and then put a ball thro' Dickinson. He then inquired of his second: "Have you any further use for me, Sir." D's Second replied: "No sir, I think my Friend's dead." The General said to his second: "Overton, let's go.'' After riding a short distance, seeing blood running from his boot, Gen. Merton exclaimed: "My God, Jackson, you are wounded!" The latter replied: "I am shot thro, but I would not let the damned scoundrels have the satisfaction to know it."

Did I tell you that I have been officially notified that I am the oldest surviving graduate of the Military Academy, and made President of the Alumni Association? I will be 86 years of age

on the 22nd of February next.

General Harney has taken up his residence near to us; and I go often to see him. He often speaks of you. Lawrence and his new wife are very happy; and the children are devoted to her. I hope Mrs. Davis and your sweet Daughter are well and Lawrence unites with me in assurances of the most friendly regard for you and yours; and in the earnest hope that your indisposition is only temporary.

Your affectionate old friend,

(Signed) E. G. W. BUTLER.

P.S. I have lost my sister-in-law Mrs. Lorenzo Lewis and her oldest son, Washington; of the Valley of the Shenandoah, Va.

J. J. Guthrie to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Neil House, Columbus, O.

Sept. 23d. 1885.

Hon. Jefferson Davis. Mississippi City, Miss. Honored Sir:

As a sample of the bigotry and intolerance of the Republican party I enclose the accompanying slip from a Columbus newspaper. I hurrahed for you in a spirit of fun, not but that I love, revere and honor you as the head and pilot of our grand

¹ Yesterday afternoon there was quite a racket at the Hotel Gardner on East Broad street, though neither the proprietor or attaches are at fault. J. J. Guthrie, a canvasser for R. L. Polk & Co., the publishers of city and State directories, is stopping at the house. He is a Southerner and served in the Confederate army.

At the hotel also boards a man named Plaisted, a lineman, in the employ of the Electric Light Company.

Shortly before dinner Guthrie was standing in front of the hotel, when there passed by an acquaintance, Lawyer Albery.

"Hurrah for Jeff. Davis!" said Guthrie, swinging his hat in air. The remark was made jestingly, and Albery smiled and passed on. Plaisted happened to be standing near, and took exception to the exclamation of Guthrie and vented his share on him. Guthrie desired no trouble and Guthrie, and vented his abuse on him. Guthrie desired no trouble, and went in to dinner. At the table Guthrie was conversing with another gentleman on politics, and Plaisted, who was at other table, chipped in and called Guthrie a "cowardly rebel." This of course angered Guthrie, and he picked up a cracker and flung it at the sensitive electrician.

Soon after dinner, as Guthrie alleges, he was standing at the hotel desk talking to the clerk when Plaisted came up from behind and dealt him a terrible blow on the head felling him to the floor where he lay unConfederacy, and was brutally assaulted by a low born Black Republican rowdy. This shows the *animus* of the Black Republicans and I simply write this to you, to let you know that one Ex-Confederate at least loves the memory of our beloved President.

Very Respectfully, (Signed) J. J. GUTHRIE.

Nahum Capen to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Mt. Ida, Dorchester, Mass Sept. 26th, 1885.

My dear Mr. Davis,

Notwithstanding your explicit letter of recent date there is a disposition to repeat the lies of the past—and I desire to denounce the Editors who do so.

Will you do me the favor to say briefly, if there is one particle of truth in the enclosed paragraph? and give me leave to publish your reply with such remarks as I may think proper to make? I am constantly annoyed and excited by the falsehoods of the press. The late gush for Grant is sickening. As an American citizen I have nothing to thank Grant, Sherman or Sheridan for. They conducted the war like barbarians. I favored the Union, as you know, in 1848, in the "Republic of the U. S."—as an organization that could not be destroyed. We have many abler generals than Grant. He was a political tool in the hand of the Tory party. The enclosed letter of Mr. Baker contains much truth. Mr. Baker is an original abolitionist and a Tory and yet he is honest. He is 81 and a highly respected citizen. Charles Sumner knew all about Grant and bespoke the truth.

conscious for some minutes. Guthrie says that his assailant had a club or brass knuckles and denounces the attack as cowardly and unprovoked. Mr. Guthrie who appears to be very much of a gentleman went to Justice Martin's office to swear out a warrant for Plaisted's arrest. The magistrate had gone home and further proceedings were postponed until this morning.

¹ Milton, Aug. 25, 1885

Editor Beacon,

Sir:—Your note has come to hand with the accompanying papers, asking my views on a Grant monument. In reply I say I am so disgusted with the flattery poured in upon Grant that I shall leave it altogether with him to erect his own monument from the materials furnished by his services in the army, as President of the United States, his connection with the Star Routers and the firm of Grant and Ward, and his milk and water speeches so liberally made in tour around the world, and the book he has left behind him, and trust that all who wish to contribute to his monument

The war was caused by the Tory party and though not a believer in the right of secession, I am an uncompromising friend to State Rights. They are necessary to the preservation of the Union. Secession doctrine had its origin in New England. The Southern States should have claimed the *Union Flag*—and under it marched its army against the disunionists of the North. But all these things are past, but history is to come.

The slavery question should have been discussed in Congress, as it was in Parliament from 1785 to 1833 and proper appropriations made to protect Southern property. I shall have a long Chapter on the subject as preliminary to the administration of

Lincoln.

Since I wrote you I have been very ill, under the Doctor's care. I was forbidden to read, talk or to write. For several months I have had my first vacation—and I have regained my health so that I shall be able to return to my task next month.

With best regards to Mrs. Davis and to your entire circle,

believe me,

Always and sincerely yours, (Signed) Nahum Capen.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

F. J. M. Daly to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Hon. Jefferson Davis, My Dear Sir: Macon, Ga., Oct. 8th, 1885.

Having read the communications that have of late been published in the papers regarding your capture, which arose from a

to purchase the book he has written; and I think when the sober, second thoughts of all Americans return to them, will feel they have very liberally contributed to his monument.

Respectfully, (Signed) E. J. BAKER.

Mr. Editor:

As I am a stranger and a woman, I do not know whether you will print what I write.

I saw a copy of your paper at the house of a friend, and was much pleased with a letter from E. J. Baker, respecting a monument to Gen. Grant. He is the first person to speak honestly upon the subject, so far as I have seen.

But why do I think so? I was a great admirer of the late Charles Sumner, and I remember all he said about public men. He said, "Grant was the colossus of imbecility, and the military cesspool of the White House." He had the best opportunities to know all about Grant, what he was in the war, and what his habits were. If you have any respect for Mr. Sumner, can you have for Gen. Grant? Mr. Baker is right.

Respectfully, (Signed) MATILDA BROWN.

speech made by a Mr. Issigrig; I made inquiries from parties that are conversant with the details of your arrival at Macon after that event, and I submit to you the following result of my investigations.

There is at present living in Macon a Mr. Terence O'Hanlon, a respectable Irish gentleman, who is at this time a R. R. mail agent between Macon and Chattanooga. Mr. O'Hanlon was an officer in the 4th Reg. Cavalry, was officer of the guard on the day you arrived in Macon and commanded company A. of his regiment.

It was the company under his command which opened ranks and saluted you as you entered the Lanier House. He tells me that he stood on the steps and gave the order to salute as he was directed to do by Lieut. O'Connell, who on that day and for some time before and after commanded his regiment. He further states that he was under strict orders to show you every honor befitting a fallen foe, and to protect and respect you in every manner possible. In regard to the female regalia which it is claimed was borne before you, he states that there was nothing of the kind whatever; and he further states that he never heard of any disguise mentioned in Macon until some time after it appeared in a Northern paper.

He further states that there was no 4th Indiana regiment in Macon at the time. They have confounded it with the 4th reg. cavalry, his regiment,

As to Mr. Issigrig he states that there was a person of that name present on the day in question, but he was a private in Co. I. of the 4th Reg., which he had joined some time previous under a general order from the War Department allowing volunteers to enter the regular regiments. He was the only person of that name in the army occupying Macon and never was a commissioned officer of any kind while detailed in the city.

As to Capt. Thompson he speaks of him in the highest terms, but states most emphatically that he was not in Macon at the time you were brought in, and did not arrive for several weeks afterwards; when he came and took charge of the 4th Reg. cavalry and relieved Lieut. O'Connell. He states that there was no disturbance or attempted disturbance of any kind; and that he was in a position to be thoroughly conversant with the events of the day. In a word he pronounces the entire speech of Issigrig a slander and a reflection on brave soldiers who would have protected you with their lives.

Mr. O'Hanlon expresses himself as willing to make affidavit to the foregoing facts if you should wish it. Mr. O'Hanlon is a

Republican, but one who wishes the facts of the war to be perpetuated as they occurred and not as manufactured in thought-

less speeches and newspaper articles.

Having arrived at manhood's estate long after the issue was settled I have no prejudices one way or the other and personally I have no interest in the matter further than an honest desire to have full justice done to the honored chief of a brave people. Again finding that there were several Irishmen in command of detachments in Macon on that day, my pride of race prompts me to believe the statements set forth and to resent any insinuation that they would have done or suffered any act which could have tarnished the unsullied fame of an Irish soldier—a race whose bravery you have so nobly endeavored to perpetuate in your account of the capture of the Gunboats in Sabine pass.

I submit these facts to you for what you may consider them worth. If in your wisdom you should conclude that the interests of truth and justice would be advanced by perpetuating Mr. O'Hanlon's testimony, I would most cheerfully lend you my aid in drawing up and properly certifying an affidavit from him.

With every expression of esteem I remain

Very Respectfully Yours F. J. M. Daly.

Jno. A. Conwell to Jefferson Davis (From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Aurora Indiana

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Sir:

Oct. 13, 1885.

I take the liberty to enclose a card clipped from the Cincinnati Com'l Gazette of this date in reference to the statement of Lieut. Isgrigg published a few weeks ago.

Very Respectfully
JNO. A. CONWELL.

Endorsed: Capt. Thompson about attempt to shoot me at Macon, Ga.

E. G. W. Butler to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

St. Louis, Missouri,

My dear Mr. Davis:

October 29, 1885.

I wrote to you 19th Instant, acknowledging your kind letter of 15th September and sent you the pamphlet received from

Andrew Jackson; with the request that you would return it to him; and, having no response from you, I sit down, this dark rainy day "solitary and alone," to say that Judge Mass informed me he had sent you, at my request, a copy of the New Orleans "Times Democrat" containing my reply to the infamous article of the "Philadelphia Record" and I beg you to substitute "indorsed" for "enhanced" in the 1st paragraph; Mercer for Mercia, in the 4th, and Adventurer for name of Boat, in same; Lemuel for Samuel in 5th.

On the 27th Instant, I sent the Editor of the Missouri Republican an article, over the signature of "Hampden", and under the Caption of "How a Great Nation Became Great"; the last paragraph of which was a defense of Yourself and was as follows: "In the late war with Mexico, when Jefferson Davis lead his gallant Mississippi Rifles into the Bishop's Palace and the Plaza, at Monterey, his oriental traducers were not there; nor were they at Buena Vista when, repulsing the charge of Lancers, he rolled back the tide which overwhelmed our Left, "and proved himself the Attila of the South."

That sentence he has omitted; and such, I am sorry to say is the justice accorded by this Western Journal to a brave and patriotic man. Well might you exclaim, my dear Mr. Davis: "Blow, blow, thou winter winds; thou are not so unkind as

man's ingratitude."

Strange coincidence, as I was about to sit down to finish this letter, the servant handed me a catalogue of the "Association of Graduates of the U.S. Military Academy," of which they have made me President. I think I sent you the President's kind letter on my announcement as the oldest remaining graduate and the kind letters of Secretary Bayard and Minister Pendleton in regard to my message to the Emperor of Germany; thanking him for his kindness to my lost and gallant son, during his long sojourn at Berlin.

With the friendly regards of my son and wife, for Mrs. Davis, your Daughter and self; believe me, my dear Mr. Davis,

Affectionately and truly your Friend, (Signed) E. G. W. BUTLER.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

(Charlottesville, Va.) Dec. 25th '85.

My dear Davis,

I hope you are well—rather enduring time—I should say. The paper from Genl. Wright I received. He is I suppose the person who wrote to me when you were in prison on the subject of the

charge of your having been cruel to prisoners.

I prepared a good logical article, convicting Johnston and Bgd. of falsities inexplicable, and in Nov. addressed the Editor of the Century by hand of a friend in N. York applying for space to refute libels, which at once brought an evasive letter, a quasi rejection. I then replied in 2 pages of foolscap, by same messenger—in the view of publishing the correspondence, so bringing in the nature of the accusations in the May No. received another letter, explanatory of his position. I replied in 4 pages foolscap, charging that Jn. Bgd and Imboden, while conflicting among themselves, concurred in making me out a "preposterous imbecile;" you guilty of believing such an officer, and Mr. Benjamin in suppressing (a report of a board called by the Commander of the army) to protect my incapacity; that I could prove the whole to be untruths, that Bgd. "seduced by the vision of capturing Washington and raising Md. and ending the war had tried after the battle, to make up a story of want anterior' to it, that he was an "impostor" as proved by his own writings, and Johnston refutation of his claim. I demonstrated Johnston's false charge of accumulation, that Cole's letter, Noland's testimony, and his own statements, proved the accumulation and destruction to be his own acts that he caused the former, and "permitted it to go on 12 days after he knew that he had more than he wanted;" that the 2000000 pds. of meat burned by him at the Packery showed the falsity of the charge of my not using supplies exposed to the enemy &c &c. I make out a strong conclusive case.

The Editor replies, reproducing his evasion, and offers to put in type some of my "passages" and send me the proof. I have just written him referring only to that, and asking it to be done. He is quite willing to receive contributions of the foes of the southern cause, and refuses to publish what I claimed to "refute libellous writings circulated by him" by relevant matter and appropriate words to undeceive his readers. He will make he says brief corrections of facts but not as long as my first letter.

When I get his "proof slips" I will be able to criticise his selections and of what he leaves out.

I would like you to see the correspondence.

I have charged Bgd as being an "impostor" of having 25 pages to "glorify himself maligning you and reviving the false impressions of the Commissariat which he and Johnston had tried to create in 1861." And I prove it. That while refusing "to open controversies" that is to let me refute libels by proofs, he lets "Johnston take up 21 pages in criticising your volumes 4 years after they appeared" and Bgd 25 pages after 24 years delay, while I am rejected for claiming a moral right "12 months after" to refute their libels. That the "falsities" of these 3 generals are published, "misleading the judgements of his readers," while contradicted by "deliberate contemporary judgements-all through the man into my policy and methods, by a standing committee holding frequent sessions, always ending in commendation: though H. S. Foote was on it-who after the war had published me as 'cruel to prisoners and was zealous to attack' and finally by the joint select Committee under Baldwin," whose speech I quote from his letter. I charge that Beauregard by his letter to Miles "about the vision of capturing Washington laid the foundation of the Cabal against you which made the Confederate Govt. a divided house." That there was "plenty of supplies at Manassas for a march on Washington" that I have "a report by Fowle of what was on hand." That if there was want after the battle, it was because the Comissaries did not choose to buy enough—and Beauregard concurred with them in that. I can prove it."

I have your letter to Johnston and the Telegrams on that point. There is much more.

I want some counsel how to get this correspondence out. Shall I send it to you to read and you can return me all the letters I send you?

I wrote him that "I had read Johnston's Narrative, and seeing that no thinking man would be influenced by it disregarded his mistatements then." "That my knowledge of Beauregard prevented me from reading his book, but I had procured it since his article which he (the Editor) had admitted in his journal. That and Johnston's and Imboden's, which consolidated all on my name." I forgot to state on the other sheet, that "Johnston declared that the stores of the other Depts. were carried off that he burned hundreds of soldiers' blankets and shoes, and 800 new cavalry saddles, that burned and abandoned were universal words with him, the latter he used in his writings, the former

was his *method* in his retreat, the conflagration announced it to McLellan and released him from the care of Washington."

In writing these letters I abstained from touching anything

not attainable in the Century articles.

There is no doubt that these northern journals are still feeding the appetite for northern self love and depreciating true men who will not truckle. When I get the proof slips from the Century, if I can get any way of publishing I will write him a letter that if he does not allow proper refutation of libels he should be careful to make sure of the character of his correspondence that he has stained his pages with three unreliable men and one whose memory (Imboden) is valueless. Then I can bring up Bgs mendacity, Johnston's inventions, and Jordan's imposture. I introduced Daniel's letter—Bgd's neglect of his communications "retarding troops for the battle as well as the supplies at the depot."

You know that I unhorsed Jordan and have Cooper's report of his and Bgd's imposition respecting him. Is there any southern paper or upright northern one which could be induced to publish? There can be no disputing what I can say, the evidence will be there. The incredible feature is that these men should have been so unguarded as to expose themselves,—there

is no way of explanation for them.

"Christo Nacis" as the Spaniard says. Yours, L. B. N. P.S. Is there not jealousy enough among the Magazines to make a reproachful injustice in one a palatable morsel for another? The dodges in the letters of the Century and different positions to escape a moral obligation should degrade a paper. According to him his readers of his historical series should be fixed in false judgements of past events, rather than be delayed in reading later things; then, better be buried in error than be undeceived if the Editor thinks it of no public interest to correct them. endorsed:

L. B. Northrop; 27th Dec. 1885; ansd. 19th Jan. '86; enclosed introduction to Col. Scharf.

Jefferson Davis to Edward Bailey. (From Pennsylvania Historical Society.)

Personal Revd Edwd Bailey, Dear Sir. Beauvoir Missi. 15th Jan. 1886.

I have this evening received your letter of the 8th Inst. and the Christian spirit in which you write leads me to reply hoping that I may remove what I think is a misconception of my position. I certainly did not mean that the war was not to me, a cause of regret. I labored before its inception with all the power I possessed, as my speeches in the U.S. Senate and my action on a select Committee in Jan. 1861, clearly prove, to avert, if practicable, the catastrophe of war. I believed then, and do now, that the states possessed sovereignty and therefore had a right to withdraw from any league into which any of them had entered. My opinion was that secession would, but should not, produce war. When Mississippi passed her ordinance of secession. I felt I no longer had any right to remain in the Senate as her representative & therefore withdrew. As a citizen of Missi. I owed her my allegiance and went home to serve the State as her needs might require. When the General Govt. in violation of the Constitution attempted to coerce the State, I served her as best I might. On her part it was a war of defence, the only kind of war which I believed justified by Man's duty to his Fellow and to his God.

Now my dear Sir with this introduction you will need no argument to show you that with my convictions unchanged, I could not repent for all I had done, or attempted to do for the maintenance of the Constitutional and natural rights of the State, to whom my first duty was due, under the limitations of Man's obligations to his Maker.

If I had desired war, had provoked war, had not endeavored after the Confederacy was organized, by a commission to find a peaceful solution of all pending issues, then I should have much cause to repent of sins of commission and omission, but your reading has no doubt taught you that the facts are otherwise. In my book, entitled "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government" I have more fully than it would be possible to do in a letter, presented my view of the whole subject. If suffering for the cause I espoused could produce repentance, I have surely borne enough for that end, but martyrs have gloried in their faith when vielding up their lives for its assertion and if I mistake not your character, you would scorn the man who recanted and called it repentance. You seem impressed by my assertion in this connection, that if it were to do over again I would do as I have done. Surely Sir, believing myself to have been right you would not have me to say or to feel otherwise Looking beyond the prejudice and malice of men, I trust my case to Him who knoweth the hearts of men and, "Doeth all things well."

Accept my thanks for your prayers for I am not self-righteous enough to believe I do not need them and believe me Sir,

Very respectfully yours.

Endorsed:

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Addressed to

The Revd.

Edwd. Bailey \$ 808 Christian St. Philadelphia Penn.

J. H. Hall to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Hon Jefferson Davis— Dear Sir: Newnan, Georgia. Jan. 15th, 1886.

You will pardon this obtrusion of a letter from an entire stranger when I say it is dictated by the heart; and when I add, moreover, that the impulse to write has been repeatedly repressed in the past. When I have seen the unjust, untrue and bitter attacks made upon you, I have thought it was due from your people that they express to you their continued and unfaltering confidence and admiration. The consciousness of rectitude, no doubt, shields and supports you against your assailants; but, as a man, you are human, and need to have assurances of the attachment and sympathy borne for you by your people. So far as my knowledge extends, and doubtless throughout the South, you are still cherished in the affections of your countrymen, and every shaft aimed at your venerated name pierces their hearts. The South placed you at the head of the Confederacy as her leader and representative, and she feels that your fate should be, and is, her fate. It should be a comfort to you to know that, while your people from prudential reasons are often silent, still they feel deeply every injustice done you, and their admiration for your great ability, distinguished services and stainless patriotism, under all the malignity of your foes, is unchanged and unchangeable. When your traducers are forgotten and the prejudices and passions of the times have passed away, impartial history will do you and the Cause you represented full justice.

I enclose a slip which may interest you. Hoping that you may have a peaceful old age, and that your earthly days may close in "life eternal," I am, dear Sir,

Truly your countryman.

(Signed) J. H. Hall.

Pastor Newnan Baptist
Church.

Thomas F. Drayton to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Charlotte, N. C. 18th Jany., 1886.

Dear Jeff:

It would give me much enjoyment to share the hospitality of Beauvoir, if the condition of my affairs favored such a trip. The physical man is equal to this trip, but not so his pocket. I could not leave my office for 8 or ten days—without the risk of losing business that will not justify the employment of a clerk. It is as much as I can do to make ends meet every month and at the same time contribute to the aid of some of my married daughters who could not get along without such help. If I only had to support my unmarried child, Emma and myself I could get along and lay up a little every year. As a rule, these are matters that ought to be strictly private but with you I have no such compunctions.

Austin is still confined to his bed and chamber by the attack of paralysis that prostrated him some nine months ago. He is quite cheerful however, and writes me frequently very pleasant letters that no one reading them would imagine that they were dictated by him through his daughter, Mary, whom I know quite well. Bob Clary, whose wedding you and I attended is alive but where he resides no one can tell me. It would be a visit of the happiest kind, if we three survivors of the class 1828 could be assembled at Beauvoir, to refresh our memories of those early days, when friendships were made from pure and unselfish motives, and then solemnly to say goodbye, feeling that we were too old to renew the visit to Beauvoir, for here would be the only spot to meet as you can't visit around unmolested by prying and vindictive eyes as we can whenever we leave home for distant parts.

But whether you and I will ever meet face to face again or not be assured of this, that time has rather increased than diminished the friendship of our youthful days.

With my kindest remembrances to Mrs. Davis,

I remain as always, Your friend, (Signed) Thos. F. Drayton.

Jefferson Davis to J. T. Scharf.

(From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Beauvoir, Missi. 19 Jan. 1886.

Col. J. Thomas Scharf. # 302 North Stricker St. Baltimore Md.

My dear Sir,

Permit me to present to you my well known and much esteemed friend, Col. L. B. Northrop who you will remember as the Commissary General when you were in the Army of N. Va.

Self glorification and malignity inspiring J. E. Johnston & Beauregard, they found in The Century a medium for the circulation of their libels upon several of the Confederate Executive officers & among others upon the Commissary Genl., Northrop. He sought, through the same channel to make public refutation of falsehoods uttered against him but has found there, as elsewhere at the North, a willingness to publish what ever is against us, or any one of us, who has remained steadfast to the cause of the South. I have sent to him this letter of introduction to you with the hope that you could, and the belief that you would, in the Balt. Sun & other papers with which you are associated, be able to secure for Col Northrop scope & verge enough for the purpose he has in view.

Very truly yours,
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to H. D. Money. (From New York Historical Society.)

Mississippi river 24th Jany. 1886.

Hon. H. D. Money, My dear Sir,

I have learned that you have kindly interested yourself to secure to the New Orleans and Vicksburg packets the mail service heretofore performed by them. This matter concerns me individually and in stating my case I doubt not that the facts are equally applicable to many others in like situation. My plantation which was my home before the War is about twenty five miles below Vicksburg, which City as well as New Orleans are most conveniently reached by the river.

A packet, in my case the Natches, calls weekly both going up and down at our landing to receive and deliver freight. It often happens that when freight is shipped, freight is desired by the return trip of the packet, and order unless sent by the packet cannot reach New Orleans before the Boat will have left, another inconvenience is felt in the want of advice in regard to freight sent until after the boat has departed. There are many other reasons why the packets should be mail boats, but they need not be enumerated as your familiarity with the subject will readily suggest them to you.

The Steamer Natches carries my freight up and down, and you will greatly oblige me by having her restored to her position as a

mail carrier.

Respectfully and truly your friend

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Wm. C. P. French to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Washington, D. C., February 16th, 1886.

My dear Mr. Davis,

Although I was only a child the last time you visited our house, will you permit me to recall myself to your recollection?

I am the son of the late Edmund French, your classmate and

friend at the Military Academy from 1824 to 1828.

My mother and sisters have for some time desired me to write and assure you of their unaltered personal affection for Mrs. Davis and yourself; and I, also, wish to thank you for your kindness to my father before his sad death in 1860.

I write to-day to ask you to grant me a favor and to do an act of justile to a man that I do not know personally, but only as a

gallant and distinguished officer.

I refer to General Nelson A. Miles.

There is a cabal here endeavoring to ruin his chances of promotion, by representing that, while you were a prisoner of state at Fortress Monroe, he exceeded the spirit and letter of his instructions from the then Secretary of War and treated you with unnecessary rigor and harshness.

Lieut. Oscar Long, formerly "Aide-de-camp" to General Miles, tells me that he has seen among the General's letters one from Mrs. Davis and one from Mrs. Clay, thanking him for his

courteous treatment of the husband and friend.

He, also, informs me that General Miles regards these letters as sacred and not to be used, even in an emergency of the present nature.

If these reports of ill-usage and discourtesy are false, will you kindly send me an explicit denial of them, with authority to publish it? From the fact that, in your book, there is no reference to any unsoldierly treatment from General Miles, I apprehend that there can be no foundation for this slander; but, of course, an "ex cathedra" statement from you will effectually and finally silence it.

Please address me in the care of Captain W. D. O'Toole, 514

Thirteenth St., Washington.

My mother and sisters unite with me in affectionate greeting

to you both.

With grateful memory of my father's friend, I am, dear Sir, respectfully and cordially yours,

WM. C. P. FRENCH, 1st Lieut. 3rd Infantry.

Mr. Jefferson Davis, "Beauvoir."

endorsed: young French about Miles.

C. H. Beckett to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Jefferson Davis, Dear Sir: Des Moines, 3/8/86.

Seeing the inclosed piece in a paper and thinking that perhaps it would never reach your eyes, I take this liberty of sending it to you.

I do not know how true the statement is, but if it be true, the fellow may be found at Creston. Iowa.

Hoping that you are enjoying good health, I am,

Yours Respectfully, (Signed) C. H. BECKETT.

Copy of clipping enclosed:

A citizen of Creston, Iowa, has in his possession the originals of Jefferson Davis' commissions as a member of Congress from Mississippi, and as Colonel in the United States army during the war with Mexico. They are both on sheepskin, the former being signed by the Secretary of State in Mississippi at that time and by Jefferson Davis himself. These were captured by their present owner during an important epoch of the late war and he has refused tempting offers for them.

R. D. Spalding 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Atlanta, Ga. Mch 19 1886.

Mr. Jefferson Davis Beauvoir, Miss Dr Sir

Lear(n)ing that you are, at an early day to deliver an address at Montgomery Ala., the B. H. Hill Monument Com have instructed me to invite you to come to Atlanta and address the people of Ga on the occasion of unveiling the statue of the late Senator B. H. Hill We presume in this request somewhat upon your well known love and admiration for Georgias great son. You need no assurance that it w(oul)d above all things delight Mrs. Hill, and that the people of this city and of the whole state w(oul)d rejoice in the opportunity of extending to you a cordial welcome. No date has been fixed for the ceremony, and any day that might suit you w(oul)d be entirely convenient to us.

Yrs very Resply.

(Signed) R. D. SPALDING, Chairm

D. M. Frost 2 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

1711 Carr Place, St. Louis, Mo. March 22nd, 1886.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss. My dear Sir:

The enclosed clipping, signed R. J. Holcombe, is taken from the Mo. Republican of Saturday morning last, and as it conveys a false impression of my sayings before "the Southern Historical and Benevolent Society" of this city, I have thought it proper that you should know just what I have said, and why I have said it, and therefore enclose another clipping from the same Journal issued on Friday morning last and giving cor-

¹Physician and financier. Chairman of the Committee in charge of the Ben Hill Monument Fund. The monument was unveiled in May, 1886. ²Brigadier-General C. S. A.

rectly (typographical errors excepted) the paper as read by me before the society on the previous evening.

I hope you will read it and trust that you will find it as

innocuous as it was intended to be.

With the highest consideration and respect, I remain,

Most truly yours,

(Signed) D. M. Frost.

Dabney H. Maury to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Washington City, March 23, 1886.

Mr. Jefferson Davis, My dear Mr. Davis,

I am glad to read your views about the mode in which the States shall give relief to their disabled soldiers. My own ex-

perience confirms your view.

You may remember that I had charge of the grand Bazaar opened in New Orleans soon after the war. We rented a house and opened a home where for several years shelter and comfort were given to disabled exconfederates, but they were nearly all of foreign birth. Native Americans will not willingly accept such relief, and I found it more accordant with the nature of our people and with economy, to pay to them \$10. to \$5. per month than to give them a ticket of admission into the Home.

On an average we found it cost us \$17.50 per month to take care of a man in the home. \$10. as a monthly pension would have enabled us to relieve many more and to secure to each man

more independence and real comfort.

I tried to impress this upon our people in Richmond but they would not heed. They have now a costly house in which 20 or 30 men are sheltered, and the Legislature has just appropriated \$10,000 to keep it up and will doubtless be called on for like annual relief.

There is an inclination in many of the Confederate States now to recognise the claims of our soldiers. I wish I could induce them to heed your advice in the mode and measure of relief.

I am glad indeed you are to speak in Montgomery, and hope the opportunity may be afforded me of meeting you there.

I came here to get an office but found I am not counted worthy of trust by those in power now. "Civil service reform" was never intended for such as I am. There is great and growing

discontent on every hand with our President. The Congress tried hard to stand by him but he is intractable. In fact there is nothing in common between him and our better Southern people. He has the provincial scorn of a New York State man for all the Southern people, and none of the refinement or "magnetism" which wins gentlemen.

Please excuse the unclerkly appearance of this letter. My address will be Washington City for some time to come. I may be able to serve you in some way while here, and you know how much pleasure it will give me to do it.

I find my insurance business is very good here, and more

independent than office hunting.

Give my warmest regards to Mrs. Davis and Miss Winnie and believe me with ever increasing respect and affection,

your friend,
DABNEY H. MAURY.

endorsed:

D. H. Maury.

Jefferson Davis to H. W. Pope.1

(From The World, New York, Sunday, April 25, 1886.)

Beauvoir, Miss., March 27, 1886.

Hon, H. W. Pope,

My dear Sir: Fully appreciating the compliment conveyed by your request for my views as to what legislation might be adopted to adjust the conflict now going on between capital and labor, I regret that the compliment is so little merited. The old war between capital and labor has called forth the best intellects of Europe. It has disturbed commerce, overthrown governments, produced anarchy and crept from the wreck without solving the problem. With us the contest is in its incipient state, and happily it may be that something can be done to check its growth. Self-interest and free competition for labor will wherever laborers are abundant, give to the rich the power to oppress the poor. We cannot legislate to destroy the motive of self-interest for that lies at the foundation of material progress, and our efforts must therefore be directed to unifying the interest of labor and capital as far as this may be done by the legislation of the State.

The present form of the conflict in our country is between

A prominent citizen of Marshall, Texas.

associated labor and organizations employing it. It is not sufficient answer to say that the price of labor has advanced, unless that it can be shown that the profits of labor have moved pari passu with the profits of capital; for in this, as in other things of comparative welfare, we must consider the relative improvement. The standard of comfort rises proportionately to the increase of wealth in a country. Your idea of a court of arbitration. I think, has much to commend it. The organization of such a court, so as to secure equally the confidence of both contending parties, would require both liberality and discretion, and it would be needful that their decisions should be based on something like a co-operative principle of industrial partnership, in which the wages of the employees should be measured by the profits of the corporation. If in this manner a community of interest could be established, the welfare and contentment of both would seem to be a possible result.

With sincere regard and best wishes for you and yours, I am

your friend,

(Signed) JEFFERSON DAVIS.

 $H.\ W.\ Grady$ $^{\scriptscriptstyle 1}$ to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

CONSTITUTION OFFICE

Atlanta, Ga. Mar 27th 1886

Hon. Jefferson Davis.
Beauvoir, Miss.
My Dear Sir:—

I cannot express the gratification I feel over your letter to Dr. Spalding and Ben Hill which has just been read to me. All our hearts were in having you come. My long devotion to Mr. Hill made me especially anxious. Nothing that you could have asked him while he lived would have been refused, and Mrs. Hill, Ben, and myself were therefore hopeful all the time

¹ Grady, Henry Woodfin (1850-1889), a journalist and orator, was born at Athens, Ga., May 24, 1850, graduated at the University of Georgia in 1868, and was a student at the University of Virginia, 1868-1870. He became a contributor to the Atlanta Constitution in 1870; purchased an interest in it and became its editor in 1880; and continued its editor and part owner until his death in Atlanta, December 23, 1889. As editor and orator he was a powerful influence as one of the first prominent representatives of the reconstructed South to express the willingness of the Southern people to throw in their lot with the rest of the nation. Consult Joel Chandler Harris' Life of Henry W. Grady, 628 pp., New York, 1890.

that you would come to see the statue which his poor but loving people have raised in his honor. The committee has just had a meeting and decided to fix the 28th of April as the day of unveiling the statue, provided as we are now advised, the corner stone will be laid in Montgomery on the 26th. The committee would meet you in Montgomery with a special car and leave on the 27th reaching here that evening. You would then have rest and seclusion which we would guarantee and on the next day come out to the unveiling. We appreciate what you say about making an address, and do not expect it. The statue will be presented to the Governor by Dr. Spalding, and accepted by the Governor in speeches of perhaps ten minutes each. An address of perhaps ten minutes will then be made blending allusions to Mr. Hill, and an introduction of you to the crowd, and ten minutes, five minutes, three minutes, whatever you wish, is all that will be expected of you, unless your strength permitted you to speak longer. Dr. Spalding will write you all these details. I started just to express my gratitude, and have drifted further than I intended. I will send you a copy of the Constitution tomorrow containing what I say about your visit. With great respect.

Yours very truly (Signed) H. W. GRADY.

Jefferson Davis to Correspondent New York World.

(From New York Public Library.)

(Beauvoir, Miss., 30th March, '86)

Dear Sir,

I am not well enough to leave my chamber or I would orally reply to your request for my opinions, that I am not in office, and not a candidate for official position, therefore have a right as it is my wish to lead the life of retirement in which the will of others as well as my own has placed—

Respectfully

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

G. A. Chaires to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

(Chaires Fla.) Aprl. 6th '86.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

About the 1st April 1866 I wrote you, at Fortress Monroe, offering you money to assist you or thinking you might use it

in some to relieve yourself. This I did because I felt it to be a duty and also because I felt such deep sympathy for you. It was declined because as you kindly wrote me you were not "allowed to have money and could not use it if I had it." This letter of yrs. I prize very highly and shall hand it down to my children. I felt so anxious about you not knowing what might happen that upon the receipt of yr. letter of April 22nd '66 I immediately wrote to Reverdy Johnson of Maryland to defend you and draw on me for pay for his services, which I intended and was then able to meet promptly.

I make this explanation so that you may understand this letter which I enclose,—I thought would be pleasant to see, and therefore I enclose. I have thought for years that I would, if I ever passed your way, stop and see you for a few minutes at least, but I have been so pressed by business as well as lack of means that I have not been able to gratify that wish, or longing to see and talk to you. I have not abandoned the idea I assure you but still hope something will turn up. I was a planter before the war and continued to plant very largely and like nearly all, lost heavily, but I am still struggling and will never give up as long as God allows me to have health and strength. I have been much gratified by your receptions on your trips to Montgomery, all of which I feel is due you and more for I feel you deserve much at the hands of our people and hope when you leave this world that you will there receive uour reward.

Mr. Davis, I have thought the war would prove in the end a great blessing to the south. It has set us free from slavery which I think will be a greater blessing to the whites than to the blacks. What will become of the negro I can't see, for the majority of them are worse off than before emancipation. The whites have suffered much and been wronged much, but my idea is that good must come of it to us. Slavery was a great evil to the Whites. I lost 200 but consider loss gain, although we were robbed.

I hope you will pardon me for this disturbance, but I feel so kindly to you and yours that I wanted you to see Johnson's letter. With kindest wishes for you and yours, I am,

G. A. Chaires, Tallahassee or Chaires F. R. & N. R. R.

endorsed:

G. A. Chaires; mentions offer of money and encloses letter of Reverdy Johnson.

Reverdy Johnson to G. A. Chaires.

(Washtn.) 15th May '66

Dr. Sir

Your note of the 5th is just recd.

I shall write you and our Southern friends, in solicitous sympathy for Mr. Davis, and would rejoice to see him released. I am not however one of his counsel, not having been applied to by him, or under his authority, to be so.

If I had been, and his trial was to be had, when my duties in the Senate (at this time as, I suppose you know, all important) were at an end, I would serve him faithfully. He has however I hear, able counsel who I doubt not will do all that can be done in his defence.

Very respty. yr obdt. servt.

REVERDY JOHNSON

G. A. Chaires Esq. Tallahassee.

R. Randolph Stevenson to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

April 12th 1886. Upper Musquodoboit P. O. Halifax County, Nova Scotia.

My Dear Friend:

The shifting waves of misfortune have drifted me back again to the country that afforded me an asylum at the close of the war in 1865. After my financial losses in connection with the publication of my Book on the "Andersonville Prison," and the total failure of some friends to reimburse me partially for my losses, I was invited by some friends here to return to Nova Scotia, which I did some years ago, with my four little children,-my wife having died in Farmville, Virginia in 1878, and my eldest son being accidentally drowned the year after his mother's death. The afflictions of an overruling Providence have fallen heavily upon me, but it is all right. I know that "man proposes but it is God that disposes." I was by my connection with the Andersonville Prison ostracised I might say, socially as well as politically in my native land, and being without means I concluded to end the remnant of my days away from those who have been more fortunate in obtaining offices and emoluments than myself. I presume, if I had knelt and fawned around the "golden calf" at Washington, as some others have done, my circumstances at present might have been otherwise; but as it is, I prefer self-expatriation and poverty rather than to ask pardon for crimes which I never committed. Colonel J. Taylor Wood and myself are the only "remnants" of the Southern Confederacy in this part of the world.

I notice by the press dispatches that you expect to deliver a Lecture shortly at Montgomery Ala. I hope that I may be fortunate enough to get a copy of it, as I see but little news

from the South in this far-off country.

Well, my only excuse for troubling you with this letter is, that I wish to say to you that I am pleased to see that you are still able to raise your voice in defence of our brave Comrades who "now sleep on fame's eternal camping ground," and whose memory will be kept green in the hearts of all men who have the honesty to appreciate the courage and devotion of the defenders of "Constitutional Liberty in the Southern Cause."

Please accept my best wishes for the health and welfare of

yourself and family and believe as ever

Yours sincerely and truly,

R. RANDOLPH STEVENSON.

endorsed:

R. R. Stevenson, M.D., of Andersonville; from Halifax, April '86.

W. P. Chilton to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Montgomery, Alabama. April 19th, 1886.

General Davis, Dear Sir:

The foregoing letter (of four pages) is a copy of a letter which I mailed to you on the 28th ult., same as to a few personal references which have no bearing on the subject alluded to, above.

It is probable in view of the irregularity or uncertainty of mails caused by the "floods"—that the letter did not reach you, as I have had no acknowledgment. I trust it will not trouble you to have your Secretary inform me if the Copy is received; and the letter, you can answer, if you see proper at leisure.

Yours,

(Signed) W. P. Chilton.

(Following is a draft of the Copy mentioned in this letter)

Montgomery, Alabama. March 28th, 1886.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Dear Sir:

The friends of the late Hon. William L. Yancey have in view the completion of his biography, which was begun during the war by Hon. William F. Samford, and continued by Hon.

Clement C. Clay up to the period of his death.

But looking over your highly interesting works, they no where find the mention of his name. The future reader (or of generations to come) in perusing such a biography as will be written of Mr. Yancey, will be surprised in turning to your own historical writings for further information, to find that there has been no mention of the name; and in view of the distinguished position which you hold as the acknowledged leader of the Confederate cause, this omission would doubtless interfere with that impression on the public mind which the friends of Mr. Yancey would desire to make; and to which they think his eminent position and ability would entitle him.

My own view of this omission in your works, is that you discussed the subject of secession from your position in the Senate,

rather than from the standpoint of the people.

If there be nothing in the nature of personal antagonism in the past between Mr. Yancey and yourself, (which if once existing, and however overlooked by you, might render personal eulogy distasteful) though I have no intimation of anything of this kind, it would be gratifying to his friends and especially to his family to have some expression from you at your earliest leisure relating to him that could be perpetuated, in his biography.

You will find a lengthy sketch of him in "Garrett's Public Men of Alabama". If you should not have the work, I can procure a copy at the bookstore of Joel White & Co. of this City

and send to you with pleasure.

Mr. Yancey was twice in the United States Congress, and but for the war would have been elected to the Senate. He was regarded as the greatest, or one among them, of the Southern leaders; and was the Author of the Alabama resolutions, which made protection in the territories by Congress as the ultimatum of a continuance of the Southern Rights Party with the National Democracy; and you are of course familiar with his great speech in the Charleston Convention, which occasioned the disrup-

tion of that body, on the adoption of the "majority report" which favored the Douglas idea of territorial sovereignty.

After Alabama and other States had withdrawn from the Convention, Mr. Yancey was approached on the subject of concession and compromise, and indicated his willingness to heal the breach if possible, and consistent with principle; but ex-Gov. Winston who had been a Union man, and Douglas Democrat, declined to reconsider; and in this led the majority of the Alabama delegation. I state these facts from memory; but they are true;

indeed they are historical.

When the Provisional Confederate Government was organized Mr. Yancey was most prominently mentioned in connection with the Presidency; but it was finally decided by his own friends that your election would be best; and it is my recollection that Mr. Yancey gave you his cheerful support; and was at the head of the Committee (probably) that met you at Opelika en route from Washington, and had the honor of accompanying you to this City. I think in his public introduction at the Exchange balcony he remarked, "the man and the occasion had met". His entire speech was timely and appreciative. With his subsequent course you are familiar, as commissioned Minister, or Agent to England; and afterwards a member of the Confederate Senate. He died in 1864 still hopeful of the success of the Confederacy.

Pardon me in thus wearying you, but I mention these facts lest some of them in the great magnitude of events which have crowded upon you, some of them may have been forgotten.

As in connection with my father I was a law partner of Mr. Yancey (firm name Chilton & Yancey) and a warm friend and personal admirer, I know much of his private, as well as public life and there are many beautiful incidents relating to him, which at some time I hope to contribute in aid of the work in view.

I am glad to know that you have in contemplation a visit to our City, and will honor us with an address in aid of the Monumental fund. You will be most cordially welcomed. . . .

I have the honor to be with great respect,

(Signed) W. P. CHILTON.

H. D. McDaniel 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

STATE OF GEORGIA. EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT.

Atlanta, Ga. April 25, 1886.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Montgomery, Ala.

Dear Sir:

In order to give our people an opportunity to pay their respects to you, during your proposed visit to this City, it would give me great pleasure to have you receive them at the Executive Mansion, at such hour on Friday next, as may suit your convenience. I regret that a previous engagement to go to Savannah, on May 1st, forbids the designation of a later day for this purpose, but I trust that the journey from Montgomery will be accomplished without fatigue, and that your strength will be equal to this demand upon it.

With great Respect I am, Dear Sir,

Very Truly yours,

(Signed) Henry D. McDaniel.

Mr. Davis at Montgomery, Ala.

(From The World, New York, Wednesday, April 28, 1886.)

MONTGOMERY, Ala., April 27.—This section seems to have gone wild with excitement. More than fifteen thousand citizens stood in the muddy streets in a drizzling rain to welcome Jefferson Davis to the capital of Alabama. He reached here about 8 o'clock in a special car taken to Beauvoir for his use by the Mayor and a delegation of prominent citizens. It was tastefully decorated and for 200 miles its rumbling wheels had awakened enthusiasm. Wherever the train stopped there were crowds of people, who brought enthusiasm and flowers for their old chief. Half a car-load of floral offerings were showered upon him during his trip and thousands of other tokens of love.

As the train drew into the depot here it was received with the

¹McDaniel, Henry Dickinson (1836- ?), a lawyer and political leader, was born at Monroe, Ga., September 4, 1836, graduated from Mercer University in 1856, and was educated for the bar in 1857. He was a member of the Secession convention of Georgia in 1861; entered the Confederate army, and rose to the rank of major in the 11th Georgia Infantry. He was a member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1865; was a member of the State House of Representatives, 1873-1874; a member of the State Senate, 1874-1883; and governor of Georgia from 1883 to 1886.

boom of many cannons and the old familiar vell of the Southern multitude. There were thousands of people at the railroad, and the scene both there and on the street beggars faithful description. It was with difficulty that he could reach his carriage. When he and General Gordon were finally seated in the barouche and the four white horses began to draw it up street there was such a sight as I never witnessed in many years' writing of events of this character. The boom of artillery grew louder and the crash of small arms and fireworks mingled strongly with the cheers of the half-wild populace as the procession moved. Added to the flash of the colored fires from the curb-stones was the constant discharge of Roman candles, rockets and bombs. Then the flames of the variously colored lights and lanterns which lined the streets, and the many lighted windows and brilliant electric sparks, helped to make a perfect archway of fires more than half a mile long. The journey up the street in the fast-falling rain was slow, on account of the surging crowd which pressed upon the carriage at every step. The Montgomery Grays, clad in the old regulation cadet cloth, so familiar during the war, marched in front, preceded by a band playing "Dixie". Following the vehicle containing Mr. Davis marched the Montgomery Blues in the regulation uniform of our standing army.

When the hotel was reached the crowd had swelled in volume until the streets and squares surrounding it were a sea of faces. As the driver drew up in front of the entrance a motto, "Our Hero," caught his glance on the opposite side of the street, and "Welcome" was twined in evergreens over the door. Just as he alighted a great piece of fireworks extending nearly across the square, was set off, making in flame the words, "Welcome, Our Hero," surmounted by the eleven stars representing the States of the Confederacy. Mr. Davis seemed overwhelmed with the heartiness of his reception, and as he was led into the hotel he kept constantly bowing his head with an evident show of emotion. When he reached the top of the stairs leading to his room, crowds of ladies awaited his coming. Some of them lost their self-possession in the excitement of the moment and literally threw their arms about his neck, and as he passed through the short hall they constantly gave vent to their expressions of regard for him. As he entered his room they threw flowers in his way, and his apartment, floor, bed and furniture, was strewn with roses, so that it may truthfully be said that he walked into it on a bank of flowers. Taking it all in all, it was a remarkable sight and one that will never fade from the memory of anyone who witnessed it.

A SPEECH CUT SHORT.

As soon as partial quiet had been restored and Gen. Gordon had been able to press through the crowd and join the ex-President, Mr. Davis was led out on the same veranda, from which he announced his acceptance of the leadership of the Confederacy in 1861. He was received again with unbounded enthusiasm, which was with difficulty quieted enough to allow him to speak. After partial order had been restored he said:

"With a heart full of emotion I greet you again." Just at that moment the crazy brass band, which had gone into the hotel, struck up "Dixie", and the indignation of the multitude knew no bounds. While they were trying to restore order Mr. Davis was taken away to his room, but not until he had had a good, earnest look at the remarkable picture before him.

THE CONFEDERACY'S FIRST CAPITAL DECORATED.

Everywhere in Montgomery to-day are the evidences of rejoicing. Business houses and private residences are hung with the national colors. The little State House on the hill is literally laden with the Stars and Stripes and illuminated with electric lights. Thousands of throats give and echo enthusiastic hurrah. One hundred guns from cannon once used in war belched forth their warning and welcome. Soldiers in uniform march through the streets, citizens in procession move through the highways, and long trains of carriages bear distinguished men towards the centre of this beautiful city.

One of the papers of the capital this morning announced: "We are fixing to paint the sky. Now let Dixie reign." This promise is to-night in a great degree fulfilled. The town has been painted and Dixie reigns. When the train drew into the depot about 8 o'clock to-night, bearing Jefferson Davis to the capital of Alabama, that capital was a flood of light and a picture of beauty.

The broad thoroughfare which leads from the depot to the Capitol Building, overlooking the city and surrounding country, is a mass of people and blaze of light; Chinese lanterns line the streets, and the windows of both business and private houses shine with thousands of lights. The decorations, which are liberal to prodigality, are in the hands of Frank Foster, who brings them from Ohio. He is a wounded Yankee soldier and a member of the Grand Army of the Republic. It looks curious enough to see him wearing his badge of honorable service on the

other side while hanging bunting by the ton to honor the President of a Government which was born in this place a quarter of a century ago, and died four years later. The electric illumination is also in charge of a Northern man. In fact, there seems to be an effort on the part of all to wipe out all distinctions between the sections in this final offering to Mr. Davis. The sentiment of the people, and especially of this part of the South, seems to be aroused to the highest pitch. It is just a little more than twenty-five years since Mr. Davis first came to Montgomery to be inaugurated President of the Confederacy. His journey hither in those days was marked with the wildest acclaim of an excited people. Then his people were crazy for war; now they are as earnest for peace. Of the people, every one seems to feel as though everything said and done should be estimated by the rest of mankind as the votive offering of the new present to the old past.

1861-1886.

This visit by Mr. Davis to Montgomery naturally revives many strange recollections of his inauguration and the beginning of the conflict. Of course, he finds things here much changed. He sees electric cars in the streets; his way uptown is lighted with electric lights. Class distinctions have been in a measure wiped out. New methods have arisen in business as well as in politics. The pleasant residence which he occupied after his inauguration as President is now a boarding house. It is still known as the First Confederate White House. The Government Building, as it was then called, standing on Commerce Street, just below the Exchange Hotel, is converted into a feed and granary store. The upper part of the building, where the cabinet used to have their offices, is now a quiet hotel. The old Treasury Department is also a grocery store, and a large number of the darkies who were then employed in the service of organizing the Confederacy are still about the streets looking on with open-eyed wonder at what is going on to-night.

The Capitol Building, where he took the oath of office, on the summit of the hill, is standing just as it was then. It is a good-sized whitestone building surrounded by a large green park. At the right of the structure the Soldier's Monument is to be built, the corner-stone of which Mr. Davis is to lay. The Exchange Hotel, where he found food and lodging on that memorable day in 1861, looks very much as it did then, but to-night it is so draped with bunting, evergreens and flowers that he cannot

possibly recognize it. Room 101, which he occupied in those eventful days, is again his home. The corridor leading to it is an arch of Union flags, over the door is hung the picture of Robert E. Lee, and around it are two American flags falling carelessly on either side of the casement to the floor. This room has been newly furnished for the occasion, and the bed, of the latest pattern, is covered with a quilt sent here expressly for the occasion, which covered Lafayette on his return to this country.

Mr. Davis naturally came here very tired, although he looked exceedingly well. He was very early left to his rest and his reflections, for as soon as the crowd was told of his wish for quiet they left for their homes.

People from a distance who do not know of the emotional character of our fellow citizens here, cannot imagine the extent and significance of this demonstration. It is to be continued a week. Mr. Davis and Gen. Gordon speak to-morrow at the fair grounds, and this by-play in the drama of our new nationality will be set in new scenery.

C. S. Wooton to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

La Grange, N. C. April 27th 1886.

My dear Sir:

I was reading in the paper today an account of your wonderful memory, your ability to recall faces that you had not seen in a long time.

This reminds me of what I heard of Father, the late Council Wooten say. He visited Richmond during the seven days fight in 1862 to look after my brother who was in the army and while there he called on you to see you about getting a pardon for a deserter, a soldier from this neighborhood.

Two years afterward in 1864 he visited Richmond again, and he called on you again and he said you instantly recognized his face and recalled his visit two years before in behalf of the deserter and that you remarked that his coming had saved the poor fellows life.

My father was always an old fashioned States Right Democrat of the Jefferson-Calhoun school and was an ardent admirer of you. I am of the same stripe and believe in the theory of Government as taught by Mr. Calhoun, and also by yourself. I have read everything that ever came from your pen with great pleasure. I saw you once in 1870 at the Greenbrier White Sulphur Springs. I saw you when you left there and went to Europe this fall.

God has certainly blessed you in sparing you to live in good health to such a good old age and may he bless you the re-

mainder of your days.

With great admiration for you, I am, Very Respectfully,

(Signed) C. S. WOOTEN.

I would be glad if you would write me a letter as I would like to transmit it to my little girl who is now five years old.

Speech of Jefferson Davis at Montgomery, Ala.
(From The New York World, April 29, 1886.)

MONTGOMERY, ALA., April 28,—Another day of excitement and enthusiasm. The sun sets to-night upon twenty-four hours of applause, mingled with noisy bands, marching soldiers and booming cannon. Even a drenching rain, lasting most of yesterday, as well as through the night and for many hours to-day, could not dim this Southern ardor.

Few in the city have slept much since this ado began. Last night there were preparations for to-day going on. Early this morning the trains brought in new recruits, with more music and fresh hurrahs, and Mr. Davis was overwhelmed with visitors. There was much noise and a crush of people. Everything was good-natured, but there was that extravagance in act and utterance so characteristic of a sentimental people. Just after daylight, when the newsboys appeared on the streets with the local papers, fresh fun began. The *Dispatch* added new fuel to the fires of enthusiasm by such paragraphs and expressions as these:

Not again will these things be.

Patriotic airs stir the Southern heart.

What would they think who repose in patriot graves?

To the world: Behold us rendering honor to whom honor is due.

It seems that the strains of Dixie already rend the air.

The fame of this day will flash like lightning throughout the world.

We honor the furled under the unfurled flag.

President Davis, Gen. Gordon.

Crown these idols with honor's diadem.

Soldier true and Statesman great, Montgomery salutes you.

Hail to the peerless sons of Dixie.

Mr. Davis, the first capital of the Confederacy extends greet-

ings. You have captured the city. It is thine.

Look out upon its tall and beautiful spires, its magnificent residences, its broad streets, filled with thousands of human souls, who have travelled hundreds of miles to do you honor, and call them thine-all thine.

The older and more conservative Daily Advertiser newspaper gave this advice and statement of the cause and occasion: "It is saying nothing new and yet something true to write down this event as without its parallel in human history. The head of a people who fought for independence and who were beatenhe is the only man among them whom the conquering government has never forgiven—in one sense the sole survivor of a divided past— The two peoples are one again, and peace is brooding over all things. We are sharers in the Government, equal participants in its honors and in its duties. It is now as if the past had never been. The great principle of free government has stilled the passions and hatreds of war. Freedom demonstrates how wise are her followers, and in no other land has freedom been so busy with her lessons that her eyes can see such fruits as Alabama shows the world to-day. In this time of gala welcome to an honored guest, Montgomery and Alabama must not forget that it is a national event they celebrate. Fifty million people are looking this way and will stop to-morrow to see what we have done. More than that, for the cables will be busy and the Old World will pause for a moment to wonder at free America, and wish that forgiveness and forgetfulness and all charity had a home amid them too.

"Nor can we pay too large a tribute to this man. He is one of us, his fame is our fame, his virtues our virtues, his sins, if, indeed, he has any sins, they too are ours. Of his glorious record we are proud, and of his stainless life we should be humble imitators. He comes to the capital that first hailed him chief. The same capital hails him chief again, chief of our hearts and of our homes."

CURIOUS CHANGES IN TWENTY-FIVE YEARS.

This appears to be the temper of all. Not a harsh word seems to have been spoken. The talk of all circles is inoffensive to any

one, unless an unstinted demonstration of love for Mr. Davis may have stirred some small soul to anger. Yet there is a great study in such scenes as are here shifting. There is a broad incongruity in many of the phases of this reunion. While the great crowd was this afternoon cheering Jefferson Davis and Gen. Gordon to the echo, the Union soldier from Ohio who decorated the State-House and town was flying the Union Jack, that enveloped the body of fighting Joe Hooker when he died, from the top of the stand beyond the Capitol building.

There were other equally strange incidents which vividly recall memories of the past and point to brighter hopes for the future. It is true that these hopes have found little or no expression here, but it is best for all to bear in mind that this is a peculiar as well as a great occasion. It is a social offering the Southern people bring their old chief. It is all they can offer him, and all he would receive. He accepts it all with the flag of the Union for his guard and the chief emblem of his welcome. When he was last here twenty-five years ago and stood on the steps of the Capitol Building just where he stood to-day, a young girl drew the Confederate flag up the flagstaff amid the shouts of a frenzied people. The lass, now grown to womanhood, a granddaughter of President John Tyler, looked on at this curious change now, as did Col. Savre, who unfurled it. The woman is now a school-teacher, the man a quiet resident of this progressive city.

The mighty changes of the past quarter of a century are again brought home to the former chieftain when he goes to his hotel. He is the guest of Mr. West, a Boston man. It is a Yankee who makes both himself and Gen. Gordon comfortable with the best in the land. All these changes, advances and striking contrasts are a part of the useful lesson. This picture is to teach the whole country. Every one can see its lights and shadows, but like everything else it will please and displease. There is nothing in it but a harmless sentiment, the expression of which is pleasant to these people and harmless to everyone else. There is so much of retrospect in this meeting and mingling that it is hard to make a picture of even the chief events.

AN ENTHUSIASTIC RECEPTION.

Towards noon the rain ceased and for a few moments the sun shone. As if by magic bands of music appeared and infantry soldiers in blue and gray passed up and down the streets. Soon the yellow trappings of a company of cavalry glittered in the sunlight as it swung into line on the main thoroughfare. There was a bugle blast and a battery of artillery galloped up the road and turned into the public square, which the Exchange Hotel overlooks. Then there were shouts for Davis, without a response. Finally a barouche drawn by four gray horses drew up to the hostelry and Mayor Reese escorted the guest to it amid the shouts of the people and to strains of "Dixie."

But a moment for preparation and the procession of soldiers and citizens moved up the main street towards the Capitol. Despite the mud, thousands were upon the streets and Mr. Davis received an ovation that touched him deeply. At the Capitol a great crowd had assembled, and as he approached it broke into the wildest cheers, which were long and hearty. Before he alighted the Montgomery Blues and Greys had pressed the people back and stood at a present as Mr. Davis, leaning on the arm of Mayor Reese, passed between their lines. Following came Gen. Gordon, with Miss Winnie Davis on his arm, and Miss Gordon came with Gov. O'Neal. All the way to the steps of the building the excited populace kept yelling, and Mr. Davis, with hat in hand, kept constantly bowing to their salutes. Just before he reached the step upon which he took the oath of office as President of the Confederacy the rain began to fall.

As he faced the great multitude he found even the weather was not the same as when he stood there before. The stars and stripes instead of the stars and bars met his eye everywhere. The sky was overcast and the sun was hid instead of shining bright and beautiful, as on that other memorable day when on the spot he assumed the leadership of this section for war. Not a familiar face that looked up at him with approval then greeted him to-day. Not a member of the Confederate Congress that elected him President was there to welcome him. None of his old Cabinet, although most of them were younger men than he, stood ready to grasp the hand of their old chief. They are all dead. So also is every other man of prominence who was a part of the great melodrama of twenty years ago.

A DRAMATIC SCENE.

As Mr. Davis took his seat between the two central Corinthian pillars the scene was a spirited and dramatic one. The steps of the building was crowded with ladies, who, by the way, have been far ahead of the sterner sex in their adoration of Mr. Davis. Men, women and children filled the large ground and soldiers and musicians crowded about the foot of the steps. Off to the

right, the battery of artillery had gone into position and limbered up its pieces, ready to fire. Around the man for whom all this display was created sat ladies, some of them fanning him, and men who have known him in war and peace. To his right sat Gen. Gordon, looking every inch a soldier. His strong figure was in strange contrast to that of his old Commander-in-Chief, whose pinched and furrowed face shows so plainly the marks of age and care.

To Gen. Gordon's right sat a group of ladies worthy of description. First came Mrs. Gordon, who followed her husband through all the war, in both victory and defeat. She was always near him. Next to her sat her daughter, a young lady beautiful enough to tempt any artist, but whose charms of complexion, perfectly formed features, bright eyes and symmetrical figure cannot be duplicated on canvas. But the central figure of the party, on account of her relationship and history, sat next to her. This was Miss Winnie Davis, the only child of the man who is being so honored. She was born in Richmond, while her father was the President of these people. Her whole life has been since the war, and as her education has kept her abroad a great deal, she has known little of the hearts and homes of Southern people. As they are to-day thrown open to her father, there is no wonder that her eyes would fill with tears now and then as she saw for the first time how they loved and honored him. She bears in quite a degree her distinguished parent's likeness. Her hair is dark, and, without being a decided brunette, she would pass for one. She has a sharp eye, as her father has, and is about the medium height. Her manners are easy and her mind well cultivated by study and travel. She is an artist and has painted some very clever pictures. Next to her was Miss Reese, the Mayor's daughter, and Miss Lizzie Waller, Mrs. Davis's niece.

This party was, after Mr. Davis, the centre of attraction for the whole gathering. One of the touching incidents of the day was the appearance of Mrs. Clement C. Clay, who was with her husband in prison at Fortress Monroe with Mr. Davis. Above and about all the ladies and gentlemen moved and hung the emblems of the revered union, seeming almost a menace to the words and actions which have made this day memorable in the annals of our new national life. Nearly as long as it has taken me to faintly describe this remarkable scene the people cheered their ex-President. Finally, when order was restored, Mayor Reese, a fine-looking Southerner, arose and said: "My countrymen, with emotions of most profound reverence I introduce to the highest type of Southern manhood the Hon. Jefferson Davis."

REMARKS OF MR. DAVIS.

As the old man arose there was another deafening shout so long drawn out that it seemed for a time as though he was not going to get a chance to speak. When the applause died down to a quiet, he said:

"My Friends: It would be vain if I should attempt to express to you the deep gratification which I feel at this demonstration. But I know that it is not personal, and therefore I feel more deeply grateful, because it is a sentiment far dearer to me than myself. You have passed through the terrible ordeal of war, which Alabama did not seek. When she felt her wrongs too grievous for further toleration she sought the peaceable solution. That being denied her, thunders of war came ringing over the land. Then her people rose in their majesty; gray-haired

seers and beardless boys eagerly rushed to the front.

"It was that war which Christianity alone approved—a holy war for defense. Well do I remember seeing your gentle boys, so small, to use a farmer's phrase, they might have been called seed-corn, moving on with eager step and fearless brow to the carnival of death; and I have also looked upon them when their knapsacks and muskets seemed heavier than the boys; and my eyes partaking of a mother's weakness, filled with tears. Those days have passed. Many of them found nameless graves; but they are not dead. They live in memory and their spirits stand out, the grand reserve of that column which is marching on with unfaltering steps toward the goal of constitutional liberty. (Applause). It were in vain if I should attempt, as I have already said, to express my gratitude to you.

"I am standing now very nearly on the spot where I stood when I took the oath of office in 1861. Your demonstration now exceeds that which welcomed me then. This shows that the spirit of Southern liberty is not dead. (Long and continued applause). Then you were full of joyous hopes, you had every prospect of achieving all you desired, and now you are wrapped in the mantle of regret. And yet that regret only manifests more profoundly, and does not obliterate, the expression of your sentiments.

"I felt last night, as I approached the Exchange Hotel, from the gallery of which your peerless orator, William L. Yancey, introduced me to the citizens of Montgomery, and commended me in language which only his eloquence could yield, and which far exceeded my merit—I felt, I say again, that I was coming to my home—coming to a land where liberty dies not and serious sentiments will live forever. (Applause). I have been promised, my friends, that I should not be called upon to make a speech, and therefore I will only extend to you my heartfelt thanks. God

bless you, one and all, old men and young boys, and the ladies above all others, who never faltered in our direst needs." (Loud and long continued applause).

There was much that was striking about the ex-Confederate's words and manner, and he was cheered to the echo. At times his keen eye would flash as with the fires of youth and again he would show deep emotion. He seemed to recognize fully the depth of difference between his former and his present visit, and spoke of it. Every word he chose was uttered in full round tones, and the old man seemed to live again in the mighty past.

GEN. GORDON'S SPEECH.

As he sat down the crowd cheered him and the band played "Dixie". Then followed Gen. Gordon. Old Gov. O'Neal, who was a captain, as he was at the outbreak of the war, introduced him as the Thunderbolt of the Army of Northern Virginia. As the eminent soldier arose he was met with cheers no less hearty than those given his former chief. He looked and spoke well; in fact, he never appeared at better advantage, and his eloquent picture of Mr. Davis as he appeared at Bull Run and again in prison at Fortress Monroe brought tears to the eyes of many of his listeners and all through he spoke with great eloquence and power. He said:

"Here, amid the prayers and hopes, the aspirations and apprehensions of a proud, brave, free and freedom-loving people, was christened the young republic, destined to only four years of meteoric life as a nation, but to an eternity of renown. Here the Chief Executive of that young republic—its first and its last President—called by the united voice of the representatives of his people, modestly but firmly assumed the stupendous responsibility of his high office. I may be pardoned, even in his presence, a brief allusion to two memorable occasions—the only two-upon which it was my privilege to meet him from 1861 These occasions illustrate the very climax in the antithesis of fortune. The one was in victory, the other in defeat. On the one he was a President; on the other a prisoner. On the one occasion he rode with lofty bearing on the battlefield of the first Manassas, the constitutional commander-in-chief of a victorious army; on the other he lay incarcerated in Fortress Monroe, the vicarious sufferer for his vanquished people.

"Of these two scenes, the one in the Fortress was more profoundly impressive. Its lesson is of inestimable value to

the young men of our country. To my mind, great and grand as he was in the hour of his most splendid triumph, he was greater and grander still in the hour of his deepest humiliation. And when alienations and bitter memories are gone, when the crucial test of historical analysis shall be fully, fairly and truthfully made—then his name and his fame, his conspicuous services to the country before the war, his unrivalled State papers and manly utterances during the war, and his moral elevation and matchless fortitude as prisoner of State after the war, will command universal respect and challenge unqualified admiration."

Gen. Gordon then went on to say that he did not believe at all that scenes like the present should be avoided. On the contrary, such reunions were necessary to a complete and thorough obliteration of all sectional feeling. The soldier or the citizen of the North or the South who would frown on such gatherings in either section, who does not esteem the renown won by both armies in the late war, was narrow in his conception and prejudiced in his vision.

Gen. Gordon closed his remarks as follows:

"We were defeated in battle and now let the South's plighted faith to the permanent Union of the States and the legitimate results of the war be forever unquestioned; let all constitutional policies that tend to unite more closely the sections and people, and at the same time to promote simplicity and economy of administration, find among you the sincerest and most enlightened champions."

As Gen. Gordon uttered the last words the crowd broke into cheers. The band played the "Bonnie Blue", the artillery belched forth its thunder-voiced salute and the day's celebration was over. Later in the afternoon the ex-President held a reception, and to-night he is with Gen. Gordon and the ladies of the two families at the Montgomery Theatre, where Florence Elmore, a native of this city, is playing the "New Magdalen" for the benefit of the soldiers' monument, the corner-stone of which Mr. Davis came here to lay to-morrow. Both he and Gen. Gordon speak on that occasion and then journey to Atlanta, where another ovation awaits them.

T. C. Phillips to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Traver Rulare, California. April 29th, 1886.

To Jefferson Davis, Sir:

Picking up the papers last night I saw that you and your daughter were on a trip to Montgomery. Alabama to attend a celebration to be held there I thought in an instant it would be good plan for me to write to you about a something me and some of my companions in arms has often spoken of now we lived down in Petersburg at the time John Brown and Cook and their followers made their Raid into Harpers ferry. We joined the Ranks as good constitunal Democrats and was there and assisted at their Hanging in Charleston Virginia Now I very often say that I did so and I am proud of it we have nothing to show that we did Now I should be as proud of a Medal for my services in that affair as I am of the two I have from the Union Army we never got no pay for it and never expected any if there is going to be a Medal struck of for the Heroes of that day or if there is one already let me have one as early as possiable with every success to the South and her people God bless them Respectfully

> (Signed) T. C. Phillips. P. O. Traver Tulare Cala. U. S.

P.S. An answer by return will oblidge.

Speech of Jefferson Davis at Montgomery.
(From The New York World, Friday, April 30, 1886.)

THE SOUTHERN LEADER DEDICATES A CONFEDER-ATE MONUMENT.

Montgomery, Ala., April 29.—Enthusiasm has finally spent its force, after two days of cannons, sky-rockets and ever-echoing yells. All is quiet again to-day. These generous-hearted people have reached the earth and have finished the real business for which Jefferson Davis was brought from his quiet home along the Gulf. At early dawn it was apparent that a people's spontaneous offering had been freely made and accepted. There was a calm abroad such as follows a storm. Sacred duties were to

be performed. The corner-stone to the monument of the Confederate dead was to be raised and the graves of dead comrades decorated with flowers. Therefore, everything was in keeping with the dignity of the occasion. Of course there were soldiers on foot and on horseback, artillery and civic societies joined in procession with Confederate veterans, and there was a great display, but it was not boisterous. There was little or no applause or noise, except such as the artillery made in firing a salute of honor to the dead.

The day broke bright and balmy—a pleasant relief from the rain of the past two days. The sun shone warm and bright; the surrounding country, in its green spring dress, covered with lovely flowers, made a picture beyond the power of words or brush to describe. Just before noon the procession formed to escort Mr. Davis to the spot just to the right of the Capitol building where the monument is to be erected. It was composed of the same forces that have paraded the streets almost continually since his arrival. He took his seat in the same carriage that has conveyed him everywhere he has gone and the same four gray horses drew it.

But when all these evidences of respect moved through the streets, there were few yells and the ex-President was greeted with most respectful silence. Even the large crowd that had gathered about the foundation of the monument only uncovered as their old chieftain moved through them and took his place on the gayly decorated and flower-strewn stand erected for his use. The description of the scene of yesterday will answer for the one to-day by substituting perfect weather for wet and dismal surroundings. The same prominent people were present and their faces are getting familiar. Miss Davis was by her father's side and Gen. Gordon and his beautiful daughter were near them.

MR. DAVIS RECALLS OLD MEMORIES.

The ceremony of laying the corner-stone was the old familiar one of the Masonic Order and Mr. Davis's part in it was his speech. As on yesterday, the veteran spoke with great earnestness and in tones easily heard by most of the large crowd present. The scene when he arose to speak was beautiful and impressive. He said:

"It is deeply gratifying to me to be presented to you by one on whom I leaned for advice when advice was wanted, whose stern qualities always made me sure that the judgment he was drawing was from the bottom of his heart. When you called him away, the place was missing which he once filled, and I have always desired to lay my hand upon him again. (Here Mr. Davis laid his hand upon Mr. Watt's shoulder amid loud applause.) Thus it was when we met the other night after years of separation. Some people in the room gave a sardonic smile to see two old weather-beaten men embrace, but our hearts were young,

though our heads were old.

"Associated here with so many memories thrilling and tender, I have felt that it were dangerous for me to attempt to speak to you as my heart would prompt me. Not that I am always treasuring up bitterness against any one, but I am overflowing with love and admiration for our beloved people. (Long applause) To avoid, therefore, anything which might be prompted by the fullness of my heart, for I believe I am case-heartened in that condition of non-citizenship which leaves me very little to fear—(applause)—for the purpose of guarding others rather than myself, I have prepared some notes that I might read which would not concern anything that would be constructive or hurtful. (Voices: "Go on; say what you please; you are in the house of your friends.")

"My friends, partners in joy and in sorrow, in trials and in suffering, I have come to join you in the performance of a sacred task, to lay the foundation of a monument at the cradle of the Confederate Government, which shall commemorate the gallant sons of Alabama who died for their country, who gave their lives a free-will offering in defense of the rights of their sires won in the War of the Revolution, and the State sovereignty, freedom and independence which was left as an inheritance to their posterity forever. These rights the compact of union was formed not to destroy, but the better to preserve and perpetuate. Who denies this cannot have attentively read the articles of confederation or the Constitution of the United States. The latter was formed and designed the better to effect the purpose of the

first.

"It is not my purpose to dwell upon the events of the war. They were laid before you yesterday by that great soldier in so able a manner as to require no supplement from me. Gen. John R. Gordon was the soldier who, when our times seemed darkest at Petersburg, was selected by his chieftain, Lee, as the best man to lead the charge, to repel the besieging army, to make a sortie, and attack in flank and reverse, to double up Grant's army; and if I may say so in his presence here, he failed, but his failure was due to the failure of his guides to carry him who proposed to go.

"Again, that man and gallant soldier was the only person whom Lee called at Appomattox when he wanted to know whether it was possible to break the line that obstructed his retreat towards the mountains of Virginia. He answered that it was impossible; that after four years of hard fighting his division was worn down to a fragment. Lee, like Washington, without knowing, perhaps, that Washington ever used the expression, said if he could reach the mountains of Virginia he could continue the war for twenty years. But when he found the line which obstructed his retreat could not be broken he said there was nothing to do but surrender. Be it remembered. however, that Lee was not the man who contemplated surrender as long as he had the power to fight or retreat, and when he came to the last moment of surrender he said to Gen. Grant: 'I have come to treat with you for the purpose of surrender, but, Gen. Grant, understand that I will surrender nothing that reflects upon the honor of my army.' Grant, like a man, said he wanted nothing that would have that effect, and that Lee might draw up the papers himself.

A DEFENSE OF THE SOUTH'S COURSE.

"It is not my purpose either to discuss the political questions on which my views have elsewhere and in other times been freely expressed, or to review the past, except in vindication of the character and conduct of those to whom it is proposed to do honor on this occasion. That we may not be misunderstood by such as are not wilfully blind, it may be proper to state in the foreground that we have no desire to feed the fires of sectional hate, while we do not seek to avoid whatever responsibility attached to the belief in the righteousness of our cause and the virtue of those who risked their lives to defend it. (Long applause and cheers.)

"Revenge is not the sentiment of a chivalrous people, and the anothegm that forgiveness is more easy to the injured than to those who inflict an injury was never better illustrated than in the present attitude of the two sections towards one another. Policy in the absence of magnanimity would have indicated that in a restored union of the States there should have been a full restoration of the equality privileges and benefits as they had existed. Though this has not been the case, yet you have faithfully kept your resumed obligations as citizens, and in your impoverishment have borne equal burdens without equal benefits. I am proud of you, my countrymen, for this additional proof of your fidelity, and pray God to give you grace to suffer and be strong. When your children's children shall ask what means this monument, there will be the enduring answer: 'It commemorates the deeds of Alabama's sons who died that you and your descendants should be what your fathers in the war for independence left you.'

"Alabama asserted the right proclaimed in the Declaration of

Independence as belonging to every people. She found that the compact of the union had been broken on one side, and was therefore annulled; that the Government of the United States did not answer the ends for which it was instituted, and with others of like mind proceeded to form a new confederation, organizing its powers in the language of the Declaration of Independence in such form as seemed to them most likely to affect their safety and happiness. This was not Revolution, because the State Government, having charge of all domestic affairs, both of person and property, remained unchanged. To call it revolution is a gross solecism—(applause)—as sovereigns never rebel, and only as sovereigns can form a national league. If the States had not been sovereigns there could not have been a compact of union. (Applause.) That the South did not anticipate. much less desire war, is shown by the absence of preparation for it as well as by the efforts made to secure a peaceful separa-

"The successful party always hold the defeated responsible for the war, but when passion shall have subsided and reason shall have resumed her dominion, it must be decided that the General Government had no constitutional power to coerce a State and that a State had the right to repel invasion. It was a national and constitutional right. (Applause.) From the early part of the century there had been threats and prophecies of a dissolution of the Union. These began at the North on the question of preserving the balance of power, and culminated during the war of 1812 on the decline of their trade, though the war was waged for the protection of sailors' rights.

THE WAR A NECESSITY.

"In the course of years the balance of power passed to the North, and that power was so used that the South, despairing of the peaceful enjoyment of their constitutional rights in the Union, decided to withdraw from it—this without injury to their late associates. The right to withdraw was denied, and the North made ready for war. The distant mutterings of the storm were readily understood by the people of Alabama. Grayhaired sires and beardless boys, all unprepared as they were, went forth to meet it. It required no Demosthenes to arouse them to the duty of resisting the invaders; no Patrick Henry to prepare them for the alternative of liberty or death. It was the people, not the leaders who resolved and acted.

"One sentiment inspired all classes. Yet I believe there were very few who did not regret the necessity which left them no alternative between fighting for their State or against it. Mothers, wives and daughters, choking back their sobs, cheered them on the path of honor and duty. With fearless tread these patriots,

untrained to war, advanced on many battle-fields to look death in the face. Though Alabama, like Niobe, must mourn her children in death, yet is her woe tempered by the glorious halo which surrounds their memory. For more than a century after his death it is said that Philip Devaloge's name was borne on the roll of La Tour d'Auvergne, to whom he belonged, and when his name was called it was answered from the ranks mort sur le champ d'honneur. Long, very long would be the list which would contain the names of Alabama's sons whose valor and fidelity would justify the same response. To name a few would be unjust to the many. They are all, therefore, left where they securely repose in the hearts of a grateful people. This monument will rest upon the land for which they died, and point upward to the Father who knows the motives as well as the deeds of his children, and at last resting in the land where justice may be rendered which may have been denied them here.

In conclusion, permit me to say though the memory of our glorious past must ever be dear to us, duty points to the present and the future. Alabama having resumed her place in the Union be it yours to fulfill all the obligations devolving upon all good citizens seeking to restore the General Government to its pristine purity and, as best you may, to promote the welfare and happiness of your common country. (Long applause.)

"Citizens of Alabama and ladies (facing the ladies on the stand)—for, to whatever side you may belong, it is your sex that has been true always in war and desolation—we hear of the valor and virtues and endearing names of the Spartan mothers, but tell me where, in all the history of nations, was ever such a spectacle seen as was witnessed in the Valley of the Shenandoah? How the tide of war ebbed and flowed! Sometimes the Confederates retreated, and sometimes they pursued. Those people who claimed to be our brethren had burned everything except the fences."

Ex-Gov. Watts—And they would have burned them had they not been of stone.

Mr. Davis turned and smilingly continued: "And why do you suppose they did not burn the fences? Because they were stone—'loud applause')—and yet there never was a time when a Confederate body of troops marched down that Valley that the ladies did not hang out little Confederate flags from their windows and give bread to the hungry soldiers. (Tremendous applause.) I have promised that I would not speak extemporaneously and I will not do it. God bless you one and all. I love you all from the bottom of my heart and give you thanks now for your kindness." (Tremendous, long continued applause and cheers.)

A TRIUMPHAL TOUR ARRANGED.

This address was carefully prepared and found approval in the applause of the people who heard it. After this effort Mr. Davis held a reception in the Governor's chamber, then returned to the hotel and dined. He then went out to help his hosts decorate the graves of their fallen comrades. After this beautiful ceremony was over, he returned to the hotel. This finished his work here. It closed, so far as this place is concerned, what the leading local paper here calls a pledge of the nation that is dead and gone. How this old man, who is fast nearing his eighty years, has stood the exactions of the past two days is a mystery to everyone. He has been moving about a great deal, and besides has met hundreds of people and shaken them by the hand. Yet he seems well and in the best of spirits. This welcome has evidently given him a new lease of life.

One old Confederate veteran, as he sat looking at him last night in the theatre box, while he was watching Florence Elmore playing "New Magdalen", turned to another old comrade at his

side and said: "The old man looks well, don't he?"

"Yes," replied the other; "as well as a brand new Confederate

postage stamp."

The committee from Atlanta reached here to-night with three special cars, and Mr. Davis will leave for that place early in the morning. All along the route great preparations have been made to do him honor. At Lagrange, the early home of the late Senator Ben Hill, the military companies will turn out, and 200 young ladies from the seminary all dressed in white, will present him with flowers. Upon arriving at the Gate City he will be welcomed by the school-children and taken to the residence of Mrs. Hill, whose guest both he and his daughter will be while there. He has finally been persuaded to extend his trip to Savannah to attend the interstate military drill, where Northern and Southern companies are to compete. It is held in honor of the Chatham Artillery, whose organization runs back to colonial days. On Sunday he will leave Atlanta for Sherman's Christmas gift to the Union cause. All the South is aflame and where this triumphant march is to stop I cannot predict. There is, however, a broad chance that what was only intended for a visit to this-the first capital of the Confederacy-may be extended to Richmond. Now that Mr. Davis has consented to go to Savannah, Charleston is clamoring for his presence. Macon, Ga., where he was first taken a prisoner after his capture by Wilson's cavalry, demands that he shall stop there.

If Mr. Davis goes to Charleston and to visit Sumter, as it now seems probable, the pressure for him to continue the journey to Richmond will be too great for him to resist. The danger is that he may break down. He is so gratified at the evidences of goodwill that greet him everywhere that he may undertake more than he can stand. But it is useless to multiply words. It looks to-night as though the scenes of the past two days in this city are to form but the framework of one of the greatest popular demonstrations accorded to anyone in this land.

(Signed) Frank A. Burr.

Jno. W. Phillips¹ to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Springdale, Washington County, Ark.
April 30th, 1886.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss. Dr. Sir.

I write you a few lines and ask you if you will be kind enough to answer a few questions. I saw you receive the dispatch that President Lincoln was killed. I want to know who and what was the man's name that gave it to you? What was the man's name you stopped with in Charlotte N. C. at that time? and was that talk you made on the steps in front of his house the last talk you ever made to the Confederate Army? I was there on a wagon only a few steps from you when you came out of the House and saw the tall slim man give you the message and you looked at it and handed it back to him and he read it so we could hear it but you did not. You then made the talk I speak of and you went back into the House. I came West and after coming some time I saw an account purporting to be the evidence of the man you stoped with and it said you read the message or dispatch aloud, and appeared pleased to hear it but I know such to be false. I have no other object for writing this only I have several times spoken of the circumstance and some persons seam to doubt the truth of it. It is now a few days over twenty one years since we were all there together, but the truth should be vindicated. If I am mistaken in any thing I have said please correct me. I stayed with Genl. Vaughans part of the Army untill after the money was divided and got Twenty

¹ Tennessee Confederate soldier.

Eight 50/100 Dollars and was paroled and then started back to East Tenn. to my home, but it was not long before I landed in this part of Arkansas and by the help (of) a kind Providence I am still alive. I am now nearly sixty years old. I have four sons the oldest Thirty one the youngest sixteen and not one of them drink any whisky. There is an old man lives in the west part of this county and his name is Thomas Ballard who says He was with you General Lee (Then Capt. Lee) Genl. Hancock and others out in the Indian Nation in the years 1832 1833 and 34—and has many things to say in regard to those old times. I am not living close to him and do not see him often.

Yours truly,

JNO. W. PHILIPS

Endorsed: Jno. W. Phillips, asking important questions.

Jefferson Davis' visit to Atlanta, Ga. (From The Constitution, Atlanta, Ga., May 2, 1886.)

The account of President Jefferson Davis' visit to Atlanta is given in The Constitution as follows:

A GREAT AND GLORIOUS DAY

A DEMONSTRATION SUBLIMELY GRAND AND UNSUR-PASSED.

The trains that rolled into Atlanta on Friday night brought fifteen thousand visitors. Those that rolled into the depot yesterday brought thirty-five thousand more.

At no period in her previous history has Atlanta had within her borders such a host. From every section of the State; from Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina; from a score of other States, including even those in the far North, the people came to do honor to * * * the reverend (revered) Davis.

At eight o'clock the Confederate veterans began to assemble at the courthouse, their rendezvous. They came in numbers almost countless. Delegations from all quarters of the state marched to the rendezvous and were received with cheers.

From Colonel Ben E. Russell, of Bainbridge, this telegram was received:

Bainbridge, Ga., May 1, 1886.— * * * "I deeply regret my inability to be with you to-day . . . It will be a glorious sight, I know, to see thousands of Confederate veterans greet their great leader, the grandest old man at the base of Ben Hill's monument. The sun might stand still to behold such a spectacle. God bless Jefferson Davis, and the brave men and fair women who will rejoice to do him honor this day.

(Signed) BEN E. RUSSELL."

MR. DAVIS'S CARRIAGE.

The instant the throng beheld the approach of Mr. Davis and his escort, hats were reverently removed, and a cheer that exceeded in volume and intensity that given when the idol of the south stepped from the depot on Friday reverberated up and down Broad and Marietta streets. It was caught up by the people that lined other streets and was carried on and on until at every point in the city it could be heard. History does not contain an account of such a grand and wonderful outburst from human throats. The veterans and "the young vets" repeated the scenes of Friday, except that no attempt was made to take Mr. Davis from the carriage.

Shouts of wild enthusiasm were sent up from thousands of throats as the carriage stopped at the entrance to the platform and Mr. Davis was assisted to alight.

"Hurrah for Jeff Davis!" was the almost universal shout.

When the ex-president's party reached the platform, a band struck up "Dixie". Some one yelled "Hurrah for Jeff Davis" and the shouting was renewed.

Mr. Grady said, in introducing Mr. Davis: "Never king inhabited more splendid palace than the millions of brave hearts in which your dear name and fame are forever enshrined. * * * Georgians, countrymen, soldiers and sons of soldiers, and brave women, rise and give your hearts voice, as we tell Jefferson Davis that he is at home among his people."

MR. DAVIS SPEAKS.

Amid the most stupendous cheers Mr. Davis advanced to the edge of the platform. He spoke as follows:

Ladies and Gentlemen: You have been, I believe, generally apprised that no address was to be expected from me. I came here to silently and reverently witness the unveiling of this statue of my friend. I came as one who wanted to show respect for a man who in victory or defeat was ever the same-brave, courageous and true. If I were asked from Georgia's history to name three men who were fair types of Georgians, I would take Oglethorpe the benevolent, Troup the dauntless, and Hill the faithful. (Great applause.) It is known to you generally, it has been told to you to-day what part he took in the struggle which has just passed. If it were expected of me, and I felt able to speak, I should feel that nothing could properly supplement the great orations to which you have listened. There is nothing to be added. It is complete. But there is something I may say of my dead friend. If he was the last to engage in the war between the states, he was the last to give it up. If he did not precipitate the controversy he stood by the wreck of our fortunes, and it was his voice that was raised loudest and rang clearest for Georgia to assert her sovereignty. When under the power of the conquering enemy—for they were still such—when paralyzed by defeat and poverty our people seemed to shrink back, hopeless of the future and despondent of the past, he wrote those notes on the situation that first kindled the fires of hope in Georgia and elsewhere. His voice rang out and called the people to remember that their cause was not lost; it was the eternal cause of truth and justice, and he invoked Georgians to renew the struggle in such form as has led to the independence you now enjoy. But I dare not speak of Hill personally. From the beginning to the end of the controversy he was one on whose shoulder I could place my hand and feel that its foundation was as firm as marble. He had nothing to ask, but he had much to give, and when I was the last from the south who could excite any expectation of benefit, it was Hill whose voice rose triumphant in the senate and mashed the ingenious Yankee down (Great cheering.) My friends, ours is the day of peace. The friend whose memory we have met to honor taught us the lesson of peace as well as resistance. He taught us that it was through peaceful methods we were to regain our rights. We have trodden the thorny path and passed over the worst part of the road. Let us still remember fealty to every promise we have given, but still let us love Georgia and her rights, and may her rights of freedom and independence, such as your fathers gave you, be yours and your childrens forever.

As Mr. Davis concluded he was led back to his seat by Dr. Spalding, while the vast sea of people sent up cheer after cheer.

MISS DAVIS INTRODUCED.

While the cheers that followed the speech of Mr. Davis were still ringing loudly, Mr. Grady and Dr. Spalding approached Miss Davis and led her forward before the great crowd. The wildest enthusiasm prevailed. Hats flew in the air and the cheering was like thunder. Miss Davis bowed and smiled.

Dr. Spalding said:

"It is my pleasure to introduce to you the daughter of the confederacy, the daughter of President Davis."

Again the crowd cheered, and after bowing gracefully several times, Miss Davis was led back to her chair.

The American Point of View of Honors to Mr. Davis.

(From The Constitution, Sunday, May 2, 1886.)

We alluded yesterday, in commenting on the poor little indignation meeting at Albany, N. Y., to the great necessity that exists at the North for the cultivation of a genuine American spirit—a spirit that knows how to tolerate and appreciate such demonstrations as have occurred in Montgomery and Atlanta, and which knows how to interpret the motives of the people of every section.

There have been outcroppings of this spirit in various quarters, and its manifestations are very hopeful. Yesterday we gave a paragraph from the Philadelphia News. The following from an editorial in the *Springfield Republican* (Mass.), aptly illustrates the feeling that northern people ought to allow to take possession of them:

We have reached that distance when we can recognize the genuine convictions that filled the men of the south, when twenty-five years ago they essayed to found a nation of their own. It was no trivial business of playing parts in an ingenious drama upon which they entered. Doubtless they underestimated the courage and the persistence of the north, but they addressed themselves to oppose the power of the nation with as serious purpose as ever any people had in revolution, and bore themselves bravely and resolutely to the end. And when that end came, it was not the dismissal of a company of actors that was witnessed, but the defeat of men devoted to what was in their estimation a

patriotic purpose. Their hopes and ambitions, their comfort and their wealth, all that had made their peculiar civilization, were gone; their confederacy was dead, and with no hope of resurrection. Now that time has removed that dire destruction to a historic distance, they gather to commemorate the lost cause with no desire to recall it, only to recognize it for what it was to them, to assert it to the world, and to go about their affairs again, content and proud in the greater and nobler patriotism

of their and our common country.

This is the way we read the honors to Jefferson Davis and the eulogiums of General Gordon upon the valor of the south. How could we respect the southern people if they did not believe in the thing they undertook to do, if they were not attached to its memory, if they did not honor their leaders and their soldiers, nor exalt their services and their sacrifices? They do well to cherish the sentiment that hallows their story. General Gordon is right in suggesting that the valor of the south must be held as a possession of the nation. Ten years ago the Republicans looked forward to the time when the dead of both sides in that great war would be honored together, as illustrating American manhood when brought to the supreme test of courage, endurance and devotion. The time is at hand. Ours is one country; all that has been done in it to the credit of the American character is the heritage of the whole country, not solely of one section.

There is no misinterpretation of motives here, and the kindly and patriotic expressions find a most cordial response in every southern heart. In the tribute to Mr. Davis on the part of our people, there is no quarreling with results, and those who gave their old leader unmistakable evidences of their devotion, have as strong a love for the union as it is, and as it will be, as can

be found in any section of the country.

We understand perfectly well that such manifestations of the American spirit, as we have quoted from the Springfield Republican, do not represent the sutlers and the politicians of the north. These will have their innings after awhile. The events that have taken place in this section, the demonstrations that have been made during the past few days will be made the basis of another political campaign. But what of it? The partisans and the sectionalists must have their day, and so far as recent demonstrations are concerned, they are welcome to do their worst. The honest manhood of the country will prevail in the end, and out of the confusion fraternity will grow—nay, it has grown and will grow.

Speeches of Jefferson Davis at the Chatham Artillery Centennial, Savannah, May 6, 1886.

(From The Constitution: Atlanta, May 7, 1886.)

Mr. Davis makes a spirited speech at the Monument of General Greene—The Drill Closing Out—Banquets among the Military—Anxious to get Home—Other News Notes.

SAVANNAH, Ga., May 6.—(Special).—The Chatham centennial is nearly over.

The most prominent feature of today's festivities, in connection with the Chatham Artillery centennial, was the unveiling of the new bronze tablets on the monument to General Nathaniel Greene, of revolutionary fame. * * * The day was magnificent, and the line of march on the streets and on the open space of the unveiling were throughd with people. The oration of the occasion was delivered by Colonel C. C. Jones, of Augusta, and was devoted to the character and of historical incidents of General Greene. After the oration a salute of thirteen guns was fired by the Chatham Artillery from the same guns they used at the unveiling of the monument over a half century ago.

At the conclusion of the firing of the salute, calls were made for Mr. Davis, in response to which he arose amid tremendous cheering, and spoke:

"It might be possible, he said, to speak at, but not to, this vast audience. He could not find words quite to fit the occasion. This gathering is significant, he said, as it expresses the sympathy of the people of Savannah on this centennial event. The two occasions—that the Chatham Artillery centennial and honoring of the memory of General Nathaniel Greene—were most happily blended together. The colonies of Rhode Island and Georgia stood shoulder to shoulder, battling for independence in 1776, and it was in that great crisis of our history that Rhode Island gave her son to Georgia to defend the common principles of state sovereignty and constitutional liberty which lived then, lives now, and which shall live forever! (Applause.)

"It is true, he said, that immediately after the late war, Georgia seemed for a time to have lost her birthright, but she regained her freedom, and with Rhode Island today stands shoulder to shoulder in defense of constitutional liberty.

Georgia threw open her arms to receive into her bosom that patriotic son of Rhode Island. (Applause.) Here he cast his anchor determined to stay as long as God spared him to breathe. and here he lived and died. These are memories that endear him to the state of Georgia and to everyone everywhere who loves liberty In 1776 the colonies acquired state sovereignty. They revolted from the mother country in a desperate struggle. That was the cause for which they fought. Is it a lost cause now? Never!" (and here the old man became eloquent and spoke with something like the fire and pathos of old.) "Has Georgia," he continued, "lost the state sovereignty which with Rhode Island she won in 1776? No, a thousand times, no! Truth crushed to earth will rise again. You may hold it down for a time but it will rise again in its might, clothed in all the majesty and power that God gave it, and so the independence of these states, the constitution, liberty, state sovereignty, which they won in 1776, and which Nathaniel Greene, a son of Rhode Island, helped to win for Georgia as well as for Rhode Island, can never die. I thank you for the honor of your regard, and I hope God may bless you."

At the close of Mr. Davis's remarks there was a mighty surge in the crowd, and the next moment the stage was filled by veterans eager to grasp the hand of the old statesman. So great was the rush that there was some danger of Mr. Davis being crushed. A lane was cleared, however, and he was escorted to the carriage in which he was conveyed to the city exchange. Here he gave a reception to the battalion of cadets of the South Carolina military academy. The boys stacked arms on Bay Street, and entering the exchange were introduced to Mr. Davis, who shook hands with each one. Mr. Davis remarked to them that the cadets at Charleston had always turned out the best men in the Palmetto State. As Mr. Davis resumed his seat, cheers were again given and the military marched back to the encampment.

This morning Mr. Davis and Miss Davis visited the Convent of the Sisters of Mercy. The incidents which led to the visit are best explained in the following letter of invitation, addressed to Mr. Davis by the sister superior:

"Honored Sir:

During the days that tried men's souls our convent had the distinguished honor of receiving as guest your then little daughter, Maggie, and Jeff, a sturdy boy, came regularly during Mrs. Davis's stay in the city, to recite lessons to one of the sisters. I

myself had the honor of three interviews with Mrs. Davis, who, before quitting Savannah, presented to the orphan girls confided to our care a piece of elegant tapestry work, still treasured and preserved at St. Mary's home in this city. As our calling debars us from mingling with the many who throng to do you reverence and we are second to none in admiration for the chief whose cause was that of our fathers and brothers, I write on the part of the Sisters of Mercy, to beg that you will honor our convent and sisterhood by making a personal call, if only long enough to enable us to tell our pupils of the future that we once entertained the first and last president of the confederacy. If our request is agreeable, and you can afford us so much pleasure, will you kindly name the day and hour."

The meeting with the sisters who took care of Miss Davis in 1865 was very affectionate. A recitation and address on the part of pupils was responded to by Mr. Davis, who paid the sisters the tribute that their high calling deserves. St. Mary's home was also visited where Miss Davis renewed her acquaintance with the sister superior.

A GERMAN IN HONOR OF MISS DAVIS.

From 12 to 2 o'clock today Miss Davis was present at a german tendered in her honor at the armory of the Savannah Volunteer Guards battalion. It was attended by the chivalry and beauty of Southern society circles. George W. Owens led the german with Miss Davis. She wore a white dress with a bouquet of roses in her sash. Miss Fannie Gordon, General Gordon's daughter, wore a dove colored dress, with an enormous bouquet in her belt, and she carried another in her hand.

ENTERTAINING THE STRANGERS.

At all of the armories of the Savannah military, magnificent banquets were spread to the visiting military tonight. The visitors were especially assigned to the several commands. The Governor's Horse Guards were the guests of the Georgia Hussars, and a right royal time they had. The Hussars are known as princely entertainers. Speeches and songs enlivened the occasion. The Gate City Guard are the guests of Savannah Volunteer Guards. Their armory is beautifully decorated, and everything is done tonight to make pleasure for the visitors.

At all the armories the visiting companies are being entertained and nothing is left undone to make the soldiers of the south and north feel at home. Hitherto the Chatham artillery have been the entertainers. Tonight the other military of Savannah take the visitors in hand. At the Guard armory Mr. Davis and Governor McDaniel, an honorary member, made speeches, and in response to toasts Capt. Milledge made a speech.

The Atlanta military are the lions of the evening, and at all the armories their appearance is greeted with shouts of welcome. The Chathams gave \$2,000 to the public. At the park extension

a pyrotechnic display attracted over 10,000 people.

At the banquet Mr. Davis entered while Governor McDaniel was speaking, and was greeted with tremendous cheering. When Governor McDaniel had concluded, Mr. Davis, in response to a continued ovation, made the most important speech yet delivered by him in this city. He said:

If Savannah needs a guard, here it is. If the United States needs defenders, here they are. If the United States needs troops for war, I don't know where they could get better, braver or more trustworthy soldiers than right here in Georgia. In the days of the colonies' existence, Georgians were taught the path of duty by a man who spent his fortune in taking debtors out of prison. Yours is a grand history—the empire state of the south! (Applause.) You gave to the Union of your original territory two states—Alabama and Mississippi—and they are proud of their parent. (Applause.) In the history of Georgia one thing always stood prominently distinct—the assertion and maintenance of independence and the dignity of sovereignty not the sovereignty that oppresses and encroaches upon that of others, but that which always uplifts its hand in defence. There are some who take it for granted that when I allude to state sovereignty, I want to bring on another war. I am too old for a fight again and God knows I don't want you to have the necessity of fighting again. (Applause.) However, if that necessity should arise, I know you will meet it as you always have discharged every duty you felt called upon to perform.

Mr. Davis paid a handsome compliment to the Dubuque drum corps, recalling his remembrance of Dubuque when it was the home of the red man. They had been received here, he said, with a warm, hearty welcome.

Alluding to the unveiling of the bronze tablet on the Greene monument, he said:

"There was a Rhode Islander who left his native state to settle in Georgia.

"The celebration today is a link in the long chain of affection that binds you and the north together. Long may it be true, as it has been in the past, that Georgia is always willing to open her arms wide to welcome every man, every true patriot, that comes to put his foot on its soil."

The conclusion of Mr. Davis's remarks was the occasion for another enthusiastic outbreak.

Tonight a brilliant display of pyrotechnics was witnessed at the park extension.

Gideon J. Tucker 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

NEW YORK PRESS CLUB, 120 Nassau Street, New York.

10 May, 1886.

Personal

Sir. As one of those, who, through the long and dreary Civil War, always opposed Coercion and deplored bloodshed, who believed (as I still believe,) that the cause of representative government was cruelly damnified by the people of my section, and who went down and out of public life on those convictions, I cannot refrain from congratulating you at this moment, upon the consistency and dignity of your course. I took you by the hand, in this city, after you were released from Fortress Monroe, and I gave you this expression of my personal respect now, that your fellow countrymen are recognizing your worth and services. I trust your life may yet be prolonged sufficiently to see some returning reason come to the people of the North, and lead them to consider what a spectacle they presented to the world from 1861 to 1865, when, under the name of freedom, they fought for dominion.

I am your admirer, and well wisher,

(Signed) GIDEON J. TUCKER.

To Hon. Jefferson Davis.

¹Born in 1826 in New York City, lawyer and editor; Secretary of State of New York, 1857, died in New York City, 1899.

VOL. IX

John S. Purviance ¹ to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Jasper, Hamilton County, Fla. May 11th, 1886.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Mississippi,

I have had it in my mind to write you for several years, but you appeared to be very secluded, and, from what I could glean from the papers, very much averse to thinking, or talking, of the war and its incidents. But, you have come out now, and have mingled some with the old folks, and you have spoken words of good cheer, which make us old rank and file fellows feel lively again, and our hearts go out to you as of old. Therefore, I feel that I ought to write to you concerning a matter of interest to you and your family which occurred this same month, twenty one years since.

I came home to Florida from Appomattox, being one of the commissioned officers of the 10th Fla. Regiment. I went south as far as Archer, a station on the Fla. Railroad, and stopped with Mr. Yulee's family, at his request, during his absence, having been taken a prisoner by the U. S. authorities for Treason.

During my stay with the family Mrs. Yulee, who was a good true woman in all things, asked me if I could conceal a very valuable Trunk where it could not be found, as the U.S. Officer was to come the next day to search her house. I informed her that, I thought I could bury it in Charlie's stable: Charlie was a Cuban Poney that was kept apart from the other Horses, in a log cabin stable, to himself. That night, after all the people were gone to bed but Mrs. Yulee, I turned the poney out of his stable, and dug a pit in the middle of his stall, and went with the wheelbarrow to the House, and took the Trunk and buried it where it remained until Mrs. Yulee decided to go to Washington and use her best efforts in trying to get her husband released. The day previous to her departure, she directed me to bring the Trunk to the house which I did late in the night. She was sitting up when I brought it in and she asked me if I knew whose Trunk it was and on being informed that I knew nothing about it, she directed me to look at the name on it and upon examination I found your name upon it, which she

¹ Confederate officer from Florida.

directed me to erase and I did so, with my pocket knife and placed the Trunk among her baggage. She left the next morning for Washington, and I never heard any more of the trunk, whether you, or your family, ever received it, or not. She remained absent several months, but returned to Fernandina where I saw her and she informed me of her fruitless attempt to see Mr. Stanton, but she never said anything about your Trunk, and left me quite curious to know about it. I did not ask her about it as she might have thought it not exactly the proper thing to tell me—anyway I never mentioned it.

The Trunk was left with the Yulee family by a party of Ex Confederate officers who were on their way to the Coast, and passed through that region of country about the time Mr. Benjamin passed, but not with him. I did not enquire who they

were, nor did I see them.

Mr. Yulee himself is a bad man, but Mrs. Yulee was a good lady, and I learn she is dead. I became displeased with her husband, and knew but little of them after he found it best to quit the State. I would be much pleased to learn from you, whether you ever got your trunk or not—I did all I could to save it for you, and fooled Holt and all his spies, by burying it in a place that was never suspected, or searched. The love of liberty and justice is as strong in me now as ever it was, and will be until the end, and my love for the Yankees is hedged about with a mental reservation.

Very Respectfully,
John S. Purviance.

endorsed: Jno. S. Purviance; about trunk left in Florida; ansd. May 17th 1886.

F. Chamberlain to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Buffalo, N. Y., May 12th, 1886.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

Dear Sir:

Noticing the ovations which were accorded to you in your visit to Alabama it reminded me of a statement which had been made to me that during the war, the City of Vicksburg was taken by Grant through the disobedience of orders by Gen. Pemberton.

It was claimed that he received orders from the authority of the War Dept. at Richmond to hold the city and that you favored

² Owner of carriage and wagon works of Buffalo.

his disobeying Gen. Johnston's order to leave Vicksburg and concentrate his army. I claimed that this was not so, but that you ordered him to concentrate his army and with Johnston's assistance to attack Grant as he crossed the Mississippi River, which you stated might have been done; and of which there is little doubt at the present time. I write to ask you sir, if I am not right and the other party wrong.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) F. Chamberlain.

James Fentress 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Enclosure.

Bolivar, Tenn. May 17, 1886.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Miss.
My dear Sir:

I enclose a letter just received from Hon. W. K. Ackerman

of Chicago—and press copy of my reply.

I hesitated, as to sending it, both because I do not desire to be—or to be considered, officious—and because I would not have you worried by the barking of Curs, while in the evening of your life—But in my uncertainty I concluded to send it.

King regards to Miss Winnie,

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) James Fentress.

May I trouble you to return the enclosed letter,

F.

Bolivar, Tenn. May 17, 1886.

Hon. Wm. K. Ackerman, 369 Chicago Ave., Chicago, Ills. My dear Sir:

Yours of 15th received. I have not seen any of the publications you mention. Nor am I authorized by Ex-President Davis—nor in such relation to him, as would justify my speaking for him.

Mr. Davis is a christian gentleman, and is incapable of entertaining much less of expressing the sentiment you mention.

¹ Confederate soldier, general attorney Illinois Central Railway Co.

Of all those prominent in the late war—there are perhaps no two on the Federal side who came nearer deserving and receiving the respect of the whole Confederate Army than the two you mention—Lincoln and Grant.

You will understand that Mr. Davis would be kept busy, if he were to deny all the unreasonable and ungenerous things that are published about him. I will call his attention however to what you say and he can decide for himself whether any and if any, what notice shall be taken of it.

The character of Mr. Davis, is dear to us all, who suffered with him, and will some day be honored by those who differed with him. Whatever be the estimation in which his abilities as a Statesman or warrior may be held, there is one thing about which his enemies and friends alike agree and that is, that he is incapable of a mean motive, and has always maintained a life of scrupulous truthfulness and unswerving integrity which the bitterest foe has never questioned.

The U. S. Supreme Court has not overruled the holding of S.C. of Miss—that the Charters of Y. & M.V.R.R.Co. and C.A. & N.R.R.Co. are perfect protection against State supervision.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) James Fentress.
Genl. Sol.

Jefferson Davis to D. M. Frost.
(From Confederate Museum.)

Beauvoir, Missi. May 30th, 1886.

Genl. D. M. Frost, Dear Sir:

Your courteous letter enclosing a slip from the "St. Louis Republican" being a report of your lecture before the Southern historical and benevolent society was duly received, but absence from home and subsequent illness have prevented an earlier acknowledgment.

You correctly state that Genl. A. S. Johnston was assigned to the command of the west, including both sides of the Mississippi river. He had full power and possessed my entire confidence both as a soldier and a statesman, but as it appears from your lecture that you supposed him to be transmelled by instructions from Richmond which prevented him from carrying out, in regard to Missouri, the views which you convinced him

were essential to the welfare of the Confederacy, I can but regret that you did not continue your journey as far as Richmond where I think you would have learned that you were under an incorrect impression as to any policy of the administration adverse to the union of Missouri with the States of the Confederacy.

I think you must have misunderstood Genl. Johnson and that he could not have informed you that the policy of the Confederate Govt, was against complicating itself with Missouri so as to make her case its own. If I had known that anyone had such an opinion as to the policy of the Confederate Govt., I should have felt that I might safely refer to you to convince them of their error, because, as you will remember, when you were at Camp Jackson, two gentlemen came to me representing you who said that you were embarrassed for the want of Artillery with which you could easily reduce the arsenal. In conformity with their representation, I directed, from the meager supply we possessed, that a howitzer and a mortar should be sent to vou. To avoid observation they were packed in sugar hogsheads and I was subsequently informed that they were turned over to your opponents at St. Louis, and in their original packages. I therefore supposed that you could have no doubt as to the interest I felt in Missouri being left free to choose her own position, in the impending conflict, or of my willingness to make common cause with her.1

Genl. Johnston well understood that the policy of the Confederate Govt. was to respect the sovereignty of every state, only desiring that the people should be left free to decide for themselves whether they should elect neutrality, join the Confederacy, or adhere to the Union, and this you recognize in the explanation you give for his choice of the sites of Forts Henry and Donelson, rather than the occupation and fortification of Paducah

At the time of your visit to Genl. Johnston at Columbus, Ky. the policy of the Confederate Govt. had been sufficiently set forth in the correspondence between Gov. Magoffin, of Kentucky, President Davis of the Confederacy and Genl. Leonidas Polk with the Committee from the Legislature of Ky., with all of which I have no doubt you are well acquainted.

^{&#}x27;If it be asked, how did this sending artillery accord with the non intervention policy of the Confederate Government, the answer is, that the arms in the St. Louis Arsenal were regarded as the property of the United States. Missouri, one of them, was a joint owner, and the problem was should the arms be used by the government of the state for her defence or by the General Government for her subjugation?

While scrupulously respecting the sovereignty of Missouri, and hopefully desiring that her people would unite with her Southern Sisters of the Confederacy, and therefore willing as far as propriety would admit, to aid her in resisting the effort to coerce her will, I had no policy, no fear of the future that could have led me to close the gate against her admission into the Confederacy. Of all this the proofs are too abundant to admit of a reasonable doubt in the mind of any one who will examine them.

For myself, I cannot accept the compliment you pay to the Confederate Govt. for the moral and self sacrificing magnanimity with which it accepted the teaching of Mr. William A. Hall for his views as to what the North would feel and do in regard to Missouri becoming a permanent part of the Southern Confederacy; for I must confess that your lecture gave me the first information about Mr. Halls speech.

After our efforts at peaceful negotiation had failed and war had commenced it never occurred to me that the North would willingly consent that Missouri or Virginia either, should be recognized as States of the Confederacy. My hope was that a United South could successfully resist coersion, repel invasion and secure a reluctant acknowledgment of the "sovereignty, freedom and independence" of the several States.

Very Respectfully yours,
(Signed) Jefferson Davis.

Geo. F. Alford 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Dallas, Texas, June 3, 1886.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

My dear Mr. President, and my honored and beloved Chief:

It becomes my painful duty to announce to you the death of two of my dearest friends, and two of the truest soldiers

¹ Article enclosed in letter from Geo. F. Alford, June 3, 1886.

The loyal Republican press are just now and for the last few days raising Cain over some utterances of ex-President Davis of the Confederate States of America, whilom, at the laying of a corner stone of some sort of monument at Montgomery. For what purpose or in whose memory the monument is to be built we know not, neither do we care a fig. This is a free country. If any citizen or any number of citizens care to erect

who ever illustrated human valor, on the field of battle, Gen. L. M. Lewis whom we bury here today—and Gen. Sidney D. Jackman—both Missouri Brigadier Generals, commissioned by you for distinguished gallantry on the field of battle. The latter died yesterday at his home in San Marcos, Tex. while in the discharge of his duty as U. S. Marshall for the Western District of Texas, about the first and best appointment made by President Cleveland after his inauguration. Gen. Lewis was the minister of my church here, the M. E. Church, South, and was distinguished for his splendid gallantry as a soldier and his magnetic oratory. He was for a short time senator from Missouri, in the C. S. Congress at Richmond—no man in all the land was so universally beloved—He leaves a wife and five children.

If it please you I should be most grateful if you can spare a moment to write Mrs. Lewis a short letter of condolence and

a monument for any purpose, object or thing, just let them do it. If the Southern part of our population are fools enough to erect monuments to the memory of the Wurtzes, Winders, Quantrells, or for the commemoration of the enormities by them perpetrated, they have our full permission so to do, and they need none other for the reason that they are an absolutely free people, and can honor treason and abhor patriotism if they choose to set such example to rising generations and no one can stop them. Why find fault?

The associated press has spent big money in sending the world over the utterances of Mr. Jefferson Davis on the occasion referred to, and still bigger money has been thrown away in printing the same. We don't know that which the old man said, because we didn't read that which was laid before us at such great outlay of coin and skill. We, however, could have surmised, and told beforehand that which the Southern ex-President may have said, because Jefferson Davis feels bitter toward our government, and who can blame him? We don't and why should we? Let us see. Nearly one half our country became rebels against the other half. Being willing to take the risk and bear the consequences they had a right to rebel. War followed and the rebels were whipped, humiliated, and terribly punished. No punishment could have been more galling than putting them down to a level with their slaves, made free by their own act of rebellion. That was a great rebellion, backed up by a great and brave rebellion. That was a great rebellion, backed up by a great and brave people who fought it to the bitter end, finally submitted and laid their arms at the feet of the conqueror. Two great chiefs represented the cause of the crushed rebellion. First: Jefferson Davis. Second: Robert E. Lee. As Christian gentlemen, these chiefs were the peers of any in the world, they were entitled to treatment as such. Through the grace of God and the honesty of Grant, Lee received the consideration due him. Through the vindictive malice of a bigotted and bastard President, Jefferson Davis was treated as a convict who was trying to break his prison bars; he was put in prison and managed. This was a most unpresent a great righting and prison and manacled. This was a most unnecessary, cruel, vindictive and cowardly act, disgraceful to our government and a shame to our people. It is the only act in the great drama which causes us to be ashamed. Why should Davis have been thus treated? The only answer which can be given is that Andy Johnson must have been drunk when he made such a disgraceful order. For such humiliation Jefferson Davis hates the government bitterly and we don't blame him. He prefers to die without a country rather than honor the government which so outrageously treated

send to me, which I will take great pleasure in delivering in person. Alas our dear old Comrades are passing away like the snow in the sunshine, and soon we will all be marshalled in one grand and invincible army on the camping grounds of eternity—and our venerated Chieftain will stand at the head of the Column—May God bless you and preserve your honored and useful life for many, many years.

I take pleasure in enclosing you a slip cut from the Los Angeles, Cal. Porcupine, in reference to yourself. The paper is edited by Major Horace Bell, an ex-Federal Soldier, who served on the staff of Gen. Canby during the late Civil War—He is a pronounced Republican, and I admire his manliness in that article and have so written him—The other little article "Flowers for the dead" is from the Denver Tribune, another strong Republican paper—and does honor to his head and heart—The time comes, my dear Mr. Davis, when justice will be done to our gallant people, who gave up all save honor, in defence of their convictions of right.

him. The ex-Confederate President has the full and free permission of the Porcupine and its editor, to say all he pleases in praise of the lost cause, and in abuse of this great government of ours, all of which he has a right to say, without anyone's permission because this is a land of free speech, and if his utterances are thought to be harmful, but in fact they are not, the best way is not to put them in print and give them such widespread currency. We can't forget the atrocities of Wurtz at Andersonville. The people of the rebellious states will be slow to forget, and will never forgive the uncalled for cruel indignity inflicted upon the helpless old man whom they had honored as the leader in their attempt to disrupt the union of our fathers. One thing we honor Jefferson Davis for. He refused to bend the pregnant hinges of the knee and eat dirt at the feet of the government which so outraged him, and through him the people whom he represented.

Article No. 2, enclosed in letter from Geo. F. Alford, June 3, 1886.

FLOWERS FOR THE DEAD

Today the people of Colorado will decorate the graves of their soldier dead. This tender duty is soon performed; for few of the brave men who fell in battle lie buried in Colorado. But if there were only one grave, or if there were none at all, it would be the same. It is the sentiment which makes Memorial Day, not the thousands of graves and the profusion of flowers; and for this reason the day means as much to the people of Colorado as it does to those of Massachusetts. The few score soldier graves in Colorado call up the same memories as do the hundreds that dot the church-yards of New England.

In this time of reconciliation the grave of the soldier who wore the gray is as sacred as that of the Northern hero who wore the blue. The ceremony of today is a sad but grateful duty to the dead of the two armies. And the North and South shake hands with a stronger grasp over the graves of their fallen, and they thank Him who rules in war as in peace, that out of the terrible carnage came a closer union, a better feeling,

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If time permits I should be glad to have an autograph letter from you to leave to my children whom I have raised up to honor and reverence you.

Sincerely your friend, (Signed) GEO. F. ALFORD. 508 Main Street.

Jefferson Davis to John A. Parker. (From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Beauvoir, Missi. 13th June, 1886. Col. Jno. A. Parker,

My dear Sir,

Ill health has delayed compliance with your request for a revision of "The Missing link." I regret that Mr. Phillips did not advise with you before stating that I had written to you and confirmed every fact contained in "your essay" which I had not then seen.

In regard to some of the statements I am not informed, and from others I am compelled to dissent, but I do so with the highest respect and entire confidence in your sincerity. I return the pamphlet, as requested by you and you will find on the margin notes of interrogation in pencil, at places where my recollection does not correspond with yours.

I will attach to this comments upon some of the principal points of disagreement and from those you will infer the ground

of the other dissents.

Faithfully your friend, JEFFERSON DAVIS.

(Notes with letter from Jefferson Davis to John A. Parker dated Beauvoir, Missi, 13th June, 1886.)

COPY.

Beauvoir, Miss. 13th June 1886.

NOTES.

on P. 9 Mr. Clay is credited with the paternity of the socalled Missouri Compromise of 1820.

In 1850, when I was contending for the extension of the Mo. Compromise line to the Pacific Ocean, and claimed of Mr. Clay

a stronger brotherhood. Viewed in any other spirit, Memorial Day is a sectional and not a National institution.

Over the graves of the dead the North and the South may well learn the lesson of perfect peace.

that consistency required of him to vote with me on that question, a colloquy ensued in which he emphatically denied the paternity of the "Mo. Compromise" all of which will be found in the Congres. Globe.

In 1860 Mr. Douglass, as Ch'mn, of the Senate Com. on Territories, introduced a number of bills which were referred to a select Com. of which Mr. Clay was Ch'mn. These bills, with little modification, were united and reported as what is familiarly known as "The Omnibus Bill". Your compliment to Mr. Clay on p. 11 is, I believe, just so far as his influence secured the passage of the bills, the result of which was otherwise doubtful. I opposed the measure with all the power I possessed and after my return to Missi, advised the protest and such action as the United South might take to secure then a settlement which would guarantee our Constitutional rights, and in many speeches stated the belief that if the occasion was allowed to pass, any future assertion of our rights must be written in blood.

The lease it gave was, as you say, of short duration, because it was a "compromise" only in name and had no element of permanent pacification. The refusal to extend the line to 36.30 to the Pacific Ocean, with all its political significance was, in 1850, a denial of the obligation to recognize the existence of a compact between the North and South for a Division upon that line: therefore it was illogically argued in 1854 by Mr. Douglass Chmp. of the Com. on Territories, and others that the political line of 36.30 had been obliterated by the legislation of 1850 and the bill introduced by him declared it to be the true intent and meaning of said bill, neither to legislate slavery into the territory or exclude it therefrom, but to leave it to the people when they came to form a State Govt, to decide that question for themselves. This was the measure about which, as I wrote to you, the two Committees of Congress came to me to obtain for them an interview with Presdt. Pierce on Sunday. You do great injustice to the President on p. 14 when you assign to him a selfish motive for his concurrence with the measure when presented to him. With entire confidence I say the Presdt. knew nothing of the measure until it was explained to him in that Sunday interview. Then he gave his assent because it was in conformity with his opinion of the constitutional power of Congress and because the Mo. Compromise was regarded as virtually repealed by the refusal to recognize its binding force in the division of recently acquired territory in 1850. To this extent, and this only was it an administration measure and the Committees left the Presdt, with the ability to say he concurred in

the propriety of the measure. Presdt. Pierce was a man of the nicest sense of honor, incapable either for his own advancement, or for that of another, of entering into any indirect scheme. That he was a strict constructionist of the Constitution was sufficiently shown in 1837-8 when Mr. Calhoun's resolutions were under discussion in the Senate. Then, not considering the prejudice which might exist among the people of the State he represented he stood more firmly on the ground of your creed and mine, than many who represented Southern States.

The often quoted expression of the Presdt., that he "knew no North no South no East no West' was uniformly exemplified and in the division of the officers for the new Territories, like those for new Regiments, his policy was in accordance with

that famous declaration.

I think therefore, that you are mistaken in the view you take

of that subject on p. 15.

If the repeal of the Mo. Compromise line occurred in 1850, then the unprecedented change which you notice on p. 17—as resulting in the legislation of 1854 must be construed as in the first case, being injurious to the South and in the second case

stripping the North of its claim to exclusiveness.

On p. 18 the first conclusion involved the question of date and by which section the repeal was made—second the motive was certainly higher and more worthy of those who were restoring constitutional right against usurpation and wrong committed in 1820. Third, to contend for a principle, a right attaching to equality in the Union, was a duty apart from any political benefit and above even the consideration of interest to be affected by establishing a dangerous precedent.

Messrs. Douglass and Atchison are both dead; so far as I know and believe they never were in such relation to each other as would have caused Douglass to ask Atchison's help in preparing the bill, and I think the whole discussion shows that Douglass originated the bill and for a year or two vaunted himself on its paternity. As you are aware, I was not in the Senate

between 1853 and 57.

Please return me another copy of your pamphlet with the pencil marks upon this one duplicated upon the other as well as your foot notes.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

E. Polk Johnson 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Louisville, Ky. June 18, 1886.

Hon, Jefferson Davis. Beauvoir, Miss.

My dear Sir-

I enclose herewith an editorial from the Courier-Journal of the 17th inst., which deals with one of the calumnies certain creatures have heaped upon you. The article is from the pen of one of our staff-Mr. Harrison Robertson of Tennessee, who was too young to be with us in the struggle but whose heart was and is with us now.

With my dutiful respects to the ladies of your family and the earnest hope that your health has been fully restored, I am my dear Sir.

> Faithfully and Respectfully yours (Signed) E. Polk Johnson.

¹ Business manager Courier-Journal.

² A CONTEMPTIBLE LIE.

The COURIER-JOURNAL has received the following letter:

(To the Editor of the Courier-Journal)

"O'Fallon, Mo., June 8 .- Please tell me whether it is true that Mr. Davis did use the words ascribed to him in that address at Montgomery. Have never seen anything at all like it in the speech you published in your paper, and will hope it is not true.

"Lucretia A. McCluer."

The words referred to are alleged to have been uttered by JEFFERSON DAVIS in his speech at Montgomery, and are as here quoted:

"I have often prayed to live to see the day when both Lincoln and Grant were dead and in hell, and as my prayer has been granted I am ready to die."

The individual who is responsible for the charge that JEFFERSON DAVIS used these words in his Montgomery speech, or who is reported by the Pittsburgh Telegraph as responsible for that charge, is one NORMAN PORTER, formerly of Carlisle, Pa., and who it is said, now runs a Pullman car between New York and Atlanta, Ga.

The COURIER-JOURNAL assures its correspondent that there is no truth in this charge. Mr. Davis neither gave utterance to these words nor

to any such sentiment.

If NORMAN PORTER says that he did, NORMAN PORTER is a liar. If NORMAN PORTER objects to being published as a liar, and will bring suit against the COURIER-JOURNAL and make affidavit to the truth of his charge, the COURIER-JOURNAL will agree to put NORMAN PORTER in jail as a perjurer.

We hope that this answer is sufficiently explicit both to Mrs. McCluer

and to NORMAN PORTER.

Jefferson Davis to D. C. Henderson.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Beauvoir, Missi. 21st, June, 1886.

Mr. D. C. Henderson and Others, Publishers.

In the "Allegany Journal and Tribune" of June 18th, I find it editorially stated that I have not denied the use of the language attributed to me by Norman Porter, and further, in support of the position that I have not been misrepresented, it is stated that my speeches, copies of which, published in Southern Democratic papers can be seen at the Journal and Tribune Office.

If you will have the goodness to send me one such paper containing a report of any speech of mine in which such language as that imputed to me by Norman Porter is to be found, I will send you an exhaustive exposure of the falsehood of Porter's allegation and of the Southern Democratic Editor who has asserted anything the least like Porter's scandal.

Respectfully, (Signed) Jefferson Davis.

Jefferson Davis to Mrs. S. W. Price.2

Beauvoir, Miss. 3rd, July 1886

Mrs. S. W. Price, Dear Madam,

Accept my cordial thanks for your kind letter of to-day with the accompanying poetry which you surely need not have expected me to criticise as it breathes a sympathy for me and mine for which I cannot be otherwise than profoundly grateful.

To another person it would be commended also by its high patriotism and pure diction.

¹We find a great many quotations of this kind, and credited to Jefferson Davis' Montgomery speech: ''I often prayed to God to live to see the day when both Grant and Lincoln were dead and in hell and as my prayer has been granted I am ready to die.'' Jefferson Davis made no such remark at Montgomery, on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone for the memorial of the confederate dead. The man who falsely tries to put these words in his mouth, lacks both patriotism and manhood.—Northwood (Dakota) Headlight, Dem. . . .

The original of this letter is in the possession of Mrs. Susan W. T. Price

of Waco, Texas.

You recall to my memory the happier days of long ago when you were a child in Jackson and my deceased friend Laura Guion Ellis was one of your companions. I hope it may be my good fortune to see you while you are on the Missi. Coast and in person to assure you of the sincere regard and esteem with which I am,

Faithfully yours,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

L. Q. C. Lamar to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Washington, D. C., July 3d, 1886.

My dear Mr. Davis,

In reply to yours of the 21st, it gives me great pleasure to say that so far as my knowledge goes, the President has never expressed any sentiment of hostility to your family. I have no knowledge of any nomination being suggested to him which could have induced him to take the attitude referred to in your letter.

As is well known, I was anxious to have General Joseph R. Davis appointed to a certain office in his District; but it was suggested very earnestly by democrats who were your warm friends that a good deal of irritation had been excited among the Republican Senators by the last debate in which I participated, just before I left the Senate, in regard to yourself and General Sherman, and that the sending his Gen. D's name in would probably lead to the renewal of an angry sectional debate. I yielded under the circumstances, as to that office and for the time being; feeling confident that no one would more than General Davis dislike to be the occasion of such a debate and the action that would follow it.

Mr. Van Eaton was cognizant of these discussions and we had conversations upon the subject.

You are entirely right in your view of our personal relations, and my personal feelings towards yourself. No man has either in public or private assailed your name or made a slighting allusion to your fame and character in my presence without receiving a prompt and indignant rebuke from me.

Very sincerely, Your friend,

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss. L. Q. C. LAMAR.

P.S. The above letter was written soon after the receipt of your letter. It was not mailed at once, because of an oversight and mistake of my clerk.

L. endorsed:

L. Q. C. Lamar about prohibition of Davis family; ansd and sent the statement about the river mail service; 3d Aug. 1886.

J. D. Baird to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Denton, Davidson Co., N. C.
July 12th, 1886.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

My dear Sir:

Ever since your late visit to Montgomery and Atlanta I have intended writing, to congratulate you and to assure you, that all the good people of N. C. hold you in as high esteem as they did when you were the President of our beloved Confederate States. Only good men can properly appreciate what is grand and noble in man: hence there are some men who can see nothing sublime in your public and private life. For myself, let me assure you, I have, ever since the Mexican war, esteemed you, Sir, as the grandest model of American citizenship: and I have placed your life and character, as a model, before my son, now 17 years, who bears your own name. But for financial distress and personal illness, I should have gone to Atlanta when you were there, and carried my son with me. But circumstances, over which I had no control, forbade it.

In conclusion, Sir, let me offer you my sincerest regards and assure you that I shall pray that our Almighty Father will make you a special object of His love and care.

Let me, Sir, subscribe myself,
Your sincere friend and admirer,
(Signed) J. D. BAIRD.

John D. Keily Sr. to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

St. Vincent's Hospital, Norfolk, Va. July 29th, 1886.

My dear Mr. Davis,

Your graceful letter of the 7th gave me much pleasure and would have been answered ere now but for continued illness.

I now proceed to give you the promised account of the Charleston trip.

It was a fine Sabbath morning in early August of 1862 when the jailer of Petersburg came to my room and said that a poor German wanted to see me, and to bring with me my German Bible. I went to the jail, and found him in the dungeon heavily ironed. I read to him a portion of the 14th chapter of St. John explained the nature of repentance and the conditions of pardon, and then prayed with him. I then asked him all about his ease, told him if he would tell me the truth, and it was favorable to him, I would do all I could to save his life; he then told me; that he did not mean to desert but only slip off to Charleston. to get some six or seven hundred dollars due him there, and some clothes in the keeping of the land lady with whom he boarded. I asked him further, if he had lived long in that city and had served in the army there, he told me he had lived there several years; and had served one year in the Army under the command of Major Calhoon: I then told him he should have a reprieve for two weeks, till I could go to Charleston. On leaving the jail I telegraphed you some of the particulars, and asked a reprieve of two weeks. You promptly granted my request and I communicated this to the poor prisoner, and asked if he had any money to pay my expenses to and from Charleston, he said Mr. D. had some hundreds of dollars of his money. Next morning I called on Mr. D. told him of my interview with the prisoner, of your granting a reprieve, and I requested Mr. D. to give me enough of Burns money to pay my expenses to and from Charleston; he said, "most cheerfully Mr. Keily." I said "God bless you for your unpaid services in the cause of humanity." I got a pass to and from Charleston. Next morning I started off for Charleston, got there Friday afternoon and stopped at the "Mills' House" enquired about the whereabouts of Major Calhoon, and learned that he was at "Fort Moultrie." I went down next morning to the Fort, and found the Major, he received me graciously, and reminded me, that we both dined at Judge Mason our minister to France (in Paris) two years ago; forthwith my mission was explained to him, he wrote me a kind letter to your Excellency to the purport that Burns was a good and faithful soldier, had not deserted, but was honorably discharged at the end of his one years service. I then returned to Charleston, and spent the rest of the day in finding the man that owed Burns the money. Monday I spent in hunting up the woman with whom Burns boarded. Tuesday I started back to Petersburg.

Accidents, upsettings, and lack of connections prevented me from reaching Petersburg until Monday evening. I went to the Depot to get on the cars for Richmond, the Provost guard drove me off. I prayed, begged, and wept—to be allowed to go to Richmond, else an innocent man would be shot next morning: Judge Joines came up called the officer of the guard and told him that Mr. Keily was no spy, or traitor, but was returning from a mission of mercy, so they carried me to Richmond. I hastened to your house, and learned that you and General Lee had ridden out, and would not be back till about nine o'clock. It was then about nine o'clock and I laid me down on the stoup and was soon in a sound sleep, somebody waked me up about twelve o'clock and I asked to be shown to Mr. Davis; it was a wonder you were not frightened by me, but you listened patiently to my story and my papers, and told me that General Lee had just left you, and would not consent to the pardon, but you added if I would just go and see him, he had no doubt but that I would succeed in getting his consent to the pardon. You said he was staying with General So & So at No. So & So Franklin Street. I went there, General Lee received me, with his usual graciousness, but refused my request. I pled prayed and wept; told him of all my trials and troubles on this subject, then I got up to leave, he took me by the hand and led me to the front door. When parting by an impulse to me then and now unaccountable, I raised my two hands upon his head, and asked the Divine blessing on him and our Cause, with an almost broken heart. I went to the "Exchange" and laid upon the bed thinking about what I should do next. Early next morning I was at your house again, after much trouble and noise, you sent for me, it was then 7½ o'clock, I told you what bad success I had with Genl. Lee and you then interrupted me, and told me that General Lee came back to your room, and told you that upon further reflection, he would consent to the pardon. Then I asked you if you had made out the paper, you said you had, then I asked you to give it to me to carry to the prisoner. You said No. before I could get there the man would be dead, that he had a courier bridled and saddled at the door now. You said, "Mr. Keily when did you eat your last meal?"

Please write me a few lines about your health. I will in some future letter give you an account of my trip to Washington

from Fort Monroe.

Yours truly, John D. Keily Sr. Isaac R. Pennypacker 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

THE PRESS,

Philadelphia, Pa., Aug. 18, 1886.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Dear Sir,

Gen. Daniel E. Sickles in an address recently made at Gettysburg having criticised severely Gen. Meade's conduct of the battle fought there, we have published in reply to some of Gen. Sickles' claims, among other things, an article written by Gen. Lafayette McLaws of Savannah, a copy of which I sent you. In a personal letter to me Gen. McLaws wrote that during the war you had said "Meade was the biggest brained officer in the Union army."

I have several opinions of Gen. Meade's military ability, one from Gen. Early, another that of Gen. Grant communicated by Admiral Porter. In a recent Century article Gen. D. H. Hill says, "Meade was always one of the most dreaded of our foes." If Gen. McLaws is correct I should like to add your opinion of Gen. Meade and publish the collection. I have seen it in print that Gen. Lee considered Gen. Meade one of the ablest of the Federal commanders. Can you inform me whether that is correct, or what Gen. Lee's opinion of Gen. Meade's military ability was?

endorsed:
About Genl. Meade.

Yours very truly,
ISAAC R. PENNYPACKER
Editor Weekly Press.

Lyon G. Tyler 2 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Richmond, Va. September 7, 1886.

My dear Mr. President:

I desire to thank you with all my heart for the kind allusions made by you to my father in your late letter to me. Be assured

¹ Editor and author, was a brother of Gov. S. W. Pennypacker of Pennsylvania.

^a Tyler, Lyon Gardner (1853-), an educator, was born in Sherwood Forest, Charles City County, Va., in August, 1853, and graduated at the University of Virginia in 1875. He was professor of belles lettres at William and Mary College, 1877-1878; was principal of Memphis Institute,

that it is the opinion of critics like yourself that I appreciate and I know that nothing would have caused the object of your generous remarks more pleasure than that he stood high in your estimation.

I beg to assure you of my appreciation for your own high patriotism and to say that the prospect of having you present at the laying of the corner-stone of the Lee Monument has excited great pleasure here. If you come, I guarantee that an out pouring of the people will greet you not inferior to the triumphal reception accorded you at Montgomery.

I remain, dear Sir,

With the highest respect, &c., (Signed) Lyon G. Tyler.

Hon. Jefferson Davis.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Minor Orcus, (Va.) Sept. 8th '86

My dear friend,

Thanks for the Times of N. O. and the sentiment of sympathy conveyed. My moral relations with the people of Charleston and So. Ca., or to those of Damascus and Asia, are alike; all fellow creatures. In our struggle when every soul should have been united to the chosen chief, these former people were soon factions, and to glorify themselves, adopted and glorified that mendacious mandarin Beauregard.

I am sorry for the poor as sufferers. I believe that So. Ca. was in harmony with the Hayes fraud, for sanction in their own political purpose, and I have no faith in her leaders then. My heart is not now with my native land.

After receiving your last, I felt averse to Scharf as a patron, and preferred to force a piece in the Century which should be a challenge. I sent three letters to the Editor—each by a friend. I had been refused in my first application, virtually, and after-

1878-1882; and a member of the Virginia House of Delegates in 1887. He was instrumental in the revival of William and Mary College as a State institution, and in 1888 was chosen president of that college. He resigned the office in 1919. In 1892 he established the William and Mary College Quarterly, a historical magazine, which he edited until 1919. He has since established at Richmond a historical magazine. He is the author of several books on the history of Virginia and of the United States—Parties and Patronage, New York, 1891; England in America, New York, 1904; Letters and Times of the Tylers, 3 vols., 1884-1896 (chiefly relating to President John Tyler, the author's father); et al.

wards by mere excuses of want of space, aversion to controversy, &e, and delay on my part which was untrue.

I charged Bgd Johnston and Imboden with gross misstatements, with self glorification, and maligning you; that Bd. was an "imposter" that he the Editor had allowed Johnston to wait 4½ years after your book, and then malign you, while I was to be told that a few months delay, caused by his first answer to me, was to debar me from refuting calumnies, which he the Editor had published as history—thus deluding his readers whom he contended he was instructing when he was deceiving them, and thus his "historical series" were delusions by himself.

At length he said he would publish certain passages. I instantly asked him to designate them in my last letter to him,—this was done, and I prepared a brief, as he declared space could not be made for anything else, so I got in a "statement" in the No. of last April. For want of space, untruly declared—he "excised" two sentences against Johnston, that were facts not personalities; and quite pertinent to the issue between us.

If you cannot get this number of the Century, I can send you mine, if you care enough of these things now to read it. There is one charge against Bgd. relative to you, which has never been printed, if questioned I would have involved him and Johnston both inextricably deep.

I am 75, crippled, and tranquilly disgusted with Americans, including Hampton and Lamar-the latter borrowed all of Brownson's reviews from me during the war and did not return them, but this is not my objection to him now,—nor ever was, appointing Johnston is shameful. I abhor the U.S. Govt. and Americans generally; the U.S. govt. has been false and treacherous to France on the closing of the revolution in violation of stipulated conditions of alliance, she has been ungrateful to Spain, tricky in relation to treaties with England and France, brutally mean to Mexico-when you were on the war path, for Texas-and her politicians are the hirelings of the moneyed corporations and rule the Govt. for them. I would be glad to see her ports bombarded as she wanted to inflict on N.O., Rhd. and Charleston. Nations need lessons if they can be corrected. This nation is incorrigible, so may be allowed impunity until like the great Empires of antiquity the destruction becomes necessary for cosmic plans.

Have you read a piece by Mr. Benjamin Williams of Miss. on your career and secession? It is the very best paper published

since the war, a complete condensation of all that you wrote or did in your U.S. and Confederate career. He is most logical, manly, and true, no southern writer can approach him.

Adios. Yours faithfully, L. B. Northrop.

endorsed:

Col. Northrop; ansd. 30th Sept. '86.

Jefferson Davis to James Redpath
(From New York Historical Society.)

Beauvoir, Missi. 16 Sept 1866

James Redpath Esqr.

Dear Sir,

I received yours of the 4th Inst. and begin at once the article on Indians which you desire and hope to complete it in two

or three days and dispatch it to you immediately.

Accept my thanks for the copies of the North America, it must have cost you no little trouble to find the old one and I am sorry to say it does not contain the article by Louis Cass which I desired to see, That, as my memory serves me, was statistical & related to various treaties with the Indian Tribes of whom he had much personal knowledge.

Thanking you not the less for your kind attention to my

wish I am

Respectfully yours

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

J. Wm. Jones to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Richmond, Va. Sept. 22nd, 1886

President Jefferson Davis, My dear Friend:

I have been purposing to write to you for several weeks; but frequent absence from home and a constant press of work when

here have conspired to postpone the pleasant duty.

And first let me thank you for the honor you did me in naming me to the Editor of Appletons' Dictionary of American Biography as the one you would prefer to write a sketch of yourself. I assure you that I warmly appreciated the honor done me, and that it would have been for me a real "labor of

love" to have written the sketch. But I regret to say that, in reply to a letter from me, the Editor writes: "Since we wrote to Mr. Davis concerning the sketch of himself we have discovered that we have a good one already on hand. So, of course, we shall not need another."

I shall write him my earnest hope that the sketch to which he alludes is *not* the one which the Appletons published in their "American Cyclopaedia" (Ed. of 1874), which is a miserable earicature and full of falsehoods.

I had wanted when at Beauvoir to talk with you about my proposed Memoir of you concerning which we corresponded some years ago. I wanted to tell you that I am willing to undertake the work only on the condition that your family should have an equal share in the profits of the book.

I have been industriously gathering material for the book, but the most valuable material can come only from Beauvoir, and I am anxious to secure this in such shape as will be most agreeable to you. If I could spend some months at Beauvoir, or you could spend some months in Richmond, I am sure that I could gather from conversations with you material for a book of very great popular interest and unrivalled historic value. But I fear that my engagements will not permit me to go to Beauvoir very soon, and while I should be delighted to have you as my guest for as long as possible I fear that we could not tempt you to remain very long away from the Gulf breezes.

I must, then, appeal to Mrs. Davis and Miss Winnie, and beg their co-operation in securing me indispensible material. I shall begin soon the composition of the book, and devote to it all the abilities I possess, and conscientiously strive to make it not unworthy of its great subject.

I shall at least bring to it honest industry, a practiced pen, and a heart in full sympathy with the subject and anxious to vindicate at the bar of history his name and fame.

We have been delighted to have Miss Winnie as our guest, and while we have regretted our inability to entertain her in better style, she has been so affable, and sweet, and agreeable that Mrs. Jones and I would be only too glad to have her stay all the Winter. She seems very happy with us, and certainly she is making all around her happy.

She came at a time when many of our best people were out of the ('ity (and many of them have not yet returned); but she has had a great deal of attention, and her visit is a real pleasure to Richmond. She has been out all of the morning (accompanied by two of my boys who are her devoted knights) at old St. John's church, making some sketches. I sent Mrs. Davis this morning two papers which I hope will prove of interest.

We must beg that Mrs. Davis and yourself will not think of Miss Winnie's leaving us for at least some weeks to come.

And when are we to expect you? There is a hitch about the laying of the corner stone of the Lee Monument in October, growing out of the fact that we have just now a mixed City Council, and it may be postponed—though it will be definitely settled in a few days—but the Va. Division of the Army of Northern Va. will invite you to its Re-union, and the Va. Agricultural Society will invite you to their Fair, which comes off the third week in October, and I hope that you may come whether the corner stone is laid or not. All Virginia will Welcome you.

Mrs. Jones joins me in kindest regards for you, and Mrs. Davis. With best wishes, and most fervent prayers for your

health and happiness, I am,

Yours very truly, (Signed) J. Wm. Jones.

Jefferson Davis to J. Thomas Scharf.

(From Southern Historical Society Papers, vol. 14, pp. 257-274.)

Beauvoir, Mississippi, September 23, 1886.

Colonel J. THOMAS SCHARF, Baltimore, Maryland:

MY DEAR SIR—At various times and from many of my friends, I have been asked to furnish a reply to General W. T. Sherman's so-called report to the War Department, and which the United States Senate ordered to be printed as "Ex. Doc. No. 36, Forty-eighth Congress, second session." I have been compelled by many causes to postpone my reply to these invitations, and have in some instances declined, for the time being, to undertake the labor. A continuing sense of the great injustice done to me, and to the people I represented, by the Senate making the malicious assault of General Sherman a public document.

¹Scharf, John Thomas (1843-1893), a historian, was born in Baltimore, Md., May 1, 1843, and was beginning business in his father's counting room when the civil war broke out. He enlisted in the artillery, on the Confederate side, and was several times wounded. In 1863 he was appointed midshipman in the Confederate navy, but rejoined the army, and was captured in Maryland on his way with despatches for Canada. After the war, he engaged in journalism, was a member of the Maryland legislature, and a commissioner of the Maryland land office. But for many years his work was that of a historian, and he produced a number of volumes on State and local history (of Maryland, Baltimore, Philadelphia et al.); also a History of the Confederate States Navy, New York, 1887. He is supposed to have assembled material for a life of Jefferson Davis. He died in New York City, February 28, 1898.

and giving to his slander the importance which necessarily attaches to an executive communication to the Senate, has recently caused the request for a reply by me to be pressed with very great earnestness. For this reason I have decided to furnish my reply to you for publication in the Baltimore Sun.

More than twenty years after the storm of war between the States had ceased and the waves of sectional strife had sunk to the condition of a calm, the public harmony was disturbed by a retired General of the army making a gratuitous and gross assault upon a private individual, living in absolute retirement, and who could only have attracted notice because he had been the representative of the Southern States which, organized into

a confederacy, had been a party to the war.

The history of my public life bears evidence that I did all in my power to prevent the war; that I did nothing to precipitate collision; that I did not seek the post of Chief Executive, but advised my friends that I preferred not to fill it. That history General Sherman may slanderously assail by his statements, but he cannot alter its consistency; nor can the Republicans of the Senate change its unbroken story of faithful service to the Union of the Constitution until, by the command of my sovereign State, I withdrew as her ambassador from the United States Senate. For all the acts of my public life as President of the Confederate States I am responsible at the bar of history, and must accept her verdict, which I shall do without the least apprehension that it will be swayed from truth by the malicious falsehoods of General Sherman, even when stamped as an "Ex. Doc." by the United States Senate.

Before a gathering of ex-soldiers of the Union army, General Sherman took occasion in the fall of 1884, to make accusations against me and to assert that he had personal means of information not possessed by others, and particularly that he had seen a letter written by myself, that he knew my handwriting, and saw and identified my signature to the letter. The gravamen of his accusation was that the letter to which he referred "had passed between Jeff. Davis and a man whose name it would not do to mention, as he is now a member of the United States Senate," and that "in that letter he (I) said he would turn Lee's army against any State that might attempt to secede from the Southern Confederacy." The position of General of the United States army, which General Sherman had filled, demanded that immediate contradiction of that statement should be made, and to that end I published in the St. Louis Republican the following denial:

Jefferson Davis to the Editor of the St. Louis Republican.

Beauvoir, Miss., November 6, 1884.

EDITOR ST. LOUIS REPUBLICAN.

Dear Sir: I have to-night received the inclosed published account of remarks made by Gen. W. T. Sherman, and ask the use of your columns to notice only so much as particularly refers to myself and which is to be found in the following extracts:

The following is taken from the St. Louis Republican:

"Frank P. Blair Post, G. A. R., opened their new hall, corner of Seventeenth and Olive Streets, last night. Gen. Sherman addressed the assemblage. He had read letters which he believed had never been published, and which very few people had seen. These letters showed the rebellion to be more than a mere secession: it was a conspiracy most dire. Letters which had passed between Jeff. Davis and a man whose name it would not do to mention, as he is now a member of the United States Senate, had been seen by the speaker, and showed Davis' position. He was not a secessionist. His object in starting the rebellion was not merely for the secession of the South, but to have this section of the country so that he could use it as a fulcrum from which to fire out his shot at the other sections of the country and compel the people to do as he would have them. Jeff. Davis would have turned his hand against any State that would secede from the South after the South had seceded from the North. Had the rebellion succeeded, Gen. Sherman said the people of the North would have all been slaves."

The following is from the Globe-Democrat's account:

"Referring to the late war, he said it was not, as was generally understood, a war of secession from the United States, but a conspiracy. 'I have been behind the curtain,' said he, 'and I have seen letters that few others have seen, and have heard conversations that cannot be repeated, and I tell you that Jeff. Davis never was a secessionist. He was a conspirator. He did not care for divisions from the United States. His object was to get a fulcrum from which to operate against the Northern States; and if he had succeeded, he would to-day be the master spirit of the continent, and you would be slaves. I have seen a letter from Jefferson Davis to a man whose name I cannot mention, because he is a United States Senator. I know Davis' writing, and saw his signature; and in that letter he said he would turn Lee's army against any State that might attempt to seeded from the Southern Confederacy.'"

This public assault, under the covert plea that it is based upon information which regard for a United States Senator does not permit him to present, will, to honorable minds, suggest the idea of irresponsible slander.

It is thus devolved upon me to say that the allegation of my ever having written such a letter as is described is unqualifiedly false, and the assertion that I had any purpose or wish to destroy the liberty and equal rights of any State, either North or South, is a reckless, shameless falsehood, especially because it was generally known that for many years before, as well as during the war between the States, I was an earnest advocate of the strict construction of the State rights theory of Mr. Jefferson. What motive other than personal malignity can be conceived for so gross a libel?

If Gen. Sherman has access to any letters purporting to have been written by me which will sustain his accusation, let him produce them, or wear the brand of a base slanderer.

Yours respectfully,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

The publication of the above letter attracted very general notice, and two interviews were had with General Sherman by reporters of the Globe-Democrat and from the St. Louis Chronicle. In the Globe-Democrat of November 25, 1884, General Sherman is reported as having said: "Whatever explanation I make will be made over my own signature. I do not propose to get into a fight with Jeff. Davis. * * * When a man makes a newspaper statement he is never sure of being quoted correctly, but when he makes a statement in his own handwriting, he is sure of being placed in the right place."

The St. Louis Chronicle of November 24, 1884, reports General Sherman as saying: "This is an affair between two gentlemen. I will take my time about it and write to Mr. Davis himself. We will settle the matter between us." When asked by the reporter, "Have the papers misrepresented you in your remarks before the Frank Blair Post, G. A. R.?" He replied, "I say nothing about that. My reply to Mr. Davis will not be through the newspapers. They are not the arbiters of this question, nor the go-between for any dispute. I have nothing more to say."

It is hardly necessary for me to say that General Sherman did not write to me, and we have not settled the matter between us otherwise than as I settled it by denouncing his statement as false and himself as a slanderer. There the matter would have rested so far as I was concerned, and anything that Sherman, on his own responsibility, might have afterwards said would have been treated by me with that silence which the mendacious utterings of an irresponsible slanderer deserved. But when the War Department of the United States was made the custodian of his slander, and the Republican Senators became its endorsers, and the statements made at the Frank Blair Post were lifted into official importance, it became a duty, alike to myself and to the people I represented, to follow the slanders with my denial, and to expose alike its author and his endorsers.

The United States Senate, by resolution offered by Senator Hawley, and debated during January 12 and 13, 1885, called upon the President of the United States "to communicate to the Senate a historical statement concerning the public policy of the executive department of the Confederate States during the late war of the rebellion, reported to have been lately filed in the War Department by General William T. Sherman." It was by means of that resolution that the slander was revived, and its utterer enabled to mould together a pretended foundation for his baseless utterance at the Frank Blair Post. While the matter was fresh in the memory and under the searching inquiry of the newspaper reporters, General Sherman represented that he could not consistently give the name of the Senator to whom he said the letter had been written, and after every Senator from the Southern States had denied receiving any such letter, and many of them had expressed their belief that no such letter ever had been in existence, he failed to sustain his assertion by the production of proof of the existence of a letter from me such as he had alleged he had seen. After such full denial both by myself, the reputed writer, and by every Senator who could have been the receiver of that pretended letter, the Senate offered an opportunity to General Sherman to unload his slander deposited in the War Department, and to spread the vile mass on the files of the United States Senate.

In the interval between the meeting at the Frank Blair Post in November, 1884, and January 6, 1885, Dr. H. C. Robbins, of Cresson, Ogle county, Illinois, loaned Sherman a letter, which he said had been written by the late Alexander H. Stephens to the late Herschel V. Johnson, both now dead. Sherman being unable to verify his authority for the assertion made by him at the Frank Blair Post, this Stephens-Johnson letter was to be substituted for the Davis letter, which, with the circumstantiality needful to one having little credibility, Sherman said he had seen, knew to be mine from his acquaintance with my

handwriting, and appended to which he identified my signature. In view of the peremptory demand made for the letter, and in the absence of any answer as to where or when or in whose possession it was seen, a gentleman might hesitate to decide whether subterfuge were more paltry or absurd.

The next attempt at deception was to represent the war records in confusion, but this device failed as signally as had the other misrepresentations of General Sherman. On the 12th of December, five days after the publication of his certificate, the following press telegram swept that subterfuge away from him:

Washington, D. C., December 12.—The statement that the rebellion archives, now in the War Department, are in confusion, and that if the Davis letter, to which General Sherman has referred, were there, it would take much time, and involve great search to find it, is erroneous. The archives have all been gone over thoroughly in the preparation of the War Records in progress of publication, and persons in charge of the archives, and who have a knowledge of their contents, say that no such letter as that spoken of by General Sherman is now there, or has ever been there."

It is apparent, then, that Sherman never saw any such letter of mine as that which he said he had read and identified by my signature, and that the Stephens-Johnson letter was acquired after the speech had been made, and was seized upon to create a pretext upon which he could excuse his falsehood. The conclusive proof which had come to light by denials from Senators of having received from me any such letter, and by their denying that they had ever heard any such opinions expressed by me, placed Sherman in a dilemma from which to advance involved further falsehood, and from which retreat was only possible with humiliation and disgrace. He selected the easier course, and went forward with falsehood attending every step. In his letter to the War Department, of January 6, 1885, he says he found my letter at Raleigh, North Carolina, saying:

"Among the books collected at the palace in Raleigh was a clerk's or secretary's copy-book, containing loose sheets and letters, among which was the particular letter of Mr. Davis to which I referred in my St. Louis speech, and notwithstanding," he said, "I gave it little attention at the time," yet he claimed twenty-odd years after that he could recall its expressions and repeat its purport. He said that the Stephens-Johnson letter was the letter, and here's the original, but he reported to the War Department that "that particular letter of Mr. Davis" was found by him in Raleigh.

Senator Vance, upon hearing of the alleged Raleigh letter, promptly denied all knowledge of it, and wrote to the Washington Post, under date of December 13, 1885, that:

"Every letter ever written to me on a political topic by President Davis is to be found faithfully copied on the official letterbooks of the executive department of North Carolina. Those letter-books were taken from me by General Sherman's troops at the closing of the war, and are now in possession of the War Department in this city. Aside from the letter-books, General Sherman never saw any letter addressed to me by President Davis. Although I have not seen those books and read their contents in almost twenty years, I am quite sure that no such letter can be found there. I could not have forgotten such a letter had it been received by me. The suggestion, therefore, that I am the person referred to in General Sherman's statement is entirely untrue. The attempt of some newspapers to give probability to this suggestion, by alleging that I was in bitter hostility whilst Governor of North Carolina to the administration of Mr. Davis, is based also upon a misrepresentation of the facts."

Senator Vance at the same time sent to the Washington Post a copy of my letter to him of date November 1, 1862, which he said "contains no such expression as a threat against States attempting to secede from the Confederacy, but does contain this expression: 'I feel grateful to you for the cordial manner in which you have sustained every proposition connected with the public defence.' This much is due to truth. I do not wish to pose as a martyr to the circumtsances of those times, or as one ready to turn upon his associates after defeat. I desire to take my full share of responsibility for anything I did and said during those unhappy times.

"Great as were the abilities, and high as were the courage and faithfulness of Mr. Davis, I have no disposition to load

him with all the misfortunes of defeat."

Before the publication of the above letter from Senator Vance in the Washington Post, interviews with Senator Vance had developed the fact that a correspondence had taken place during the war between Governor Vance and myself, and at that General Sherman also grasped as the foundation for his slander. A St. Louis Republican reporter, on the 15th of December, 1884, asked General Sherman, "Was Senator Vance, the Senator referred to in your speech at the opening of the new headquarters of the Frank Blair Post?" "Well, sir," said General Sherman, very slowly, "I won't say that he wasn't." My alleged Raleigh letter has never been found. Sherman

says it was sent to Nashville, Savannah, Washington and St. Louis, and may have been finally burned in Chicago in the great fire in 1871. But in all its travels no other person but Sherman saw it; not a single officer at any headquarters has been produced who read it, and it passes belief that in the excitement of the closing days of the war, and during my imprisonment, when every letter of mine was carefully examined to find evidence upon which to convict and destroy me, that not an officer at all those headquarters should have read that letter. Every fair-minded man must therefore conclude that General Sherman stated at the Grand Army Post a willful and deliberate falsehood, and that his motive had its inspiration in that mean malice which has characterized his acts and writings in other respects towards the Southern people.

A man so lost to every sense of truth deserved to receive the contempt of every one who values veracity, but Senator Hawley, in offering the resolution above quoted, said: "Personally, however, he did not hesitate to say that in a controversy between Jefferson Davis and General Sherman he (Mr. Hawley) was on General Sherman's side all the time." High qualification that for an United States Senator, who may sit a judge in the Court of Impeachment, the highest tribunal of the land.

I leave Mr. Hawley by General Sherman's side, with no desire whatever to have either one or the other on my side. Senator Conger denied my equal citizenship with Sherman until "something" is done by me; if that "something" to be done is to take such part as that filled by Sherman and his indorsers on this occasion, the described inequality must ever remain. Another Senator (Ingalls) evinced very great indignation because "the Democratic party had in debate in the Senate taken sides with Jefferson Davis," and that "they had always indorsed him, always approved his course, and had declared that there was nothing wrong in his record that would convince posterity that he was not a man of honor and a patriot," and that "the Senator from Alabama (Mr. Morgan) and the Senator from Missouri (Mr. Vest) had taken occasion to inform the Senate that there were millions of people in the United States to day who loved Jefferson Davis, and to whom Jefferson Davis was endeared by the memory of common hardships, common privations and common calamities." It is not surprising that such expressions of confidence and regard should have been drawn out in a debate upon a resolution which had for its purpose the indorsement by the Senate of a mean slander, which was known to be unfounded in truth, and important only as covering with the mantle of the Senate the mendacity of a retired General of the army.

The Senate having given vitality to Sherman's slander, a full reply to the opinions and expressions therein is made, so that hereafter it may derive no credit even from its official character.

The so-called "historical statement concerning the public policy of the executive department of the Confederate States," as Sherman's letter to the War Department is headed in that "Ex. Doc.," opens with the following statement: "That I (Sherman) had seen papers which convinced me that even Mr. Davis, the President of the Southern Confederacy, had, during the progress of the war, changed his State rights doctrines, and had threatened to use force-even Lee's army-should any State of the Confederacy attempt to secede from that government." With the mental process by which General Sherman is "convinced," I have no concern, but the "papers" in which he alleged that I "threatened" to use force against the States of the Confederacy, ought to be tangible and producible, and in an "historical statement," the Senate ought to have demanded the production of the proofs, and on the failure to produce them, and after denial by Senators who Sherman alleged had received them, such an "historical statement," already branded with falsehood and unsupported by evidence, ought to have been rejected with only wonder how it got before the Senate.

In the absence of all authority for the statement, or of any creditable witness, General Sherman asserts that I abandoned my State rights doctrine, the unsupported assertion of a man whose reputation for veracity is not good, and who could have had no personal knowledge, must weigh light as a feather against all the testimony of my official life, as well as against the recollections of all those most intimately connected with me, not a few of whom criticised my strict adherence to the Constitution and laws. His reiteration, even "a thousand times," will fail to convince any reasonable man that he did not know he never had seen any "papers" written by me threatening to use the army against any State of the Confederacy.

In this connection, I may refer to my action when Kentucky was invaded by the United States army and her people prevented by military power from acting for themselves on the question of secession. My personal friend and family physician, Dr. A. Y. P. Garnett, of Washington city, in a letter of the 17th of January last, recalls to my memory the application of himself and other friends to me to send military aid into Kentucky, there to support the friends of the Southern States. My letter

of January 22d to Dr. Garnett, explains the principles that guided me on that occasion. In that letter I said:

"Yours of the 17th instant has this day been received, and to your inquiry I reply that, though it is not in my power to recite the language employed in response to you and others who urged me to send Confederate troops into Kentucky to prevent the Federal government from intimidating the Legislature and people of that State by a military occupation, and thus to prevent Kentucky from passing an ordinance of secession, I do well remember that to you as to others, I answered substantially that I would not do such violence to the rights of the State. No one could have felt a deeper interest or more affectionate regard for Kentucky than I did, and it may well be that I did not believe the people of Kentucky, the State especially distinguished in the early period of her history for the assertion of State rights and State remedies, could be driven from the maintenance of a creed which had ever been her point of pride.

"My answer, as correctly stated by you, shows that my decision was not based on expediency, and however reluctant I may have been to reject the advice of yourself and other friends, in whose judgment and sincerity I had implicit confidence, I would not, for all the considerations involved, disregard the limitations of our Constitution and violate the cardinal principle which had been the guiding star of my political life."

The use made by General Sherman of an extract from a "Southern paper" as evidence that I encouraged expressions of hostility to State sovereignty, and thus was preparing to subvert the very Confederacy of which I was President, has drawn forth from Mr. Nat. Tyler, the surviving editor of the Richmond (Va.) Enquirer, the following letter:

"Washington, D. C., January 15, 1885.

"Hon, JEFFERSON DAVIS:

"DEAR SIR:—My attention has been called to an extract from the Richmond Enquirer, which has been incorporated by General W. T. Sherman in his letter of January 6, 1885, to the Secretary of War, and I have been asked if that extract is genuine. I have no means at hand for ascertaining whether or not the extract is from the Enquirer; but, after carefully reading it, I am disposed to regard it as genuine. It truthfully represents the views of the editorial management of the Enquirer at that time. I witnessed the extraordinary efforts which the United States authorities were making for our conquest and subjugation, and I considered it to be the duty of our people to make like sacrifices for safety and liberty. The 'convention' referred to in the extract was the convention proposed in North

Carolina in the early part of 1864, in the contest for Governor, between Mr. Holden and Governor Vance, and which had for its object to give opportunity of action to the incipient treason which was rife in that State under the leadership of Mr. Holden. The article from the Enquirer was intended to support Governor Vance and the Confederate cause, which the management of the paper regarded as paramount to all other considerations. I did not presume to speak for you or your administration, but to utter what I believed every true Confederate to hold—that the public defence demanded the exercise of every energy, and that all that hindered that defence should be swept away and

remitted to more peaceful occasions.

"The Enquirer is the 'public journal' to which Mr. Stephens referred in his letter to Hon, H. V. Johnson, and which he represents as the 'organ' of your administration. I very distinctly remember his coming to the office and lecturing the editors on their support of the measures for the public defence; but, as his views were visionary and impracticable, his temper excited and his influence under a cloud, we gave to his person all respect and to his advice the least attention that was possible. He was a good man and a true and zealous Confederate, but his 'balance' was decidedly out of plumb in the last year of the war, and in politics he wabbled whenever he discussed public affairs. I have always believed if you had assumed 'absolute power,' shot deserters and hung traitors, seized supplies and brought to the front every man capable of bearing arms, that a different result of the war might have been obtained. But your very sensitive respect for Constitution and law, for the rights and sovereignties of States, is attested by the fact that the wildest license was allowed to the press, and that, right under your nose, to use Mr. Stephen's expression, the Examiner daily expressed sentiments of opposition to your measures, which, if any newspaper in the United States had dared to publish against Mr. Lincoln's recommendations, its editor would have been promptly imprisoned. By any comparison that can be made between your administration and that of President Lincoln, history will award to you far more respect for the essential features of personal liberty, for deference paid to State authority, and for respect shown for constitutional restraint.

"With the best wishes for your continued good health, I am,

dear sir, your sincere friend,

"NAT. TYLER."

It is apparent that this so-called "historical statement" had been seen by Republican Senators, and that they were not ignorant of its real character when the Hawley resolution was under discussion in the Senate. Those Senators then knew that General Sherman had, in his letter of January 6, 1885, to the Secretary of War, changed the issue between us from one of veracity to a rambling, shuffling discussion of a "conspiracy" and of "conspirators" in the winter of 1860-'61, and that which at the Frank Blair Post may have been "a white lie," not intended for publication, came before the Senate as an "historical statement," bolstered with other falsehoods equally without foundation or support in anything written or uttered by me. It now survives as an "Ex. Doc." of picturesque prevarication.

I know nothing of any "conspiracy" or of any "conspirators." There was no secrecy about any of the political affairs which led to the secession of the States in 1860-'1. There was no possibility of any concealment. The people were advised by the press, they acted knowingly, and the results, through all their various phases, were necessarily known to the people, by whom they were ratified and confirmed. To talk now of conspiracy and conspirators is shallow nonsense, and notwithstanding Sherman says that he "was approached by a number of the Knights of the Golden Circle," that accusation will be dismissed as the coinage of political demagogues. If Sherman was approached by "conspirators" they knew their man; they may have heard of his conversation at Vicksburg, his expressions of approval of Southern action, his talk of the "d-d Yankees" to Governor Roper, and such expressions, and may have regarded him as a fit conspirator with themselves. No man ever insulted me by approaching me with suggestions of conspiracy.

As to the action taken at the conference of some of the Southern Senators in January, 1861, and which is introduced in this "historical statement" as evidence of a "conspiracy," it is only necessary to say to those Senators who, in the debate on the Hawley resolution, referred to the letter of D. L. Yulee to Joseph Finnegan, and the resolutions attached thereto, that the resolutions were forwarded to the conventions of the States then in session, and that they were the resolutions of Senators representing those States conveying to the conventions of the States the views of the Senators. Those resolutions were not discovered by General Sherman; they were not dug up from beneath the sod in any yard through which he marched. They were necessarily public since they were sent to conventions of the States, and they were printed in the newspapers. To speak of such action as a conspiracy, as Senator Sherman did in the debate on the Hawley resolution, shows to what defence he was driven to assist his brother out of the mire of mendacity in which he was floundering.

It was the opinion of that conference, in 1861, that secession was the only remedy left to the States; that every effort to preserve peace had failed, mainly through the action of that portion of the Republican party which refused all propositions for adjustment made by those who sought, in January 1861, to justify confidence, insure peace, and preserve the Union. In the same month in which that conference was held. I served on a committee raised by the Senate to seek some possible mode of quelling the excitement that then existed. That committee was composed of the three political divisions of the Senate, and it was considered useless to report any measure which did not receive the concurrence of at least a majority of each division. The Republican Senators rejected every proposition that promised pacification, and the committee reported to the Senate that their consultation was a failure. Was there less conspiracy in the Republican Senators combining to prevent pacification than there was in Southern Senators uniting in conference to advise the conventions of their States that their cause was hopeless in Washington? Mr. Douglas, of Illinois, assailed the Republican side of the Senate for their refusal to accept any terms that were offered to them, and demanded to know what they proposed to do, and in that connection referred to Senator Toombs and myself as having been willing to accept the line of 36° 30'. or the Missouri Compromise, and that the Republican Senators rejected the proposition. Which were the conspirators, the Senators who offered the Missouri Compromise for the sake of peace, or the Senators who rejected that offering in order to enjoy a little blood-letting? The venerable Senator Crittenden. of the Committee, used all his power and influence on the side of the peaceful efforts of the Southern Senators, and not unfrequently expressed himself in the most decided terms as to the conduct of the opposition. Party necessity may attribute the actions of the Southern Senators to conspiracy, but history will treat the actors of those days as they deserve, and to her verdict, in common with my compatriots in that trying hour, the issue is referred.

The epithets which Senator Sherman in the debate applied to myself, are his mode of retaliation for my denunciation of his brother. I have been compelled to prove General Sherman to be a falsifier and a slanderer in order to protect my character and reputation from his willful and unscrupulous mendacity. If his brother, the Senator, felt the sting of that exposure, and his epithets are any relief, I am content that he shall go on the

record as denouncing me as a "traitor" because I have proved his brother to be a liar.

As the Republican party renounced the issue of treason when it abandoned my trial in 1867, not at my instance, but in face of my defiance, its leaders of the present day but stultify themselves in the cry of traitor which they raise at the mention of my name. This is more a matter of traffic than of argument, but as it serves to keep alive the issues and prejudices of the war period, it is a device which, as politicians, they may not like to abandon. It is not surprising that the politicians of a party which, in the mad fury of its passions, deliberately hung a harmless and helpless woman, should continue to keep warm their malice against an old soldier, and long a civil official, by the frequent use of epithets. If it affords them any relief, it costs me so little concern that it would be uncharitable to deny them the enjoyment they take in hurling epithets at me, a game in which any fishwoman might successfully compete.

The Senate, when about to give its sanction to General Sherman's "historical statement," ought, in fairness, to have demanded of him the production of the verifying letters, papers, and information within his knowledge or possession. He says in that "Ex. Doc.": "But of him (myself) I have personal knowledge, not meant for publication, but to become a part of the 'Traditions of the Civil War,' which the Grand Army of the Republic will preserve." What fair and honorable purpose could the Senate have had in sanctioning such a base and infamous innuendo, as that above quoted from page 3 of the "Ex. Doc.?" If that "personal knowledge" is withheld from publication for the purposes of future slanders, surely the Senate ought not to have made itself a party to that malice which hides its slanders until their subject shall have passed away, and contradiction and exposure become difficult, if not impossible. But I am not apprehensive of Sherman's additions to the "Traditions of the Civil War;" he stands pilloried before the public and all future history as an imbecile scold or an infamous slanderer—as either, he is harmless.

The statement on page 3, that a box containing private papers of mine was found at the house of my brother, Joseph E. Davis, is untrue. The error in the place where a box was seized by his pillagers would not have been material if made by a truthful man, but when an habitual falsifier falls into even a slight error of locality, it is not surprising that he should be suspected of having intentionally fixed upon my brother's residence to give point and probability to some other falsehood. The box of

papers was found at a farmer's house several miles away from my brother's, and the box did not contain a single letter written to me or by me at Montgomery. Therefore Sherman's statement that he abstracted from that box three letters which had been written to me by loyal officers of the United States army, and returned to the writers to protect them from the suspicion of complicity with the Government at Montgomery, can have no other foundation in truth than, probably, the discovery of letters written at former times and received by me before the inauguration of the Confederate Government at Montgomery.

It is due to the memory of the late Alexander H. Stephens, whose letter to Herschel V. Johnson has been made the foundation for this vile assault upon myself, to say, that if the letter is genuine, and has not been altered to serve Sherman's malice against myself, that it was written under excitement and when disappointment and apprehension of our overthrow had influenced his judgment and opinion, and that this private letter, written under its attending circumstances, never intended for publication, and expressing hasty opinions, will not be allowed to cast its shadow over the carefully prepared history of the war which Mr. Stephens has left to inform posterity of his views of public men and measures. I will be pardoned for extracting from Mr. Stephens's "War between the States" remarks complimentary to myself, since they completely refute the purpose for which the Johnson letter has been produced. In Volume II, pages 624-5, commenting upon the meeting at the African church, in Richmond, after the unsuccessful effort for peace in Hampton Roads, Mr. Stephens says:

"Many who had heard this master of oratory in his most brilliant displays in the Senate and on the hustings said they never before saw Mr. Davis so really majestic! The occasion and the effects of the speech, as well as all the circumstances under which it was made, caused the minds of not a few to revert to appeals by Rienzi and Demosthenes.

"However much I admired the heroism of the sentiment expressed, yet in his general views or policy to be pursued in the then situation I could not concur. I doubt not that all—the President, the Cabinet and Congress—did the very best they could, from their own convictions of what was best to be done

at the time."

In the same volume, on page 657, Mr. Stephens speaks of me as a man "of very strong convictions and great earnestness of purpose." In a conversation had during the summer of 1863, which was reduced to writing at the time, Mr. Stephens said:

"The hardships growing out of our military arrangements are not the fault of the President; * * * they are due to his sub-ordinates."

In October of the same year, ("Life of A. II. Stephens," by Johnson & Browne, pages 445-47,) he wrote to a friend who had asked what would be his probable course in the event of the death of myself, as follows:

"I should regard the death of the President as the greatest possible public calamity. What I should do I know not. A large number of prominent and active men in the country * * * would distrust my ability to conduct affairs successfully. They have now, and would have, no confidence in my judgment or capacity for the position that such an untimely misfortune would cast upon me."

These passages (and others might be selected from the writings of Mr. Stephens since the war) bear voluntary and involuntary testimony to my character and motives, and more than answer the complaints contained in the letter to Mr. H. V. Johnson, and in the canvass just preceding his death. Mr. Stephens said that the only difference between us during the war was as to the policy of shipping the cotton crop of 1861 to Europe. That criticism, when made by another, was fully answered by Mr. Trenholm and Mr. Memminger, the two secretaries of the Confederate States treasury, in which they very clearly showed that the cotton crop of 1861 had been mainly exported before the Confederate government was formed, and that if reference was made to any later crop, the Confederacy had no ships in which to export it, and the blockade prevented, to a great extent, foreign ships from taking the cotton out.

The "secret message," which is printed in this "historical statement," was communicated to the Confederate States Congress, and recommended the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. The reasons for that recommendation are fully set forth in the message. It was an application to Congress for authority to suspend the writ, and it was within the constitutional power of Congress to grant the authority. It was a measure of public defence against schemes and plots of enemies which could not be reached under the process of law. On two occasions was that extraordinary remedy resorted to, and each was by authority of Congress. But even when the writ was suspended, no head of any cabinet department kept a "little bell," the tinkle of which consigned to prison men like Teackle Wallis, George William Brown, John Merryman, Charles How-

ard, Judge Carmichael dragged off the bench, and which became as fearful to the people as the lettres-de cachet of the tyrants of Paris. Martial law followed the army of the United States, and provost marshals were often the judges that passed upon the person and property of ladies, children and old men, and the venerable Chief Justice Taney was not spared the humiliation of seeing even the Supreme Court of the United States brought to understand that the civil had become subordinate to the military authority.

The conscript law in the Confederate States, and the draft in the United States, were measures adopted by the respective Congresses, and not acts of either Mr. Lincoln or myself. They were both measures of public defence, intended to equalize the burden of military duty, as far as it was compatible with the public defence. As well might we leave revenue to be provided by voluntary contribution, instead of by general taxation, or the roads to be worked by the willing and industrious, instead of distributing the burden equitably over the whole people. Yet the Senators that called for this "historical statement" will hardly hold that President Lincoln was seeking a dictatorship because he enforced the draft.

This "historical statement" might have been enlarged and extended by the Senate, and made to embrace the deliberate misrepresentation by General Sherman of the communication to him by Colonel J. D. Stevenson, in regard to Albert Sidney Johnston's command in San Francisco. In a letter to Colonel William H. Knight, of Cincinnati, Ohio, dated October 28, 1884, General Sherman asserted that "Colonel J. D. Stevenson, now living in San Francisco, has often told me that he had cautioned the Government as to a plot or conspiracy, through the department commander, Albert Sidney Johnston, to deliver possession of the forts, etc., to men in California sympathizing with the rebels in the South, and he thinks it was by his advice that the President (Lincoln) sent General E. V. Sumner to relieve Johnston of his command before the conspiracy was consummated." That statement of Sherman, the veteran Colonel J. D. Stevenson promptly and emphatically denied, saying: "The history of this matter was published fully and in detail in the San Francisco Evening Post in its issue of October 9, 1880. What reports General Keyes may have made to the authorities at Washington, I do not know; but that the removal of General Johnston was the means of preventing a Pacific republic, I do not for an instant believe; for neither at the time of General Sumner's taking command and relieving General Johnston, nor at any time afterward, do I believe any uprising or conspiracy was contemplated." Colonel Stevenson adds that General Sumner held General Albert Sidney Johnston to be "a soldier, a gentleman and an honorable man; he is incapable of betraying a trust." That slander against General Albert Sidney Johnston was an equally unnecessary and as uncalled for as the wholly gratuitous assault upon myself.

General Grant himself has not been exempt from Sherman's malice. To Colonel Scott, Sherman wrote, "if C. J. Smith had lived Grant would have disappeared to history." This remarkable statement was published by General Fry and pointedly and emphatically denied by General Sherman. Prompt to slander, he is equally quick to deny his language. The letter of Sherman, dated September 6, 1883, was written to Colonel Scott, now of the War Record office. The denial of Sherman has caused the publication of the letter and exposure of his hypocrisy in recent laudation of the dead chieftain.

The deliberate falsehood which Sherman inserted in his official report, that Columbia, South Carolina, had been burned by General Wade Hampton, was afterwards confessed in his "Memoirs" to have been "distinctly charged on General Wade Hampton to shake the faith of his people in him." Even when confessing one falsehood he deliberately coined another, and on the same page of his "Memoirs" said that the fire "was accidental," when he knew, from the letter of General Stone, who commanded the Provost Guard in Columbia, that the fire was not accidental. How much more he knew, he may in future "Memoirs" or "statements" reveal.

Can any man imagine less moral character, less conception of truth, less regard for what an official report should contain, than is shown by Sherman deliberately concocting a falsehood for the dishonorable purpose of shaking the faith of the people of South Carolina in their fellow citizen, General Wade Hampton? His election to be Governor of that State by the votes of a larger majority of her people of every race than was ever polled before or since; his elevation to the Senate of the United States, and the respect, admiration and regard which is shown to him, must be particularly vexing to the Shermans, and may have suggested to the General to "hedge" in his "Memoirs" and confess his wrong doing. Such an act of penance, if it brought true and genuine repentance, would have protected the memory of Albert Sidney Johnston, the fame of General Grant and my own reputation from the slanders which called forth this exposure. It would also have prevented the United States from having indorsed a falsehood, which is liable to be confessed when another volume of "Memoirs" shall be prepared.

I have in this vindication, not of myself only, but also of the people who honored me with the highest official position in their gift, been compelled to group together instances of repeated falsehoods deliberately spoken and written by General Sherman—the Blair Post slander of myself, the defamation of the character of General Albert Sidney Johnston, the disparagement of the military fame of General Grant, and the shameful and corrupt charge against General Hampton. I have prepared this examination and exposure only because the Senate of the United States has given to Sherman's slander an indorsement which gives it whatever claims it may have to attention and of power to mislead in the future. Having specifically stamped the statement as false, having proved its author to be an habitual slanderer, and not having a partisan secretary to make a place for this notice of a personal tirade, which was neither an official report nor record made during the war, so as to entitle it to be received at the office of archives. I submit it to the public through the columns of a newspaper which discountenances foul play and misrepresentation, and which was kind and just to me in saving in its issue of January 14, 1885:

"The Sherman statement was altogether one-sided; Mr. Davis had yet to be heard from, and for the Republicans of the Senate to force a snap judgment upon the Sherman statement without hearing what Mr. Davis had to say about it, smacks more of the political partisan than of the fair-minded adversary." The public, through The Sun, has this, my reply, and can dispense its "even-handed justice" with full knowledge of the facts.

Very sincerely yours,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Isaiah T. Montgomery 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Vicksburg, Miss., Sept. 27th, 1886.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Harrison Co., Miss. Dear Sir:

Feeling assured that you would take active interest in any Enterprise tending to the welfare and development of the Colored people of Mississippi, We have today mailed you a

¹ Former slave of Jefferson Davis; a safe leader of his race, now living at Mound Boyan, Miss.

Catalogue of the 1st Fair held in '85, and some notices of the second meeting which takes place at the Fair Grounds near this City from the 10th to 13th Novbr. next. If convenient for you to be in this locality about that time, we would be highly pleased to have you visit the Fair, We would also esteem it a special mark for encouragement if yourself and distinguished Lady would name a special Premium, (see page 12 to 14 in catalogue) in any line that may suit you to put in our Catalogue for '86 and competed for at the coming Fair. With best wishes for your continued preservation

I am Very Respectfully Your Obt. Servt.

(Signed) ISAIAH T. MONTGOMERY.

Prest.

Jefferson Davis to James Redpath.

(From New York Historical Society.)

good

(Ansd

Private

Beauvoir, Missi. 30th Sept. 1886

James Redpath Esqr. Dear Sir.

Accept my thanks for your very considerate letter of the 24th Inst. and also for your kindness in sending me a copy of the N. American of 1819, which is to me a matter of great interest.

When notified that your Review would accept an article which I might prepare on the subject of the Indians, I went diligently to work to furnish it with the least practicable delay. Having always looked upon the North American as the favored repository of Indian history and literature it was my special preference, if I should write anything on that subject, that it should be associated with the good things of earlier times. The loss of my library in Missi by pillage during the war deprived me of the valuable and old books of reference with which I was familiar, and of all the frontier, it was therefore that I applied to you for the article of the late Mr. Cass and which I remembered as containing the information needful for what I proposed to write. The lengthening shadows of my evening, point far back reviving many memories which were unheeded in my busier life, but the actual observations of wild Indians fall so far below the romantic descriptions of popular writers, that their recital will probably command but little attention.

In reference to the article on Robert Emmet I have so little experience as to the space which Mss would occupy when put

into print, that I had no idea that the article would fill 24 pps. of the N. American Review. It is true that I have noticed the tendency in this telegraphic age to condense and abridge and the attendant consequence of popular demand to have the kernel only presented. I do not know what ferret could have found and sent the information in regard to that article to the New York paper.

Thanking you for your kind expressions in regard to the

article I am.

Respectfully yours,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

J. A. Early to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Lynchburg, Va. October 4th, 1886.

My Dear Sir:

I have read your reply to that miserable creature, Sherman, with great satisfaction, as have a great many others. As a specimen of the manner in which it is received and spoken of, I send you an editorial clipped from "The State," which is published at Richmond!

There is one suggestion, however, which I am compelled to make. In publishing your reply, have you not violated one of the fundamental principles of constitutional liberty? The 8th Amendment to the U. S. Constitution expressly forbids "cruel and unusual punishments," and I presume a similar provision was incorporated in the Constitution of the Confederate States. It is contained in the Bill of rights of Virginia, and I presume is also in the constitution of your native State and your present State.

Now, you have not only scalped "Tecumseh," but you have literally flayed him alive. Is that not a "cruel and unusual

punishment''?

I see that "The State" assumes that you are deprived of the right of suffrage by the 14th amendment, and some time since I saw that you had made a remark to the same effect in a Democratic Convention at Mississippi City. In this you are mistaken. The 3rd section of the 14th Amendment provides: "No person shall be a senator or representative, or elector of president and vice-president, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any state, who having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any state legislature,

or as an executive or judicial officer of any state, to support the constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof; but Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disability."

This is the only provision on the subject in any of the amendments to the U.S. Constitution, and you will see that it does not deprive you of the right of suffrage, but merely disables you from holding office. So that you are entitled to vote, unless there is some provision in the constitution of Mississippi which deprives you of that right.

I am generally regarded as being under the disabilities imposed by the 14th amendment, and have never had them removed; yet I vote at all of our elections, and this is the case with many others similarly situated. I don't think I come under the provisions of the 14th amendment, as I never took an oath, as an officer of the army, to support the Constitution. but Congress holds differently, as in the case of Lawton.

I hope you will allow Miss Winnie to remain in Richmond until after the 21st of this month, as we will have the meeting of the Va. Div. Assn. A.N.V. on that day, which will be during Fair week.

With best regards for yourself and family,

Very Truly yours, J. A. EARLY.

Hon. Jefferson Davis. endorsed: Genl. Early on Sherman.

¹ Clipping from "The State," of Richmond, Va., Oct. 2, 1886.

Jefferson Davis.

His Excellency Jefferson Davis, late President of the Confederate States of America, has written one of the ablest and most vigorous papers and most complete vindications that have fallen from writers of either side since the war. His reply, published in yesterday's Baltimore Sun, to the assertions of Gen. Sherman is unanswerable, eloquent and manly. During the last twenty years it has been the habit of northern popularity-seekers to hoot every time Mr. Davis has spoken; to cry arch-traitor when he has repelled the assaults upon himself, and even in the South time servers, timid politicians and alarmists have shuddered whenever he has opened his mouth, while with bated breath they have deprecated his utterances as

În glancing at the career of Jefferson Davis since the war we will discover the fact that his public utterances have been made in response, first, to the requests of southern people, and, second, in repelling attacks made upon him by northern South-haters who have invariably selected him as their target. We will discover, too, that when he has struck back his

assailants have retired shattered and humiliated.

Jefferson Davis stands as the representative of the late Confederacy. The voice of its people elected him President, and he was its President when it was overthrown. Therefore when its former soldiers and citizens have looked for some one to honor with an invitation to address them it was appropriate for them to invite Mr. Davis, and it was appropriate for him to accept the invitation. Furthermore, it was appropriate for him to reassert his belief in the justness of the cause for which he and they contended, and certainly when he was assailed by its ungenerous enemies he had an honorable man's right to defend himself. And amidst the storm of abuse he has borne himself with dignity, he has by neither act nor word obtruded himself so far as the present Government of the United States is concerned. He alone has been singled out for disfranchisement and the country in which he lives, to which he pays taxes and whose laws he obeys refuses him the common privilege of voting. But no man has heard him complain; no man has heard from him a petition for pardon or an acknowledgment that his public life and acts were wrong, and no man will hear such an acknowledgment because his future will be as consistent as his past. Weaklings may sneer, but to us there is no greater spectacle than this man living up to the idea of his life, holding fast to a principle of which he has been such an intrepid exponent.

His letter in reply to Sherman was called forth by that General's cowardly and uncalled for attack made from an ambuscade of lies upon Mr. Davis. It is concise; after listing Sherman's charges he dismisses each one tagged with a label showing to the world that their contents are only falsehoods. Mr. Davis leaves the individual who has presumed too much upon an alleged "march to the sea" in a condition so abject that we imagine another march to the sea, terminated by a headlong jump therein, would be an appropriate and decent ending of a career hereafter infamous. Never before in the history of this country has a general of the United States Army been so publicly and so terribly convicted of conduct 'unbecoming an officer and a gentleman.' To assail a brave foe in his retirement upon the presumption that he is defenceless is cowardly enough, but to stoop to lying about him, and when detected to attempt to bolster this up with another lie, and yet another, presents a spectacle of which the whole country should be ashamed.

Mr. Davis's letter will rank among his best writings. It shows that the power which made him one of the foremost men in the United States before their dissolution is with him in the hour of their reunion, and it brings before the gaze of the world the picture of a statesman brave in his old age, and armed strongly with his revitalising convictions which relight his eye with the old-time flash and give resonance to those grand periods and sharpness to that defiant ring with which he has ever defended his cause when it has been attacked. That the gentle poet of older decades declared that many unseen flowers waste their fragrance on the desert air is not reason for believing that all unseen flowers fruitlessly scatter their harmonies of aroma. While a patriot lay dying in a town, unseen flowers bloomed in a mountain gorge, but their fragrance was lifted by the breeze and tendered unto his presence, and, with last words, he paid them tribute-"Carry me through Goschen Pass when the laurels are in bloom." It was the flower of victory to the vanquished! It was the white emblem of a pure cause! And because in a lonely home on the Mississippi, cut off from the gaze of the world, lives a man, aged and an invalid, a man whose presence once lit up the Senate, and whose words were like music to the believers in constitutional liberty—because this man is unseen it must not be supposed that his presence cannot be felt or is forgotten, for such words as he has just written will float over the land and carry with them to the lovers of the dead Confederacy the sweet and pure suggestions of the laurel; he is victorious in the hour of his defeat. He has rebuffed the slanderer. He has placed himself and that which he held right before the world, as he would have both understood. Grand old man! May his fidelity to his convictions never be forgotten, but teach others that taunts cannot cower the man strong in consciousness of duty. May many yet to come know him in his might of ability, in richness of honor, and bring vitality to a frame which holds a true heart, ruled by an intellect which leads it always for what he deems the good of the South.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Minor Oreus. Oct. 14th, '86.

My dear Davis:

Many thanks for the Sun, it places you rectus in curia totus teves atque rotundus. I read it to my Signora and her remark was fine. "What a terrible letter and he has such a sweet face"—truth is truly terrible.

Your paper is fatal to all republican institutions based on universal suffrage.

The Senate—the "highest court of impeachment" knowingly connives with the Executive of the U.S. (the Secretary of War) to gloss over a slander and then to make it history to defame one man and elevate a knave.

If Cleveland is a gentleman he should act decisively or he becomes involved in the disgrace—however our institutions and the general character of the people are beyond extermination.

Ever yours, (Signed) L. B. Northrop.

Taylor McRae¹ to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

San Antonio, Texas. Oct. 16th, 1886.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

Dear Sir:

I have but just read your letter to the Baltimore Sun, exposing Sherman, and cannot resist conveying to you my appreciation and gratification at the thorough and satisfactory manner in which you annihilated him. I have passed the paper from hand to hand, and all old Confederates here join in my satisfaction and pray that you may live to yet down all your persecutors and villifiers, in the same grand manner that you have Sherman. We rejoice in having had you for our leader and are prouder of you every day.

¹ County assessor, Bexar County, Texas.

We love you for the "enemies you have made." My greatest desire on earth is to pay my old state a visit and see you. I never had the honor of seeing you, although all other members of my family have known you. My brother Malcolm J. McRae visited your house often during the war and my uncles Colin and John McRae were friends I know. I was a private in the 3rd Reg. Mississippi Infantry and served in the Tennessee Army, but at the time you were on a visit to the Troops at Atlanta in 1864 I was in the Hospital wounded so I missed seeing you.

Your time is too valuable for you to waste it upon letters such as this so I will halt here, only praying that the choicest blessings may descend upon your honored head, and that of your

wife and family.

May your life be long preserved to your people who love and honor you above all on Earth.

Very respectfully your countryman,

(Signed) TAYLOR MCRAE.

J. R. Trimble ¹ to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Walnut Springs, London, Ohio. Oct. 23d, 1886.

Hon. Jefferson Davis Dear Sir

I have rec^d yours of 15th inst—forwarded to me from Baltimore—and read its contents with very great gratification, as I continue to feel the deepest interest and regard for you and your family.

I have some memoranda of events at Johnson's Is^d but very much regret that a full statement of facts relating to our treatment there, which I had prepa^d by a committee of officers was left with the Secretary and is now beyond my reach. These facts would make all fair minded men blush with shame (nothing would crimson the check of the Logans, Shermans, Blaine, &c. &c. and other politicians, who only retain their eminence by false and scandalous tales of Southern people)—

Among the facts collected by the committee was this, that more than \$3,000. had been retained by officials (stolen would be the true word) from southern officers in prison, from remittances sent them by relatives and friends—as all our letters were opened—I had some of it restored after a sharp quarrel with the

¹ Confederate officer imprisoned at Johnson's Island.

commanding officer but the effort was too much, too disgusting, for me to continue the contest—

We were once three days and nights without any fire in our rooms or kitchen during the most inclement weather of 1864.

I propose to write out a statement of our treatment for our Southern Magazine at Richmond this winter—

Your kind invitation to pay you a visit this winter, is highly valued and I will endeavour to do so in Feby or March.

I have been spending the summer, at a "Cattle ranch" in this county—famous for as fine blue grass as can be found in Ky.; To ride in a buggy through these luxurious * and see the cattle "salted" once a week, is a novel treat to me—At the loud call of the heardsman, fat cattle—weighing 1,600 and more came rushing over the fields bellowing and prancing to Souse Knoll where salt is scattered in bare places by the hand full—Then of evenings when children come from school, they prevail on me to go out "nutting" in the open parks—every other tree is a shell-bark or walnut, with patches of hazel-nut bushes—such sports seem to cheat time out of some of the years heaped on my head. In fact I have had a perfect debauch of idleness—without a care and with no annoyance except from the wilful lies of political demagogues about the South—

With kind regards to Mrs. Davis and family-

I am sincerely and affectionately yrs,

(Signed) J. R. TRIMBLE.

I very much regret that I cannot be in Richmond at the ceremony of laying cornerstone of Lee mt. if only to see dear "Winnie"—

A. S. Priddy 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Keysville, Va. Oct 28th, 1886.

Hon. Jefferson Davis Beauvoir, Miss.

Respected Sir,

Pardon me for the liberty I take in addressing this letter to you but I am anxious to learn in what book a truthful account of so called "Hampton Roads compromise" is given. I am an earnest defender of your administration, but was too young to know, or recollect much about it at the time. This is for my own satisfaction and not for the "press."

Most Respectfully Yours,
Dr. A. Sidney Priddy.

¹ Physician of Keysville, Va.

^{*} A word is left out of original letter .- Typist.

D. H. Hill to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Milledgeville, Geo. Oct. 30th 1886.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Dear Sir.

I am thankful to you for your kind letter. As you have introduced the subject of our difference of opinion during the war, it may not be indelicate in me to state what I have always

felt to be a grievance.

When you decided on Missionary Ridge to sustain Gen. Bragg, you did right to remove from him all who lacked confidence in him. Supposing the decision to be right, the action based upon it could not justly be complained of. My complaint was, and is that all lacking this confidence except myself were given other commands and thus I was singled out to be alone humiliated. Now I had nothing to do with the Petition to the President of the Confederate States for the removal of Gen. Bragg, save that I signed it willingly. Gen. Polk got it up and it was written by Gen. Buckner. I did not canvass for it or discuss it. I honestly believed that the fruits of victory were lost through the fault of Gen. Bragg and therefore signed the Petition readily. You remember that Gen. Bragg blamed Gen. Polk for the lack of fruit from the victory. Bragg claimed that if the attack had been made at daylight as ordered, the enemy could have been driven out of Chattanooga before night-fall. Gen. Polk claimed that he transmitted the order for a daylight attack to be by a Courier, not a Staff Officer. Gen. Bragg's Battle Order for 19th designated a point at which he would be found that night. After "the night fight of Cleburne" as it was called, I rode from the battlefield (having gone into the action with Cleburne) to the point designated in Gen. Bragg's Order, reaching it after midnight. Neither Bragg, nor Polk was there, and I never heard one word of the daylight attack until I heard it from Bragg himself some time after sunrise the morning of the great battle. At daylight, both of these officers were several miles from the field and not there present to see their orders executed.

Now it was known to the whole country that Gen. Bragg made Gen. Polk the scape-goat for the failure at Chickamauga and it was equally well known that Gen. Polk shifted the blame to me. It was also well known that the Confederate President went out to Chattanooga to investigate the case of the troubles and that he gave Polk an important command and stripped Hill of all author-

ity. The inevitable conclusion was that the President believed Polk to be innocent and Hill to be guilty. This impression became confirmed when the President withheld Hill's nomination as a Lieut. Gen. from the Senate of the Confederate States. People argued that this was from a lack of confidence in Hill for his conduct at Chickamauga. They could reason in no other way.

And yet in no battle in the war did I render more efficient service. The Federal Reports now show the important part played by my Corps in that fight. Thomas kept weakening his right to resist the furious assaults of this Corps, until an opening was left into which Bushrod Johnson penetrated.

It you will look at my surroundings at Chattanooga, you will readily see why no credit was given by Confederates to the heroism of this Corps. The death roll told the tale and nothing else trumpeted their fame. The Federal Reports have done ample justice to these gallant men.

I believe that there was no one in the South between '61 and '65 more willing than myself to lay down his life for the Confederacy. And yet I was under the ban when my country most needed my services. Johnston and Beauregard both applied for me in vain. Col. Archer Anderson, who was Chief of Staff to Gen. Johnston, told me that the General said to him, (he never said it to me) that he could have struck many blows between Dalton and Atlanta had Hill been with him.

A Court of Inquiry, which would have vindicated my conduct, was refused upon the ground that there were no charges against me. But I paid the penalty all the same, as though guilty of a grave neglect of duty, if not guilty of misbehavior in presence of the enemy.

The truth of history will appear some day, and there have been some wonderful corrections within the last few years. Longstreet was not on the field of Seven Pines. He sent one brigade after another of his men to report to me. But what success we had was attributed to him. The published reports show that his division lost 300 men and that mine lost 3000. The Confederate Reports did not state that my division sustained the grand central attack at Sharpsburg. Subsequent Reports show that and that the death rate was nearly double in this division. It was the same thing at Chickamauga.

In those days it was easier to make a reputation through newspaper reporters than through hard fighting. I never had any of these bomb-proofs about me, and I never sought fame in that way. But I was as sensitive as any one in regard to a stain upon my good name. I have borne this stigma with what grace I could for a quarter of a century and it seems that it is to be left as an heir-loom to my children.

I have always thought a frank, fair statement from you would

relieve me of this stain.

In looking back upon my Confederate record, I have the endorsement of my own conscience that I honestly tried to do my duty everywhere and at all times. With a feeble body and poor constitution, I missed no march and no battle and failed in no known duty.

But whether you relieve me of this odium or not, I will never forget that you were the head of the Confederacy, the Representative of truth and right and the Recipient of all the shafts of

malice intended for our people.

Respectfully and Truly,
D. H. Hill.

endorsed: ans. Nov. 4.

D. H. Hill to Jefferson Davis.

Milledgeville, Geo. Nov. 8th 1886.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Dear Sir.

I am grateful to you for your kind letter. I had pneumonia in Little Rock during the Winter of 1879–'80, while on a visit to the Legislature in the interests of the State University at Fayette-ville Ark. Fearing that the issue might be fatal, I wrote to you requesting you, if consistent with your sense of propriety, to clear up the Chickamauga imbroglio. I believed that I ought to leave a stainless name to my children. That was my right,—but I feared that this case might leave a stain.

I never received an answer. You may have written to Little Rock, or still more probable, some rascally Post-Master may have suppressed the letter. I attributed your silence to your unwillingness to remove the censure and wrote no more about it.

I can make no suggestions about the kind of statement needed. You understand the situation fully and you understand fully the sensitive feelings of a soldier. I leave the matter in your own hands, trusting to your sense of justice. If you reply to this, it might be well to do so by registered letter.

Respectfully and Truly,
D. H. Hill.

endorsed: ansd. 24 Decr. '86.

Manly Tello 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Cleveland, O. Nov 8 1886.

Dear Mr. President:

I take it for granted you have noticed that the Louisville Southern Bivouac, conducted by Gen. Basil Duke, announces immediate publication of Confederate affairs in Canada. Names of Northern allies are to be given, etc. I not only fail to see benefit to be derived from these disclosures to which the authors, Hines and Castleman, apparently seek to give a quasi-official Confederate stamp, but I believe them to be breach of Confederate faith. I respectfully ask your opinion on the subject, Mr. President, for it is in my mind to have Bennett H. Young, Cleary and Col. Martin of Ky., join me in a protest against such disclosures—a protest to be at first private, but if ineffectual to later go on public record. If you kindly give me your opinion Mr. President, will you please signify if I am at liberty to use it with our friends, or publicly, if necessary.

Permit me to sign myself, faithfully and reverently, Your friend,

(Signed) MANLY TELLO.

Mr. President Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

Basil W. Duke to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Louisville, November 11th 1886.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss. My dear Mr. Davis.

I am just in receipt of your letter of the 9th inst. You have marked it "strictly personal," and I do not therefore feel at liberty to show it, or disclose its contents to Judge Hines, Major Castleman, or to any one connected with the *Bivouac* without your permission. Yet unless I do so, and confer with them, you will understand that I can not well take any action in the matter.

Have I your permission to show them the letter? Please let me know immediately.

Judge Hines and Major Castleman have had in contemplation for several years the preparation and publication of these papers.

¹ Editor The Catholic Universe.

They are impressed with the idea that it will not only be an interesting contribution to the history of the times, but that it is better to tell the true story, than to suffer the people of the North to remain under the impression that the Confederate Commissioners and themselves and comrades, acting under the Commissioners, were engaged in plotting, by the direction and with the sanction of the Confederate Government (and in committing) acts which were violative of the rules and usages of war, and

were utterly without excuse from any point of view.

They seem firmly impressed, likewise, with the opinion that the "Sons of Liberty" will be less injured by the knowledge that they were organized for self protection, and (as the most effectual way of accomplishing that) putting a stop to the war, than by the general belief, now entertained, that they were aiding the Confederates in enterprizes and acts, which would have been indefensible even in the Confederates. Of course, a disclosure of the fact that these people were ready to aid in the release of the prisoners will subject them to serious condemnation,—but they are suspected of that already and of much more. You put the matter, however, in a stronger way than I have yet seen it pre-The intention has been (Hines and Castleman have assured me) to omit mention of names which would implicate parties not now known, or accused of participation in the conspiracy,—to use no name in a way to further implicate a party and to narrate the story in a way so general that while historical accuracy shall be observed, matter that might be brought home to individuals so as to cause them injury, should be eliminated. You seem to think, however, that no matter how carefully the story be written, and even if an entire silence be observed in regard to names, the mere fact that a declaration comes from a Southern source, to the effect that the disaffected people of the North contemplated any action beneficial to the Confederacy although intended primarily for their own safety,—will fasten upon every man known to have been a "Copperhead," and suspected of having been a member of the "Sons of Liberty," the stigma attaching to all that such men have been credited with doing, or wishing to do.

This is the very opposite of the view which—as I have said—the gentlemen who furnish this narrative take of its effect. I should certainly strongly oppose it, if I thought such could be its effect, and that the suggestion comes from you, gives it great force.

It has been known pretty generally in Magazines and Newspaper circles for a long time, that Judge Hines had in his

possession data for such a narrative. He has had frequent and urgent applications from many such sources to prepare the matter for publication, but has invariably refused. Recently, thinking the time come, when it might be properly done, he selected the Bivouac as the medium of their communication to the public, principally because he could better supervise the work and prevent the appearance of matter that might be damaging; and partly because he would have my aid in getting the narrative into shape.

I know absolutely nothing of the events to be related save in so far as Hines and Castleman inform me. I can judge very imperfectly of how far their publication will implicate or injure. They say it will not do harm. I shall certainly insist that nothing appear, which I think calculated to compromise any man injuri-

ously or unfairly.

The Bivouac, however, is in some such fix as the darky who had the bear by the tail. It has become safer to hold on than to let go. If after all that has been said we don't publish this matter, it will be supposed that we were deterred by the fact that it was too horrible to see the light.

I need not say how carefully I regard—with what respect I receive and consider any suggestion or opinion you express, or that I feel that you are peculiarly entitled to advise in such an affair as this. I repeat my wish to hear from you again on this subject, and that I may show your letter to the parties most concerned in this publication. The time is near at hand when the first article is expected to appear. With my kindest regards, and sincere acknowledgement of the interest which induced your letter, I am,

Very truly and Respectfully,
BASIL W. DUKE.

endorsed:

Genl. B. W. Duke; ansd. 14th Nov. 1886

Manly Tello to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Cleveland, O. Nov 14, 1886.

Dear Mr. President:

Your timely considerate reply is so comprehensive that it ought simply to be authority to the *Bivouac* in its line of conduct as to the announced disclosures. To follow your outline will demand a variance between the *Bivouac's* declarations and per-

formance, but far better that than a variance from high Confederate faith. Pardon me if I add that your treatment of the subject reminds me of a phrase I have applied to your utterances, "Nihil quod teligit um ornant."

Praying God's blessing on yourself and family, as ever

reverently,

(Signed) MANLY TELLO.

Hon. Jefferson Davis Beauvoir, Miss.

J. J. Abercrombie 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Opelika, Alabama. November 17, 1886.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss. My dear Sir:

Inclosed I send you a short article.² Many Northern people have industriously sought to impress the public with the thought that you were a traitor and the rest of us who fought under the Confederate flag were rebels. That falsehood ought to be canceled by eulogising our soldiers and extoling you. That can not be better done than by telling the plain truth. The article

¹ James Jackson Abercrombie (1825-1901), lawyer, judge, major C. S. A. from Georgia, graduated law department of Harvard University, died in

Opelika, Ala., in 1901.

The article inclosed refers to a "brilliant wedding" celebrated in Columbus (State not given) at the Presbyterian church. It describes the beauty of the scene and continues: "It was the temple in which my father worshiped devoutly the living God till the day of his death. I came on the train this morning with the bridal party. These Southern women are without a rival for grace, beauty and attractiveness, besides, they possess the highest type of moral courage. These Southern people are the most peculiar race that has dwelt upon the earth in any age or in any clime. The Cavaliers when Charles I. was beheaded, the French Huguenots after Louis XIV. revoked the edict of Nance fled to Germany, and the German Protestants all came to this country and settled in Virginia, North and South Carolina and Georgia. These Southern people are their descendants. They came to these shores in search of civil and religious liberty. . . . You gave to mankind Washington, who fought against British tyranny; you gave to the race the immortal Lee, who struggled for civil liberty; you have given to the world Jefferson Davis, than whom a loftier spirit and purer patriot has not adorned his country by his worth; along the fiery edge of battle, amid appalling dangers, your soldiers stood like adamant, unawed by superior numbers. Since the surrender, shattered and torn, robbed and oppressed you have, all men and women, endured your hardships with more than Spartan courage. I am for God and liberty."

(This article is signed) J. J. Abercrombie.

sent herewith was published in the Opelika Times of this place. You and the entire South are moving to the past rapidly.

"Truth crushed to earth will rise again, The eternal years of God are hers; But error wounded, withers in pain, And dies amid her worshippers."

Respectfully and truly, (Signed) J. J. ABERCROMBIE.

T. H. Hines 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Bowling Green, Kentucky. Nov. 20, 1886.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss. Dear Sir:

Gen. B. W. Duke, as I understand with your permission, has sent me two letters addressed by you to him in reference to the proposed publication in the Bivouac concerning the effort made by the Confederate Government to release its soldiers confined in Northern prisons.

You express apprehension that such publication as indicated in the prospectus of the Bivouac would be injurious to those persons who co-operated with the agents of the Confederate Government, and would be in bad faith. Such a result I think is not to be feared. Even in vindication of my own conduct in the matter, which had been grossly misrepresented, I would not consent to any publication that could injure the living or asperse the memory of the dead, nor would I give my sanction to any publication that could be construed as "in bad faith" to such persons as gave to the undertaking their sympathy and aid. When the papers bearing upon these matters were submitted by me to the editor of the Bivouac it was with the injunction and upon the condition that the publication should be brought within the limit indicated. It was left to the discretion of the editor to determine what came within the limit, and I am satisfied that it is safely confided to the judgment of Gen. Duke, who will supervise the matter.

¹ Gallant Confederate soldier, born 1838, died 1898, on the Supreme Court of Kentucky at the time of his death; planned and executed the escape from Federal prison of himself, Gen. John Morgan and five other Confederate soldiers.

Feeling that you, above all others, were entitled to be heard as to the propriety of such publication, I wrote to you some three years ago expressing a desire to confer with you in person at your home in regard to matters of historic importance. This is the matter. To my letter there was no answer. Left to my own judgment I adopted the present course which I hope you will not disapprove.

Respectfully, (Signed) Thos. H. Hines.

John Anketell to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

28 West 15th Street, New York City. Nov. 22, 1886.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Dear Sir:

I have just had the pleasure of reading your letter of Nov. 11th in today's *World*, and desire to thank you for it. It would be a gross breach of honor and fidelity if Confederate leaders were to publish now the names of their Northern friends.

During the civil war I was in constant correspondence with my honored friend, ex-Gov. Thos. H. Seymour of Ct., discussing the best method of resisting the Lincoln despotism. Our letters were carefully sealed to guard against P.O. espionage. He has long since passed to his reward, but I am still here and can well understand how others would feel if their secret correspondence were published. We acted conscientiously and are not ashamed of our conduct; but the man who would betray such confidence is viler than an Athenian sycophant.

I am Sir,

Very faithfully yours,
(Signed) John Anketell, A. M.,
Chaplain at Bellevue Hospital
and St. Barnabas', N. Y.

P.S. I trust that you received The Graphic (Sept. 22) with my article on the Confederate Constitution, which I mailed to your address. My official copy came from my cousin, Judge Perkins, of Louisiana.

William A. Constantine to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Peekskill, Westchester Co. N. Y. Nov. 22nd 1886.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss Dear Sir:

You may be somewhat surprised at receiving a letter from me but I do not write this out of curiosity. I have long been an admirer of true manhood and could not help getting a collection of letters and autographs from Public men.

I was a soldier from 1862 to '65 and a prisoner from May 24th '64 (North Anna River Va.) to Jan. 65. Libby, Bell Isle and Andersonville and have no complaints to offer neither am I a pensioner. I have the greatest respect for the ex confederate soldiers and no one knows how to appreciate their good qualities better than the old Vet. himself.

I wish you would write me a letter and it will be prised very highly and carefully preserved by my children I have two Helen 13 Frank 3.

Please do not throw this into your waste basket but give me a reply with your autograph. I shall esteem it an honor to get it and consider it a personal.

Wishing you years of solid comfort and enjoyment of good health, I am Yours Truly, an old soldier

WILLIAM A. CONSTANTINE

(late Co. C. 56 regt. Mass Vet. Vols.)

Box 85 Peekskill, Westchester County

New York.

(endorsed: Northern soldier testifies against elledged cruelty prisoners by C. S. A.; wants an autog. letter.

Basil W. Duke to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Louisville. November 24th 1886.

Hon. Jefferson Davis Beauvoir, Miss.

My dear Mr. Davis:

I enclose a clipping from a Cleveland (Ohio) paper, in which is published a letter from you to Manly Tello, editor of the Catholic Universe.

It has since been published in the papers here and in Cincinatti. Its tenor being very much the same as that which you wrote me (at or near the same date) and which you requested me to keep strictly secret. I have thought that, perhaps, you meant that he should observe the same precaution, and that he has published it against your wish. I have strictly regarded your injunction to treat your letters, about this matter, as confidential; and have permitted only those to see them to whom you said I might show them. Of course, I shall not without permission from you, let any one else know that I have heard from you on the subject. I submitted them to Messrs. Hines and Castleman, and requested both after carefully considering your letters-to write you. I believe they have done so. I feel that they are better able to explain the general tenor and anticipate the probable effect of the articles about to be published, than I As you are doubtless aware. I had no connection with transactions which this narrative will record, and no personal knowledge of them. I have only the general knowledge that may be gathered from conversation with the actors in, and real historians of the events, and inspection of such documents as are shown me. Judge Hines is—and for some time past has been—in very ill Health. I am rendering him all the assistance I can in putting his narrative into shape. Major Castleman, to whom Judge Hines has transmitted the papers, furnishes me with such documentary data, as he considers entirely accurate, and necessary to a true history of the matters to be told. Much of this material would be unintelligible to me—both as regards persons and events—if not supplemented by the personal experiences which accompany it.

Major Castleman was as thoroughly identified with this movement, and as accurately informed of its purposes and conduct, as Judge Hines was. He has, for some years past, had the publication in contemplation, and has thoroughly discussed it with Judge Hines—and they have considered its propriety and consequences. I have known him intimately, for years, as a gentleman in whose integrity and good sense implicit reliance can be placed. He impresses me, in all that he is doing in this matter, as being sensitive to every obligation of honor and good faith; but he is, also, perfectly convinced that it is a duty incumbent on Judge Hines and himself to relate the history of this effort to release the prisoners, and similar enterprizes in which they were engaged, and to refute the frequent and virulent calumnies which have been circulated in regard to their action, and the conduct of Confederate officials of higher rank. Do not understand me as

meaning to complain of the publication of your letter to Tello. There is nothing in it to which I have any right to object, or against which I would offer remonstrance. After all the result must disclose whether this publication be prudent or not. I merely wish to let you know that Mr. Tello has published your letter—thinking you might not see the papers in which it appears, in order that if its publication was not intended, you shall know what use he will make of your letters, perhaps, not contemplated by you.

I am sincerely and Respectfully your friend (Signed) BASIL W. DUKE.

JEFF DAVIS'S ADVICE. KEEP SECRET THE DETAILS OF THE GREAT NORTHWESTERN CONSPIRACY.

Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 20.—An Associated Press dispatch recently announced the purpose of the Southern Bivouac, a Louisville magazine, mainly devoted to publishing literature of the war from a Southern standpoint, to tell for the first time the history of the great Northwestern conspiracy. The Bivouac says that conspiracy was a well organized attempt by the authorities at Richmond to release the large number of Confederate soldiers imprisoned at the North. In carrying out this design, the officers to whom it was intrusted discovered throughout the Northwest, especially in the States of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, deep and widespread dissatisfaction with the Government at Washington, with either the purpose or the conduct of the war. These dissatisfied classes was (were) thoroughly organized under one name or another, the most famous and extended society being the Sons of Liberty. The Confederate Commissioners determined to avail themselves of this dissatisfaction, to organize, release and arm the prisoners, and, in connection with the secret societies of the North, to bring about an uprising which would serve to divert the forces which were concentrated at the front. Manly Tello, editor of the Catholic Universe, of this city, who was in Canada in the interest of the South, doubting the prudence of this promised publication, wrote to Jefferson Davis about it and received the following reply, which he incloses in an open letter to the Bivouac, strongly protesting against making public the history referred to:

Beauvoir, Miss., Nov. 11, 1886.

Manly Tello, Esq.

My Dear Sir: Yours of the 8th has been received, and I fully concur in your opinion as to the impropriety of publishing the correspondence of our Northwestern friends with the Confed-

erates who held intercourse with them. Though their conduct in resisting sectional pressure, and striving to check fraternal strife and discountenancing the unconstitutional coercion of the Southern States was most praiseworthy, the exposure at this day of their efforts could not fail to be injurious to them. In taking the hazards they encountered, they, of course, relied upon the good faith of the Confederates with whom they held intercourse, and I do not think there is any higher obligation upon our people than to shield those gallant sympathizers as best they

may from harm.

As for myself and those who co-operated with me, I have no wish to avoid disclosures. We had learned that our men in Northern prisons were suffering from inhuman treatment, and oftentimes done to death in cold blood. Our effort to liberate them was a duty, to neglect which would have been a shame. While, therefore, we may claim no credit for our conduct in that connection we certainly have no motive for wishing to conceal it, and the only regret therewith connected is the sacrifice of brave men engaged in the attempt and the want of success which attended their efforts. Without knowing the scope of the proposed publication, I can only say that I trust it will not lead to revelations against our Northwestern friends who magnanimously came to our aid in our hour of need; and as for the rest, I can have no wish to suppress the narration of gallant deeds done by Confederates for the relief of their imprisoned comrades. and hope there is nothing to be told of them which they are not willing to avow. Ever faithfully yours.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

J. T. Scharf to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Dictated.

923 N. Stricker St. Baltimore, Dec. 24, 1886.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

My Dear President:—I hope and pray you are enjoying good health and spirits. I often think of you and your delightful family and the pleasant moments I spent at your home last summer. Those days are to me a green spot in my life. I love to talk with you of old times, and I hope the day is not far distant when I can resume the interesting narrative that was so abruptly terminated. I hope your visit to your birthplace in Kentucky was a pleasant one. The newspapers noted your movements which I read with great interest.

Our old friend Sherman still shows his teeth, but he fears to contradict the statements contained in your last letter. He has referred to the matter quite often among his most intimate friends, some of his statements having reached my ear. I do not think he will undertake to contradict you, as that would be an impossibility, but I have no doubt he has made numerous attempts to get others to father his lies and to make a political issue of the controversy. In that way he would get sympathy by appealing to the prejudices of his associates. However we left very little ground for him to stand upon, and if he should reopen the subject I am convinced we could annihilate him. Indeed, your reply to him robbed him of nearly all his feathers for a number of his old admirers have since told me that they put little confidence in his statements. You proved him to be a liar and made the fact so convincing that he can never rid himself of the charge.

After the completion of my forthcoming book on the Confederate States Navy, if agreeable to you I shall undertake the preparation of the memoir of your life and services. It is my intention to make this book the work of my life, and I shall undertake to controvert all the lies that have been told about you. I have in my possession copies of all the speeches you ever made in Congress; all of your proclamations and messages written during the war, and extracts from your speeches delivered during the same period . . . to say nothing of an immense amount of matter referring to you. In addition to this material I have a vast amount of new matter never before published. The Official Records now being published by the Government also contain a great number of your letters, dispatches and orders issued during the war. In addition to this data I have lately purchased a complete file of the "Richmond Dispatch" covering the entire period of the war, from the first of January 1861 to the first of July, 1866. I have also in my possession nearly complete files of the Richmond Whig, Enquirer, Sentinel and Examiner In addition to this I have nearly all the official documents and books published by the late Confederacy as well as a vast amount of other matter suitable for such a work.

So you see I am thoroughly equipped to undertake the task, and with your assistance and material I am convinced I can make one of the most interesting and thorough memoirs that has ever been published about any public man. With me the work would be a labor of love, and backed by authoritative documents no one could dispute my statements backed up as they would be by documentary evidence. I do not think there would be much

money in such a work, but I think it is due to you and the cause which you represented that your life and services should be properly presented before the world. I think I could write a memoir that would be standard authority for all time, in everything relating to you. As a sample of my work I can refer more particularly to the preparation of the letter in answer to the infamous charges of General Sherman. I think with your assistance your memoir would be equally as interesting as that letter was, and attract as much attention. I do not think you want a simple written life of yourself or a series of reminiscences that would be very interesting to the reader, but such a statement would not be a standard authority. In a few days I will prepare a prospectus of the work and submit it to you for examination and approval.

My History of the Confederate States Navy I am sure will be a success. Nearly all those who have read the chapters are delighted with it. I send you copies of two letters lately received from prominent naval officers who read some of the chapters, both of whom you are perhaps acquainted with. One is Comm. John Wilkinson of the "Chicamauga" and of the blockade runner "Robt, E. Lee." The other is Wilburn B. Hall who was the executive officer on board the school-ship "Patrick Henry" and performed distinguished service in the Confederate States Navy. These two letters will give you an idea of the character of my work. I received a very interesting letter this week from Capt. Jas. D. Bulloch from Liverpool, also one from Capt. John Taylor Wood of Halifax. Both of these gentlemen promise valuable material. Captain Wood expects to visit Baltimore during the winter, and I will try to get him to stop with me. Captain Bulloch sent a very spirited sketch of the "Alabama" at sea under full sail.

To give you an idea of the character of my new work I herewith send you a few pages for your examination. I think you will be pleased with it. After reading these carefully I wish you would give me your opinion of the work. The chapter on the Privateers in the galley-proofs I think will interest you, as I have rubbed it in quite hard on the United States Naval authorities during the war. After you have read the proofs I would like you to write me your views upon the work, if you can conveniently do so.

During the coming week I will send you a small box of Christmas goods which I hope you will appreciate and enjoy along with Mrs. Davis. If at any time you should need my assistance

don't fail to command me, for I am as ready and as willing to obey and serve you as I was 25 years ago.

With best wishes for you and yours, I beg to subscribe myself

Sincerely your friend,

(Signed) J. THOMAS SCHARF.

(Copy)

(Old No) 236

(New No) 310 Hoffman St.

24th Nov. 1886.

Dear Friend:

I have read the opening chapters with deep interest. In my opinion these two chapters will alone win you a National reputation. Your introduction is the most massive and logical presentation of the Constitutional position of Officers which I have ever read. . . . It is simply unanswerable in its logical force.

The Chapter on Want of Preparation for War will be one of the standard references of public men and public debates in the future. This want of preparation and the logical consequences which you deduce from it make the position of the South stronger than even its friends knew. . . You could afford to rest your reputation as a Writer, and a great one, on these two chapters. Your critics will pronounce your grouping of the facts, their statement, and the conclusions you have drawn, as a magnificent presentation of the constitutional opinions of the South, and as the greatest effort which has yet appeared in their defense. . . . In short, all your brother officers, and your fellow citizens, will unite in giving you the chaplet of honor, for a defense which is strong, brave, and manly.

I will forward the proof sheets by mail on Thursday afternoon. I shall be in Washington all day to-morrow till late in the evening and I think it better not to let the proof sheets be in the P.O. all day Thursday . . ., So expect them by mail on Friday

morning.

I have asked Billups to see Jones & get a copy of the letter

which he promised me.

Affectionately your friend (Signed) W. B. HALL.

(Copy)

Annapolis, Md:
Decr: 9th 86.

My dear Sir.

I thank you for the privilege of reading the proof sheets of the Chapter on Organization, and the first two chapters which have

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been printed off belonging to your forthcoming work on "The Confederate States Navy." They are most interesting and are, besides, a very valuable contribution to the History of the Civil war. I see no errors except two typographical ones which I have marked in the margin with pencil; and have no suggestion to make in regard to these chapters. If in the course of your work I can give you any information or make any suggestion in matters where I was personally concerned you may rely upon my faithful exertions. But you must exercise your own discretion as to due use or rejection of any matter contributed by me.

My desire is only to furnish such material as you can render available in the construction of a work which promises to be an

invaluable one.

Very truly &c (Signed) J. WILKINSON.

Col: J. T. Scharf.

Jefferson Davis to Marcus J. Wright.

(Davis Letter in Collection of General Marcus J. Wright, Washington, D. C.)

Beauvoir, Missi 26th Dec. 1886.

Genl. Marcus J. Wright, My dear Sir.

The intimate relations existing between Genls. R. E. Lee and A. L. Long and the high character and military capacity of Genl Long, peculiarly qualify him to write of his chief and of the campaigns in which they acted together. The admitted talent and professional skill of Genl Long caused him to be rapidly promoted to the command of a corps of artillery and in his long service with Genl Lee, in positions which attracted necessarily, the particular notice of his chief, I only remember uniform commendation. I should have implicit confidence in the conscientiousness with which Genl. Long would relate any event which came under his personal observation and both his endowment and education as a soldier would entitle his opinion to the especial consideration of military men.

Wishing you very great success in the work which you have undertaken and realizing the great advantage possessed by the access to records which your official position gives I am

> Respectfully and truly Yours

> > JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to John H. Martin.

(Original in the possession of Lillie Martin of Hawkinsville, Ga.)

Beauvoir Miss. Jan. 9th 1887.

Capt. John H. Martin

My dear Sir,

I know not by what strange chance your letter has remained so long unacknowledged.

It certainly was not caused by any want of appreciation of its very gratifying expressions for which at this date pray accept my sincere thanks.

The cane you sent me is doubly valuable by its association and the care you took to select it.¹ Though connected with a sad misadventure which has been the theme of many scandalous falsehoods I cannot remember as other than a crowning misfortune without shame. Please give my kindest regards to Lieut. N. C. Munroe whose youthful experience has I hope been followed by a successful manhood.

Faithfully
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

James R. Chalmers to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Memphis, Tenn., Dec. 27, 1886.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Dear Sir:

You remember I am sure the letter I carried to you at Richmond from Gen. Bragg, sometime in the fall of 1861. I think it was Sept. when I wanted to be transferred with my regiment, the 9th Miss. from Pensacola to Ky. He said to me that it would not be becoming in him to make suggestions as to where he wished me to serve but he authorized me to say to you as I did that if you thought it best to send his army at Pensacola which was then well drilled and equipped to Ky., that he would like to go with them, but if you thought it best that he should remain at Pensacola, you could with his full consent take his drilled troops to ky. and send him raw recruits in their stead. I remember the earnestness with which you said to me, "That is like Bragg, he

¹ Cane cut from the site of the capture of Mr. Davis in Irwin County, Ga.

thinks more of the cause than of himself. But few Generals would give up without complaining an army they had drilled and made ready for service."

I was always a great friend and admirer of Gen. Bragg and wish you would give me in writing your recollection of this

matter so that some day I may use it in print.

With sentiments of highest regard and esteem, I am, Yours truly,

(Signed) James R. Chalmers.

Mrs. Lizzie McFarland Blakemore to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

No. 249 Camp St., New Orleans, La. Jany. 14th, '87.

To

President Davis, My dear Sir.

When you read the enclosed lines you will have my excuse for venturing to intrude upon you.

The matter referred to, is a recent article by "a Comrade" in the *Courier-Journal*, which has perhaps come to your notice, detailing at length, the ability and achievements of Gen. W. W. Loring.

It is with no disrespect, or endeavor to lessen praise due him, that I take this step,—but in these days when the weight of a military feather excites widespread discussion, I am not disposed to rush into print, unsupported by due authority, however firm my convictions may be. History seems difficult to verify, but if you can enable me to do what my father's friend urges, and my own heart dictates, I shall be more than grateful.

A child in those stirring times, I keep vivid memories of what passed around me, and the building of the raft in the Yazoo River, the erection of fortifications, and the placing of torpedoes (one of which was effectual in the destruction of the Federal boat De Kalb) were household words with even the little ones. My father's time, energy means and home were in the Confederate service,—and perhaps I was cognizant beyond my years, of current affairs, from the fact that our home was head-quarters for Genls. Loring Walker of Ala., Commodore Brown and others, as long as their presence was required in the little town. Through the sacking of the house, from which we made hasty

flight on the arrival of the Federals in July '63,—subsequent refugeeing, and my father's death in October of that year, I find myself in possession of meagre data, and beyond a few rough maps, and notes in his hand, a letter from Gen. Jos. E. Johnston to him, and Genl. Loring and Commodore Brown to my mother, attesting his invaluable service and indomitable energy and hope, I have little to aid me beyond personal recollection.

I am quite sure that the idea of obstructing the River was not Genl. Loring's, but is due to a Captain Weldon, and my father, John McFarland; indeed my impression is, that Genl. Loring was not in command until after the inception of the work. I well recollect that my father and Captain Weldon (who was engaged in completing the Arkansas, in the hastily constructed and ill-provided navy yard below Yazoo City) went to Richmond to submit to your consideration, the propriety of the obstructions,—that you approved the result showed.

If after the lapse of years you can recall any matter relating to the visit to Richmond, or the work, I will be your debtor.

To the actors who have "passed over the River and are already resting under the shade of the trees," how puerile must seem our efforts to clear away the mists that even these few years have wrapped about the Great Tragedy! But we owe a debt to the living, and it is only by "line upon line" that our History shall be written.

Mr. Grady's recent address has excited great enthusiasm among even veterans,—and yet he has only voiced what every Southern woman has ever known, felt and dared say, when occasion offered.

I have written enough, Mr. Davis, to show you what I desire, and I would like it to be equally patent that I would do no discredit to Genl. Loring,—whose honors I would add to, rather than detract, and whose laurels, like those of every faithful Confederate, we women must keep green, and guard like our family Bibles.

The sentiment that moves me will secure me pardon for this letter, which I had not meant should be lengthy.

With highest regard and best wishes for you, and yours, believe me, honored Sir,

Faithfully yours,

LIZZIE McFarland Blakemore.

endorsed:

Mrs. Lizzie McFarland Blakemore; about obstruction in Yazoo Pass; ansd. 16th Jany. 1887.

Jefferson Davis to Mrs. L. McFarlane Blakemore. (From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

Beauvoir Missi. 16th Jan 1887.

Dear Mrs Blakemore,

Your letter of the 14th Inst has been received with the enclosed from Mr. Barksdale. Both have been read attentively and I regret that I am unable to give you the information you desire in relation to your Father's services in the defence of the Yazoo Pass. I have only a general recollection in regard to the obstructions placed in that channel, and the letters I received in regard to the means adopted to prevent the use of the stream by the enemy's gunboats were all lost or stolen. Genl Pemberton corresponded with me in regard to the matter and I supposed he gave general directions in regard to it. I think the particular facts you desire can be obtained from Major W. H. Morgan Sheppardstown Leflore Co. Missi, or from Genl Sam Ferguson, Greenville Missi or from Genl W. S. Featherston Holly Springs Missi. They all served in that Delta Dist. & their attention to events there was of course, more concentrated than mine.

In the published reminiscences of the war, one frequently meets with instances where undue credit is bestowed and as frequently where those who are justly entitled to praise received none. I think from the gentlemen to whom I have referred you will be able to get the exact information which I do not possess so that you may effectively perform the pious duty of vindicating your Father's claim to gratitude for service rendered to our cause.

With best wishes I am

Respectfully & truly Jefferson Davis.

G. S. McCarthy to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Museum.)

(With enclosure)

Memphis, Jany. 18th, 1887.

Hon. Jeff. Davis, Beau Voir, Miss. Dearest Sir:

In school the other day a discussion came up on "States Rights" and knowing you to be a most admirable one to ask

opinion of, an if not an intrusion, would ask you to answer this, if you are able; if not let your daughter, please, and you sign it as the pupils will respect it more.

Hoping you are getting along well in health, I remain

Very Respectfully

(Signed) MASTER GEO. S. McCARTHY.

(Enclosure follows)

1776 the Colonies declared themselves "Free and Independent States."

1778 The States formed a confederacy under the style of "The United States of America" and in the 2nd article declared "Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, etc."

1783, by the treaty of Paris, Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the states severally each one being named as a distinct party to the treaty.

1787 A convention of the states met to amend the Articles of confederation which had been found inadequate to the financial necessities of the government. They drafted a constitution to be submitted to the people of the several states, which was to go into effect if ratified by nine of these thirteen states. The general purpose was set forth in the preamble, but the powers of the government to be instituted were specifically enumerated, and in an abundance of caution an Amendment was added as follows, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

The Independence declared by the colonies and recognized by the mother country and asserted in the articles of confederation was not surrendered by the delegations made by the states in the constitution therefore was retained as express in the 2nd article of the confederation.

You are referred to the Declaration of Independence for a definition of the rights which necessarily belong to free and independent states.

Typist's note:

This letter is marked answered, 22 Jany. 1888 (the boy's letter seems to be dated wrong as the post mark on the envelope is dated Jan. 19, 1888) and the enclosure that is filed with it appears to be the copy of a memorandum made for the boy by Mr. Davis. The memorandum is in Mr. Davis' handwriting.

Jefferson Davis to Mrs. J. B. Stanard.

Beauvoir Miss 25th Jan 1887

Mrs. J. B. Stanard, Dear Madam—

Though there has been delay in this acknowledgement of your kind & very gratifying letter—be assured it was not from any want of appreciation on my part. Your gallant Father had both my admiration & affectionate regard and it has descended in no stinted measure to his children.

It has certainly been true that the South has been poorly represented in the publications of the day & the prejudice which existed against our institutions has run riot in the misrepresentation of our domestic life.

Your sister has chosen a theme to which justice only could be done by one whose infancy & youth had been passed amidst surroundings like hers. I trust she will not want the encouragement which will induce her to complete & publish the enclosed book. Please ask her to accept me as one of her subscribers for two copies.

With best wishes for you & yours

I am

Cordially your friend Jefferson Davis.

Sidney Stowe to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Museum.)

Floyd Iowa Jan 26 1887 Floyd County

Hon. Jefferson Davis Beauvoir Miss Dear Sir—

I have often thought of writing you for years and should have done so had I not supposed you had a multitude of more valuable friends whose correspondence would cause mine to be rather an intrusion.

About 1832 I reed from a friend two papers which I perused and took my pen and wrote "While thanking you for those papers you sent permit me to say I wish to God I never could see another like them If your crusade ever becomes sufficiently

formidable it will deluge our country in blood but if they must be printed I would like to see them"

From that day to the present I have with pen and tongue done what I could to counteract what was self-evident; it was a spirit of fanaticism ruinous in all its effects. I never supposed that the Union could be preserved in any other manner than by the same mutual concessions and compromises that were made in its formation.

I am yet of the opinion that had it been understood that under any circumstances the states could have by force of arms been compeled to remain or that encroachment would not have been a sufficient cause for withdrawal not one state would have ever entered the union I think also as Fillmore said we would not have endured for a moment what we of the North put upon the South and that if the North had let the affairs of South alone all would have remained quiet.

I think a more full and fair discussion in Congress of causes would have been better But brevity forbids enlarging I have sympathized with you in the outrages you have endured and have had my trials threatnings of ropes on a small scale but my principles were not formed by latitude I honor the course you have taken since the war I have in a large political scrap B. your letter to W. J. Brown 1853 to Judge Lyons 1876 and various speeches liberty Bell Atlanta Montgomery etc.

I should prize your Book with your autograph.

I send enclosed a com. to the Citizen published a Charles City in this county I did not suppose your daughter needed my defence but I took that as an excuse to agravate a class we have here and provoke discussion.

Hoping this intrusion will find you in good health and spirits

I subscribe myself very

Respectfully your friend

(Signed) SIDNEY STOWE

Jefferson Davis to Marcus J. Wright.

(Davis Letter in Collection of General Marcus J. Wright, Washington, D. C.)

Beauvoir, Missi. 29th Jan. 1887.

Genl. Marcus J. Wright,

Dear Sir,

I am thankful to you for your kind consideration [in sending] to me a handsome copy of the "Memoirs of Robert E. Lee",

and regret to say that I am painfully disappointed by some portions of the work. For example, the long and brilliant service of the Army of Northern Virginia, is treated as if the result of a policy of the Civil Administration overruling the wishes and military opinions of Genl Lee. Until besieged at Petersburg, Genl Lees operations could not be considered as being for the defence of the capital and then it is not true that I delayed the evacuation of Petersburg. If Genl Lee ever reported the conference with me on that point I am sure his testimony was the reverse of that assertion. Genl Lee's views were too broad for him to have overlooked the moral effect of the capture of our Capital and his attention to the details of the army were too minute for him to have undervalued the importance of the armory arsenal and foundry on which the army had so mainly

depended.

I was even more surprised to find the story of Commissarie's supplied for Genl Lee's retreating army ordered to be placed at Amelia Court House had been diverted by the Administration at Richmond and that the famishing army was doomed to disappointment on its reaching the place where it was announced supplies were to be deposited. I say I am even more surprised at this than at the misconception of the end for which marches were made and bloody battles fought by the Army of Northern Va., because this story of the diversion of supplies which Genl Lee had ordered to be collected for his army, never had, in the beginning, any better authority than that scandal monger Pollard and was then taken up by the malcontents, who if they did not believe, were willing to accept anything injurious to the Administration. So, finding this unfounded accusation hashed and rehashed by writers careless of their facts, I collected more testimony on the point than some deemed necessary even if the story had had a respectable source, as this was all published and the substance presented in extracts in a work I wrote after the war, you will not be surprised that I was disappointed to find the fiction presented again and graphically enforced by so respectable an authority as Genl Long.

You must permit me with the sincere regret which I feel, to say that the note I wrote to you in regard to the forthcoming work, would not have been written if I had seen these statements referred to in advance. You must therefore permit me to request that the note referred to will be returned to me and no other

use made of it.

For a full exposition in regard to the Amelia C. H. story,

allow me to refer to pp. 668 et seq Vol. 2 Rise and Fall of the Confederate Govt.

I am as ever

Very truly your's

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

John A. Parker¹ to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Museum.)

Tapph Essex cy 30th Jany /87.

Esteemed Friend,

Your two kind, and welcome letters of the 10th and 25th just reed.

I am sorry, we shall not have the pleasure of seeing your estimable daughter; I think she did not receive our invitation, (sent to a friend in N. Y.) — We did wish to take part, in rebuking, the conduct, in Washington, of the "Mug Wumps," and "Vulgarians"—for they are such; They are now trying to wipe out, the insult, they offered to Mrs. Lee; the Ladies, of Va.; and indeed the whole South; by, inviting Gov Lee, and Mrs. Lee, specially to Washington: I regret they accepted—as the insult is 2nd avowed, and defended, by the President- I do hope Southern Ladies, will not run the risk, of contaminating, Mrs. Cleveland, by calling on her: I don't (think) "President Cleveland's administration injured, 'socially and politically' '' by their presence; Mr. C. is the only person who has not found out "that he broke down his administration, before he entered on his official duties" (see Genl. Reagan's speech in the House in Feby. 1885)

Mr. Cleveland's, election, has been a costly, and disastrous, experiment to the Democratic party: It has lost Virginia in the late election by 21,000 Majority, and 5 M.C.'s—this is unprecedented— I have taken the ground, and in N. papers, trying to impress on the people, that, the Only course to pursue, to save the principles of State Rights, and the Democratic party, is to ignore the present set in power.

Cleveland's training, associations, and habits were not such as to fit him, for the high position assigned him; by the trimmers,

¹ John A. Parker settled in Tappahannock Co., Va., in the year 1841. He was active in the political life of the State, and was a member of the Convention that nominated Pres. Buchanan. He was United States Consul to Honolulu in the fifties and after the Civil War was an agent of the Government in prosecuting the French Spoliation Claims. He died in Tappahannock in the year 1887.

and tricksters; to the exclusion of such men as Hendricks, Thurman, McDonald, and others; they, the Managers looked to "policy" regardless of principles and fitness; I don't think "Cleveland" is even a gentleman—certainly not of the Southern school.

I have recently re'read, Mr. Craven's Book and have been greatly struck, at the picture, you gave, of Northern, and Southern men—and the striking contrast. (I may hereafter, give you

my, observation's and personal experiences).

Sherman,—I have found two gentlemen, who recollect, distinctly of having seen in my hands in 1863—the Original letter of Sherman to Ex Gov. Roper: of 1860; I have tried to provoke Sherman to deny its authorship, by publishing, under, his own

eye, an invitation to do so; But he remains silent: !!!!

Ex acting Gov Roper, was appointed by Mr Pearce, See'y of Minnesoto in 1853—and 'Gumare' Ex M. C. of Indiana. Gov (you may recollect it) Gumare, about 54, or 55, abandoned his office and Roper, became Acting Gov. In 1861, he came to Richmond, and identified himself with the Confederacy, and an office was given him under your administration which he held, until his death in 1863. He was a man of high standing and an intimate friend of R. K. Meade (whom you know)—and a brother of the Rev. L. Roper, a distinguished Methodist Bishop of Virginia now living. (this sketch you may like to have).

Of me, you know but little; the enclosed will tell you of my ancestors—of which, I am indeed proud—and after reading it, be so kind as to return it, to me, 505 D St., Washington—where

I expect to be, for some weeks.

I am almost ashamed to send you *this* long rambling letter; The truth is, you are One, a very few left, I like to write fully to—

Faithfully and truly yrs.

(Signed) JOHN A. PARKER.

Marcus J. Wright to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

War Department,
Publication Office, War Records 1861-'65.
Washington, Feby. 4, 1887.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

My dear Sir,

I have received your letter of Jany. 29.

Over a year ago, Mr. J. M. Stoddard the publisher of Gen. Longs' book, called on me with letters of introduction, and said his object was, to employ me to write for his Co. a popular life of Gen. R. E. Lee. I told him that he had made a mistake in his choice, that I did not serve with Gen. Lee and lacked many qualifications for so important a work. I recommended him to see Col. Charles Marshall, whom I regarded as specially qualified and equipped for the work. I gave him a letter to Col Marshall, and he returned with the information, that Col. Marshall would consider the matter; but if he undertook it, would confine himself to a narrative of military operations, and would require that I should assist him by furnishing copies of reports, returns, letters &c., and making a compilation of his (Gen. Lee's) life after the surrender at Appomatox.

I agreed to do this. It turned out however, that Col. Marshall would not agree to finish the work in a given time, as required

by the publisher, and the negotiation ended.

Subsequently, Mr. Stoddard called on me again and informed me that he had Gen. Longs' MSS., and from the examination which had been made of it by Col. Venable and others, he was satisfied with it and that he would arrange with Gen. Long to publish it, if I would do for Gen. Long what I had agreed to for Col. Marshall. I wrote the initial chapter, giving Gen. Lee's lineage, and the four concluding chapters, and furnished the matter for the Appendix, and am not responsible for any other portion of the work.

I have sent a copy of your letter to Gen. Long, and requested the publisher to make no use of the copy of your former letter which I had sent him. I regret that Gen. Long has made such egregious blunders as I greatly hoped it would prove an acceptable and truthful narrative, and I greatly dislike to have my name connected with a questionable book, although in no

wise responsible for its errors.

I am as ever

Your friend
MARGUS J. WRIGHT.

Jefferson Davis to Marcus J. Wright.

(Davis Letter in Collection of Gen. Marcus J. Wright, Washington, D. C.)

Beauvoir Missi 9th Feb. 1887.

Genl Marcus J. Wright,

My dear Sir,

I have received your kind letter of the 4th Inst, entirely satisfactory so far as you are concerned in the matter of the

memoirs of which I wrote to you—and I am sure I regret fully as much [as] you can the existence of the inaccuracies to which I referred. I had none but the highest appreciation and kindest feelings for Genl. Long.

Accept my thanks for the sketch you sent to me of The life &

services of William Blunt and believe me as ever

Respectfully & truly Yours

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

C. E. Fenner 1 to Jefferson Davis.

SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF LOUISIANA

New Orleans, Feby. 12, 1887.

My dear Mr. Davis:

I regret that, with every effort, I am unable to revive the slightest memory of the transactions referred to in the letter of

¹Captain Charles E. Fenner, distinguished in the annals of the Confederacy as commander of one of the famous Louisiana batteries, and since the war eminent as a jurist, was born at Jackson, Tenn., in 1834, and in 1840 came with his parents to New Orleans. He was given a thorough education at the Western military institute, in Kentucky, and at the university of Virginia, and in 1855 was graduated in law at New Orleans where he was engaged in the practice at the time of the formation of the Confederate States government. On April 15, 1861, he entered the Confederate service as first lieutenant of the Louisiana Guards, which became a company of Dreux's battalion, and soon afterward he was made captain. In this capacity he served at Pensacola and on the Virginia peninsula until April, 1862, when the battalion was disbanded at the expiration of its twelve months' enlistment. He then organized a company of light artillery from members of the battalion, completing the organization at Jackson, Miss., when he was elected captain. His battery with the Fourth regiment and Thirtieth battalion, Louisiana troops, was attached to the brigade of Gen. S. B. Maxey, first stationed at Baton Rouge, and afterward a part of Gen. W. W. Loring's division of Gen. J. E. Johnston's army in Mississippi. Captain Fenner took part in the campaign for the relief of Vicksburg and the fighting between Johnston's army and Sherman at Jackson, Miss., and in the fall of 1863 joined the army of Tennessee at Dalton, Ga. He and his men were distinguished through the campaign which followed, from Dalton to Atlanta during the siege of that city, and in the Tennessee campaign, winning special renown by their gallant fighting in the rear guard on the retreat from Nashville. In this campaign Captain Fenner commanded the artillery battalion with which the battery had been associated since joining the army of Tennessee. The last services of him and his men were in the defences of Mobile in the spring of 1865, and after the evacuation of that last seaport o

your correspondent, and am, therefore, unable to help you in

answering his inquiries.

I should, however, feel no hesitation in deciding, "on the face of the papers," that the "Confederate authority," whom I am now addressing, did not "back down" on any occasion.

With warm regards to Mrs. Davis and Miss Winnie, if she has

arrived, I am,

Yours faithfully, (Signed) CHARLES E. FENNER.

Hon. Jefferson Davis.

Jefferson Davis to Marcus J. Wright.

(Davis Letter in Collection of General Marcus J. Wright, Washington, D. C.)

Beauvoir, Missi. 13th Feb. 1887

Genl Wright,

My dear Sir,

Accept my thanks for your kind consideration in calling my attention to the published letters of Jordan to Beauregard.

Their contents will be a revelation to those who do not know them and will furnish a key to the inexplicable conduct of Beauregard then, and afterwards.

As ever very truly Yours

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Flora McDonald Williams.

(From the "Glengarry" McDonalds of Virginia.)

Beauvoir, Miss. 13th Feb. 1887.

My dear Mrs. Williams

... Your father was very dear to me and most highly esteemed. The story of his capture deserves to be preserved by both pen and pencil. He told me the matter fully, but my

he has ever since given his attention. He was a member of the first legislature after the war, and in 1880 was appointed an associate justice of the supreme court, from which he resigned in 1894, after a continuous service of fourteen years. (From Confederate Military History, Vol. 10, pp. 410-411.)

He died in New Orleans, La., October 24th, 1911.

memory has not retained it entirely. As far as I could it was given to Mr. Elder, the Richmond artist, who is with us at present. He at once expressed a desire to make a picture of it, but to do so he should visit the spot as to introduce the scenery. Your father and one of your younger brothers and an old man, were crossing the Cheat river and were attacked by a party of the hostile army. The question of surrender or fight was unanimously decided in favor of the alternative. The band, though small in number, was large in patriotic devotion and soldierly courage. And your father's military knowledge enabled them to select and gain a point of difficult access and to construct a breast-work of logs, behind which the brave three defied their foe. At length the old man fell, the blood streaming through his long white hair. Your father was wounded, but not disabled. He said it was sad to see the old man die and he turned to his boy, who was resolutely loading and firing, and the father's admiration, mingled with his love; he could not bear to have him sacrificed; therefore, he raised the signal of surrender. I could go on with the story of his suffering and the brutal treatment he received, but have already exceeded the purpose of indicating the event, so that you might, with the aid of your brother, write a full and accurate account of an affair which deserves to be perpetuated.

Very truly your friend
JEFFERSON DAVIS

Mrs. G. H. Pattillo 1 to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Museum.)

Feb. 14th, 1887.

Hon. Mr. Davis. Dear Sir,

Please excuse and pardon this intrusion— It is made by a loyal Southerner and if possible a Hero worshiper— I write to recall an incident which took place at your home in Richmond the later part of July /63.

My father Dr. J. E. Evans of N. Ga. Conf. in company with Dr. J. N. McFerrin of Nashville, Tenn. were seeking information relative to the wounded and exchanged soldiers of the battle of Gettysburg— My brother in law was wounded and left

¹ Wife of Rev. G. H. Pattillo, a Methodist divine of Elberton, Georgia.

in the hands of the enemy. We could hear nothing definite. My father thinking perhaps you could give needed instruction &c called to see you— As they reached the house you and Mrs. Davis were returning from a drive— You met and cordially invited them in. Soon afterwards supper was announced and they shared your hospitality— After supper while talking your little boy undressed and ready for bed, came and whispered to you— You excused yourself, and going to the opposite side of the room sat on a sofa; the precious little one kneeled by your knee and softly yet audibly repeated

"Now I lay me down to sleep" and at the close said God bless our country; God bless our sick and wounded, God bless our soldiers (the boys in Grey, God bless too the man in Blue &c). After the prayer my precious father and Dr. McFerrin took the little one up and kissed him good night. This little incident shewed them the greatness of your life. To withdraw from the noise of the world and the roar of cannon &c shut your-

self up with your darling boy and talk with God.

Now for my reasons for writing to you— I have been requested to give some such reminiscences of his life, since the death of my precious father. I did not dare presume to give this to the public, without your consent or permission. My father was translated to the beautiful home last May— The angels came for him while at his evening prayer just before retiring— I have heard him relate this incident and he would say with sweet pathos "I thank God I saw Mr. Davis in his home life" If you have no objections I will greatly appreciate an early response. God bless you.

Respectfully,

(Signed) Mrs. G. H. Pattillo. Elberton, Ga.

Mrs. Margaret Weber to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Sewanee, Tenn. Feb. 15th, '87.

Hon. Mr. Davis, My dear Sir,

At the request of the family, I write you of the decease of our venerable and beloved Bishop Green.

Although his extreme age made us think year by year he

must shortly finish his course; his death came so suddenly at last it seemed more like a translation!

The good Bishop entered into rest Sunday morning last at Sun-rise; a bright and beautiful day for his entrance into Paradise: his illness was very brief, and painless; the work of dissolution was slight, and Death had an easy prey— At day dawn, the morning of his departure, he thanked God for having brought him safely through another night, to see the light of another day: he had so dreaded the long wearisome nights, and loved always to see the light of day: and now, his soul seemed to say to its dissolving tabernacle, "Let me go, for the day breaketh!" for, after adding, in a clear, audible voice, "Keep me, oh! keep me, King of Kings, Under Thine own Almighty wings," he closed his own eyes, and his glorified spirit was borne away to the city of celestial light, to dwell forever beneath God's loving wings.

The dear Bishop often spoke of you; and the very night before his death, he asked for "The Life of President Davis" and said to his children, "He is a noble man, and every one should read that book that he may know how to live!" Knowing how truly, Sir, you deserved this tribute, and believing it would gratify you, I promised the family to write. We shall all miss his presence, this St. John of the Church, so gracious was he: his life was a benediction; and, while his tired feet were resting upon the earth, his head, all glory-crowned, and his heart, aflame with celestial fire, were both at home in heaven. There seemed so little life in his attenuated form; yet, he has taken from the Church and community more life than we can estimate.

In writing to you, Sir, I recall a conversation with the Bishop, on one occasion, when I mentioned the fact, that I was the first person who pleaded for the life of President Davis; and the Bishop advised me to write you of the circumstances—the story seemed egotistical, and, disliking notoriety. I deferred; but my dear husband, who was at that time a Union man, always said to me, "You changed the policy of Andrew Johnson"— Certainly, Sir, as I told Andrew Johnson, God could make use of weak instruments.

Excuse this, dear Sir, and

Believe me, Your friend, (Signed) Mrs. Margaret J. Weber. J. Wm. Jones to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Office Southern Historical Society, Library Floor, State Capitol, Richmond, Va., Feb. 16th 1887.

President Jefferson Davis,

My Dear Friend:

You have doubtless noticed Genl. Longstreet's attack upon Genl. Lee in the Feby. Century for appointing "Virginians" to 2nd and 3rd Corps A. N. V. (viz. Ewell and A. P. Hill) over more competent men (viz. D. II. Hill and McLaws) because they were not Virginians; and also the repetition of his old attack on Genl. Lee for his great blunder in not taking his (Longstreet's) advice, and adopting his (Longstreets) plan. He also quotes and replies to your statement of the matter in "Rise and Fall of the Confederacy."

Now I am preparing a reply for the North American Review (the *Century* meanly refuses to allow a reply) and write to beg you to help me on two points:

1. Did Genl. Lee recommend A. P. Hill over McLaws, or Ewell over D. H. Hill (of course he could only recommend—you had the appointing power) on the ground that they were Virginians?

2. Will you allow me to use the statement you made to me at Beauvoir last summer to the effect that Genl. Lee told you that he lost the battle of Gettysburg because of Genl. Long-street's disobedience of orders. I shall show that Longstreet did disobey orders.—1. In not attacking on the second day until after 4 p.m. when he was ordered to attack early in the morning. 2. In making a front instead of a flank attack when he did attack. 3. In not attacking at daybreak on the 3rd day as ordered. 4. In making the assault on the third day, with Pickett's and Heth's Division (under Pettigrew) alone when Lee's positive orders were that he should make it with his own corps of three Divisions and two of A. P. Hill's in the attacking column and Hill's third Division as a support.

But I wish to cap the climax by your statement of Genl. Lee's statement to you.

I would decidedly prefer a letter from you covering these points, and any others you may choose, but would be glad to put it in any shape you may prefer.

Please do me the kindness to write at your earliest convenience as the Review wishes my reply for its next issue.

Your letter enclosing one from Mr. Townsend was reed, last week, and shall have my prompt and favorable attention.

Mrs. Jones joins me in love to Mrs. Davis, Miss Winnie and yourself. I was very much disappointed at not seeing Miss W. in her hurried passage through Richmond. I only got home from Pensacola yesterday in response to a telegram announcing the illness (with tyfoid pneumonia) of my youngest boy. The little fellow is better to day but very ill and by no means out of danger.

Yrs. very truly,

J. WM. JONES

endorsed:

Rev. J. Wm. Jones; Feby. 16 '87; Longstreet charges Lee with promoting Virginians.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Minor Oreus. Feby. 18th, '87.

My dear friend

Two papers received tell me that you exist and can think of old friends when there is nothing to impart. But it would be very gratifying to know that your daily life has that freedom from the discomforts of age and the effects of wounds and injuries to vision, to which you are liable—but which your life of struggle for the right, and endurance of persecution from those you were labouring to protect; furnishes claims for exemption in human hearts.

God knows best but I would like to know that physical malaise is not very troublesome to you.

You may remember that I have had ecxima for several years—Never free—though remissions in annoyance—and variations in the irritated patches are frequent. The first was a sequel to my imprisonment by the people, who in running our Govt. have demoralized the whole population enough to make one ready for universal destruction by some celestial influence. I got well and was exempt untill the accident with that young horse disabled me—suffering was followed by Eexima. I will not go into details but I am crippled all over and find my morals improving a little,

so comfort myself with the Spanish proverb that "We live to labour, and die to rest"

This climate has been rigid, my wife 3 months in her chamber. Snow and wet constant.

If young enough to move I would go to Texas within the breezes of the Gulf and where light wood is.

I have not seen any review of Beauregard's book though some 8 weeks ago I was informed that he has a history in press.

Yours affectionately,

(Signed) L. B. Northrop.

Jefferson Davis to John G. Ryan.
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

"Beauvoir, Miss. 8th March, 1887

"Col. John George Ryan,
Historian Ex-Confederates Association.

Chicago,

My dear Sir,

Please accept my thanks for your very gratifying letter, and for the honor you did me in proposing me for membership in the "Ex-Confederates' Association of Chicago." The official notification has not been received, but, in its absence I will assure you of the gratification I feel in being thus complimented.

The idea of a monument to our Confederate dead who sleep in the Cemetery near Chicago seems to me full of beneficent elements. It would not merely stand as evidence of the lasting regard of those by whom it was built, but will speak to others of sacrifice made for a cause the merits of which they will thereby be induced to consider.

The world's monuments have generally been directed to the victorious, and the hero has been placed upon a lofty column to represent his achieved grandeur. This, then, would seem hardly typical of our case.

What do you think of an Obelisk of unhewn stones, a soldier standing at the base,—as guard to the door of entrance to the crypt? Not being an artist, I feel no pride in the idea, and here only venture to offer it, because you asked for a suggestion.

Please present me fraternally to your associates, and believe me Yours faithfully

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to Charles Aldrich.

(From Historical Department of Iowa.)

Beauvoir Mifsi 11th March 87.

ASSET THE

Charles Aldrich Esqr, My dear Sir,

Accept my thanks for your kind letter of the 8th ult and for the very beautiful and valuable cane which accompanied it. Being an ardent admirer of Sir Walter Scott, the stick had additional value from having been cut at Abbottsford, and I realize that it was no small sacrifice on your part to give it to me.

The book for Mrs. Davis also came safely and she has acknowledged it gratefully.

The pleasant memory of your visit remains with us and with best wishes for you and yours,

Believe me very truly
Jefferson Davis.

Mrs. John T. Brodnax to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

198 Camp St. New Orleans. March 13, 1887.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Beloved friend.

In an interview with our friend, Dr. J. J. Craven, who is here on a visit, he expressed a wish to know if at any time you had ever written or expressed an opinion of his work "Prison life of Jefferson Davis." Being unable to answer him, he asked my husband and I if we would be the bearer of a message to you.

Being friends of Dr. Craven and dear lovers of our President of the Confederacy, I have presumed upon this to write you the Conversation that took place at the St. Charles last night, and if you deem it worth your while, an answer would gratify us, and our friend greatly.

By way of introducing myself to you, I would refer you to our kind friends Mr. and Mrs. Copp and Mr. Meriwether who has

¹ Union soldier, born in 1828, died 1908, editor and member of the legislature of Iowa; founder of the Historical Department of the State Library of Iowa.

so lately visited you. My husband called on your daughter with Lee Meriwether while at Mrs. Hunton's last Sunday, 6th. Dr. Craven was anxious to know if there was anything in his book that ever gave you offence, and to find out if I could what it was, so he might offer some explanation. He says, in speaking of Gen. Miles, he was a man who thirsted for fame, and thought to have you crucified under his power would add to his renown. and his efforts to concilliate him was no easy task. True to his profession and with a heart melting towards you, he asked to have the irons removed from you, and when Miles refused he wrote to Washington, refusing to serve longer if his request was not complied with, when granted he had to fight daily against some new hate of your enemies until he and his family were subjected to many little tyrannies that you never dreamed of. Could you hear him relate the many little incidents and warm up under a vivid recollection, you might recall some tender touch or look which he could not give expression to in those dark days. We begged him to go and see you, but he could not, as his time was limited but asked us to say this to you. When you were placed in his care, he had no thought of ever writing a book, but had kept a daily record of your condition &c, and when he was told by an officer in the Army that Gen. Miles, with the assistance of his Chaplain, was getting up a book "Prison life of Davis," he felt it would not do you or the Nation any credit, so with the aid of his daughter they hurriedly prepared his MS, and placed it before the public in 20 days, and in this haste he feels he may have done something which might have given you offense, and he only asks a chance to explain to you. Dr. Craven was kind to my husband, because he was a rebel, hence my interest in him; he is growing old and feeble. With a tender heart, touched by our warm Southern climate, he grows eloquent in recalling the past, and making bright the future of our Crescent City. He leaves tomorrow and could I feel that we had been the bearers of any good tidings to him from you, my task will seem an easy one. Still holding the same reverence for you and yours, as tho' we were your loval subjects, I would love to subscribe myself as your friend,

Mrs. John T. Brodnax 198 Camp st. N.O.

P.S. If you knew me it would be needless for me to say this correspondence is strictly entre nous, not for the press. Mrs. B.

endorsed: Mrs. Brodnax about Dr. Craven; 13th March '87 reed, and ansd. 17th March 1887.

(Clipping from a newspaper contained in letter from Mrs. John T. Brodnax to Jefferson Davis.)

Dr. J. Craven, one of the Dutcher party, is late of the United States army, was medical director of the Army of Virginia and North Carolina during the war, and was the medical attendant of ex-President Jefferson Davis during his incarceration at Fortress Monroe.

The doctor some years since retired both from the army and the practice of his profession, and is at present living in retire-

ment at his place at Patchogue, L. I.

In reference to the sanitary condition of New Orleans the doctor said: "I have given some attention to the surface drainage of New Orleans, and while I consider it necessary, I nevertheless believe it to be the best, provided there be a sufficiency of water to keep the gutters and conduits active. I believe, that sub-drainage sewerage has great conveniences for carrying off the drainage in great cities. Still, I believe, these dark passages and waterways encourage pestilence and foster the germination of microbes. It is a well known fact that sunlight and air are nature's great disinfectants. As long as you can keep moving toward the sea the drainage of a city you must secure the best of sanitary results."

In reference to his attentions to Jefferson Davis while im-

prisoned in Fortress Monroe, Dr. Craven said:

"There were three great reasons why I should faithfully care for Mr. Davis. First, from a military standpoint, he was a vanquished enemy; second, he was a prisoner of war, and third, and above all, he was my patient. Standing as I did as the representative of the nation and my profession at his bedside, my duty was plain. All his interests had in a moment become as dear to me as the apple of my eye, and I watched him with as jealous care as though he had been my brother, knowing that such treatment would be recognized by my people and the world at large."

Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Flora McDonald Williams.
(From the "Glengarry" McDonalds of Virginia.)

Beauvoir, Miss. 29th. March 1887

My dear Mrs. Williams

I have felt sorely the tendency to which you refer in our own people to seek fraternization by the suppression of truth. The only fraternity which is worth while must be founded on respect and it could only breed contempt to hide whatever was characteristic of our people and to pretend to forget the brutality and pillage of our enemies.

The good and true men at the North ask no such humiliating hypocrisy, and the opposite class are not to be bought by subserviency. I am anxious that a full and accurate account of that heroic incident in your father's life should be published. It will be good for the rising generation and I cannot realize that any paper, relying on a Southern constituency, would not consider themselves fortunate to have it. Then some artist should go on the ground and sketch the scene. If he was fit for the work it would be a high feather in his plume. That reviewer certainly did not know he was talking to a McDonald when he objected to your book because it told the truth. Believe me

Very truly your friend JEFFERSON DAVIS

Jefferson Davis to the Editor of The Picayune. (N. O. La.)
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Beauvoir, Missi. 18th April 1887.

To the Editor of the Picayune, Dear Sir,

In your issue of yesterday there is a communication signed G. T. Beauregard, in which is a special reference to my remarks at the unveiling of the statue of Genl. A. Sidney Johnston, and I ask the privilege of replying through your columns to that portion of the communication.

As you are aware my remarks were unpremeditated and under the circumstances it would have been very difficult if not impossible to make an exact report. It seems however to have been sufficiently clear to be understood by the writer of the communication, who undertakes to reduce a quotation to "plain language" and then in a quibbling explanation of his "plain language" shows that he knew the true meaning of my remarks. If he did not, I will aid his understanding, by specifically stating that in my opinion the only mistake of Genl. Johnston in relation to the battle of Shiloh was in not personally making the order of march from Corinth towards Pittsburg Landing, for which his large experience in the movement of troops peculiarly qualified him; instead of entrusting that duty to Genl. Beauregard, his second in command, and who had seen comparatively

little service with troops in the field. If in this way as appears by contemporaneous statements a day was needlessly spent on the march, it was a mistake with serious consequences.

Then follows the bold assertion that I was mistaken in supposing the telegraphic despatch had been lost, in which Genl. Johnston explained to me his plan of battle; to prove my mistake,—the emphatic announcement is made—"It is not lost."

One might reasonably expect after such declaration that the despatch described by me would be produced, but instead thereof there is given a despatch reciting the order of march from Corinth, and the assignment to positions on the field, and this is offered as the telegram "now occupying our attention." A poor fulfillment of the hope suggested by the round assertion that the despatch referred to by me had not been lost.

There was nothing new, as to that telegram, in my remarks on the 6th inst.; substantially and more fully the same matter was published by me in 1881,—Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government p. 57 et seq. Vol. II as follows,—(in pencil brackets). Both despatches were lost, but the one published was supplied from the original in the possession of Col. W. P. Johnston, the other as stated was in a cypher agreed on between Genl. Johnston and myself and only used on special occasions; the original for obvious reasons was not therefore to be found in his letter book.

I shall not notice in detail the self laudation of the long communication under review, but will merely say that if Genl. Beauregard was the author of the plan of battle, if he was present throughout with the troops who fought it, if he was on the field when Johnston fell, if the enemy had not then been driven from point to point, and if Genl. Beauregard "throughout the whole day before as well as after the death of Genl. Johnston," did "direct the general movement of our forces" and did after the fall of his chief actively press the attack so that the right and center of the enemy "only began to give way in confusion after Genl. Beauregard had assumed command," and if the order to retire was not given until after an attempt to make a concerted onslaught had been made, but as he states. "was desultory, without spirit or ardor and failed in effect." and if it was not until just before sunset that he ordered a cessation of hostilities, then many eve witnesses of good repute have greatly mistated the important facts in regard to the battle of Shiloh, and especially as to how a victory was well nigh won, and how it was forfeited. Mere assertion will not rebut that mass of weighty evidence which has been adduced.

I have no disposition to enter into this controversy, and did not mention Genl. Beauregard either by name or official designation in my remarks on the 6th inst. He undertook to make plain as a reference to himself what might have been generally supposed to belong to some staff officer, but he knew the rightful owner and claimed his own, and proved that it could not refer to anything which happened on the field of Shiloh. It would have been pertinent, if it had been shown that the order of march had not been the cause of delay in the arrival of the troops at the point of junction.

In the effort to pay a just tribute to the memory of Genl. A. Sidney Johnston there was certainly no wish to detract from any one; his merit raised him above such need, and it would have been an offence to his moral nature to have mingled his praise with detraction. Envy, jealousy or a desire to appropriate the glory of another could never have found a resting place in the mind of Johnston. He was a devotee to duty and a worshipper at the shrine of truth. He died for his country's cause and is embalmed in the hearts of a grateful people.

Respectfully yours

Jefferson Davis.

Jefferson Davis to J. L. Power. (From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Beauvoir Missi.

Col J. L. Power,

My dear Sir,

23d April 1887.

I have been told that in one of the issues of your paper the Roll of the 1st Mississippi Regt in the War with Mexico was published.

That copy, unfortunately did not reach me, & I will be very much obliged if you will send me a duplicate. Inquiries are frequently made of me which that Roll will enable me to answer.

I have seen nothing for a long time which gave me such unalloyed pleasure as the answer of Dr B. F. Ward to Prof Tillett. It is not only strong in its facts but is grand in style & if our people will only take warning by his timely suggestion against allowing the minds of our children to be poisoned by the fallacious statements of Northern school books, it would be a great blessing to our section and the cause of truth.

As ever truly your friend.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

A. T. Rice 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

New York City. April 27th, 1887.

Dear Sir:

The monument in memory of Calhoun suggests the many good and great things that might be said of that remarkable man, who must always occupy a prominent place in American history. Is there not something that you would like to say of him for *The North American Review?* Its readers, I think, would be very much interested in the subject, and would pay great attention to anything you should choose to place before the public in connection with it.

Very truly yours, (Signed) A. T. RICE.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

Jefferson Davis to the Editor of Courier Journal.

(From Courier-Journal of May 7, 1887. Answer to Lord Wolseley's article on Genl. R. E. Lee.)

Please accept my thanks for your paper containing a recently published article by Gen. Lord Wolseley on Gen. R. E. Lee.

One would reasonably suppose that an eminent soldier, when writing of another of world wide fame, and of military affairs, which to no small extent, have become historical, would confine himself to ascertainable facts, instead of adopting the style of a sensational novelist and manufacturing accessories with the freedom of a romancer. That such is the character of Gen. Wolseley's article I propose in a brief review to demonstrate.

We of the South gratefully accept the eulogy, which could not exceed the esteem and love and honor in which we hold the memory of Lee; but we, who knew him best, feel that he needs no pedestal constructed of the wrecks of his associates' reputation. The true recital of his deeds is his best eulogy, and that which alone accords with his moral worth.

Though Lee had full confidence in the valor and constancy of

¹ Allen Thorndike Rice, editor and author.

his troops, and they implicitly confided in him, and though his frequent attacks on the enemy, notwithstanding the disparity of numbers and the inferiority of his arms and equipments, show his daring and combative temper, we are indebted to Gen. Wolseley for the statement that when, in 1862, he visited Lee "at the head of proud and victorious troops he smiled at the notion of defeat by any army that could be sent against him." It may here be well to recall remembrance of the fact that when Lee reported a victory he always ascribed it to the favor of Providence, not to the invincibility of his army. In the article under review Gen. Wolseley presents himself not only as a military critic, but also as a political historian; thus he writes in his first paragraph as follows:

"Lee's soldiers, well versed as all Americans are in the history of their forefathers' struggle against King George the Third, and believing firmly in the justice of their cause, saw the same virtue in one rebellion that was to be found in the other. This was a point upon which, during my stay in Virginia in 1862, I found every Southerner laid the greatest stress."

Those who thus spoke to him must have adapted their language to the hearer, for by none were the resolutions of 1798-'99 more generally known and accepted as a cardinal creed than by Virginians. It was the assertion of continuance in the State of sovereignty and independence which had been won by the war of the rebellion against George III. Subjects may rebel, but in 1861 Virginia was a sovereign State, and it is a solecism to speak of the rebellion of a sovereign. In a subsequent portion of the same article Gen. Wolseley shows that he had learned from Gen. Lee the Southern doctrine, but there is an error in introducing the adjective old to qualify State. Gen. Lee certainly knew, as did every educated American, that the States were all equal as to rights and obligations.

After giving Gen. Lee's repugnance to secession, Gen. Wolselev writes:

"In common with all Southerners he firmly believed that each of the old States had an equal and indisputable right by its individual Constitution, and by its act of Union, to leave at will the great Union into which each had separately entered as a sovereign State. This was with him an article of faith of which he was as sure as of any Divine truths he found in the Bible. This fact must always be kept in mind by those who would rightly understand his character, or the course he pursured in

1861. He loved the union for which his father and family in the previous century had fought so hard and done so much. But he loved his own State still more. She was the sovereign to whom in the first place he owed allegiance, and whose orders, as expressed through her legally constituted Government, he was, he felt, bound in law, in honor, and in love to obey without doubt or hesitation. This belief was the mainspring that kept the Southern Confederacy going, as it was also the cornerstone of its Constitution."

Having learned what was the corner-stone of the Confederacy, a very little reflection might have shown him that the first part of his narration as herein given was not in conformity to it, and that the war between the States was especially different from the uprising of the colonies against their British sovereign.

For the information of his readers Gen. Wolseley communicates the fact that "early in 1861 the seven cotton States passed acts declaring their withdrawal from the Union, and their establishment of an independent republic, under the title of "The Confederate States of America. This declaration of independence was in reality a revolution; war alone could ever again bring all the States together." And again that "in April, 1861, at Fort Sumter, Charleston harbor, the first shot was fired in a war that was only ended in April, 1865."

Further, he states, that Virginia, in April, 1861, formally withdrew from the Union, that Gen. Lee thereupon resigned his commission in the United States' Army with the intention of

retiring to private life, and he correctly adds:

"The State of Virginia appointed him Major-General and Commander-in-Chief of all her military forces. In open and crowded convention he formally accepted this position saying with a dignity and grace of manner which distinguished him that he did so, 'trusting in Almighty God, an approving conscience, and the aid of my fellow-citizens.'"

And then in disregard of chronology and his own statement he announces:

"From the first, Lee anticipated a long and bloody struggle, although from the bombastic oratory of self-elected politicians as patriots the people were led to believe that the whole business would be settled in a few weeks. This folly led to a serious evil, namely, the enlistment of soldiers for only ninety days. Lee, who understood war, pleaded in favor of the engagement

being for the term of the war, but he pleaded in vain. To add to his military difficulties, the politician insisted upon the officers being elected by their men. This was a point which, in describing to me the constitution of his army, Lee most deplored."

In February, 1861, the Confederacy was organized. An army had been raised and a fort had been captured before Virginia seceded, the event which caused Gen. Lee to leave the United States Army. He was in no condition, therefore, to use his great influence with regard to the term for which Confederate soldiers should be enlisted, and the final fact is that there was no law for the enlistment for the Confederate army of men for ninety days, twelve months, or the expiration of the war, being the shortest period of service fixed by the Provisional Government of the Confederate States, though volunteers were sometimes accepted by Generals for temporary service and a shorter period than that required by the law. It may be as well in passing to correct the misuse of the term "REVOLUTION," as applied to the action of the Southern States.

They had long-established Governments, having control of all matters of property, life and person from the cradle to the grave, and their laws and modes of procedure remained undisturbed by their withdrawal from the Union. This could not have been if a revolution had occurred for which war was the only remedy. and this he might have learned from the efforts of the "Peace Congress," as well as from the published proceedings of the commission sent by the Confederate Government to the United States before hostilities had commenced.

The assertion that Lee most deplored the election of officers by the men they were to command must excite surprise among those who knew Lee best, and also the manner in which our army was raised. The citizens of the several States volunteered to defend their homes and inherited rights. Under the laws of the Confederate Government, they were to be received into the general service by companies, battalions, or regiments as organized under State authority, and to be formed by the Confederate authorities into brigades, divisions and corps d'armee as occasion required, the general officers to be appointed by the Confederate Government. It is to be borne in mind that the troops were drawn from the pursuits of civil life. Who so capable to judge of fitness to command a company, a battalion or a regiment as the men composing it? The higher officers might be wisely selected from men of established military reputation, or from those who in service should manifest extraordinary ability, and the appointments of the Generals to command the troops furnished by the States was conceded to the Confederate Government. If the power to appoint the officers had been conferred upon the General commanding an army, we might have had a system preferable to Gen. Wolseley, but we should not have had the armies whose glory will grow brighter as their history becomes better known.

To one possessing less than Gen. Lee's foresight and knowledge of the Northern people, "a long and bloody struggle" must have been anticipated before they would consent to let the South go, but of those who, relying on the constitutional right of a State to withdraw from a league it had voluntarily entered when it ceased to answer the end for which it was established, milder terms would seem more justly to describe their expectation of a speedy settlement than such as "bombastic oratory of self-elected politicians and patriots."

No more than justice is done to Gen. Lee in describing him when commander-in-chief of the army of Virginia, and subsequently, in the early part of his service, when a General of the Confederacy, as working assiduously and wisely to give efficiency and cohesion to our improvised armies. His sterling merit was unscathed and his equanimity undisturbed by the fears and jibes of ignorance or malice, and his fame was too solid to require such fiction as the following to strengthen it:

"The formation of an army with the means alone at his disposal was a colossal task. Everything had to be created by this extraordinary man. * * * In about two months he had created a little army of fifty thousand men, animated by a lofty patriotism and courage that made them unconquerable by a similarly constituted army. In another month, this army at Bull's Run gained a complete victory over the Northern invaders, who were driven back across the Potomac like herds of frightened sheep."

Gen. Wolseley has previously shown that he knew Confederate troops had been assembled at Charleston, and had reduced the U.S. fort at that place. He might have learned, if he did not, that Confederate batteries had prevented the enemy's vessel from entering the harbor at Charleston, and that, when Virginia was first threatened, Gen. Bonham's fully-organized brigade had been sent from South Carolina to aid in the defense of Virginia, and that in the first battle of Manassas, or as he and the Northern people generally call it, Bull Run, there were troops

which had been brought up from most of the Confederate States. This, therefore, was not an army "created" in two months, by the commander in Virginia. For a much longer period, and before Virginia had joined the Confederacy, troops had been in the process of formation in the various States of the Confederacy.

Then follow his remarks on the victory at Manassas, which he calls Bull's Run:

"The Confederates did not follow up their victory at Bull's Run. A rapid and daring advance would have given them possession of Washington, their enemy's capital. Political considerations at Richmond were allowed to outweigh the very evident military expediency of reaping a solid advantage from this their first great success. Often afterward, when this attempt to allay the angry feelings of the North against the act of secession had entirely failed, was this action of their political rulers lamented by the Confederate commanders."

When the baseless story that the President had prevented the pursuit of the enemy was first ventilated, Gen. J. E. Johnston, the senior officer on that field. November 10, 1861, by letter, replied to inquiry that the reasons for not advancing were: "The apparent freshness of the United States troops at Centreville, which checked our pursuit; the strong forces occupying the works near Georgetown and Alexandria; the certainty, too, that Gen. Patterson, if needed, would reach Washington, with his army of more than 30,000, sooner than we could, and the condition and inadequate means of the army in ammunition, provisions and transportation, prevented any serious thoughts of advancing against the capital." Gen. Beauregard, the second in command, has fully stated, as the obstacle to pursuit, a want of supplies and transportation. Neither of them has stated that which either of them might, that in the night after the battle, I inquired what, if any orders had been given for pursuit, and after learning none had been given, and after some further inquiries, dictated an order for Gen. Bonham to move forward with his brigade at first dawn of day. Gen. Early, whom I left with his command on the extreme left, when the battle had closed, has reported that he was instructed by me to remain in that position as best suited for pursuit, and that he passed the night there expecting orders in the morning. As these facts have all been published, and were certainly accessible to Gen. Wolseley, it seems inexcusable that he should have preferred to revamp an exploded scandal by the addition of regret among Southerners

for a blunder of the Administration, which it was sufficiently well known the Administration had never made. Blowing hot and cold with the same breath. Gen. Wolseley next arraigns the Confederate Administration for the defense of its own Capital. He says: "Lee was opposed to the final defense of Richmond that was urged upon him for political, not military reasons. was a great strategic error." Here is an immense amount of misstatement in proportion to the length of the sentence. At Richmond the Confederacy had its principal foundery for the casting of heavy guns and the manufacture of railroad supplies; then there, too, was its principal armory, nearly all of its machinery for the repair of small arms and the preparation of ammunition for both artillery and infantry. There were, therefore, very important material considerations involved in maintaining its possession. It is utterly untrue that I urged Lee to prolong the defense of the Capital against his wish and judgment. He was not of the retreating order, nor willing to abandon Lower Virginia and railroad connection with the further South; but when convinced that the maintenance of his position was a mere question of time, and presumably a short one, the only point to be discussed was, when and by what route it should be abandoned. The time was dependent on the condition of the roads, and was left, for his selection, which we hoped he would have full power to make, despite the increasing pressure of the siege. The end came sooner than either of us expected, and in a manner which prevented the execution of the movement on which we had, after full consultation, agreed.

The political consideration attaching to the defense of the capital seemed to be fully appreciated by Gen. Wolseley when he was censuring the Confederacy for having lost, as he supposed, an opportunity to capture the Capital of the United States, but he finds it quite reprehensible for the Confederate Government to oppose the continued efforts of its enemy to capture Richmond. That was the objective point of the vast armies launched from the North, but the conquest of Virginia was the first step towards the capture of Richmond, and Lee's brilliant campaigns between the Potomac and James rivers were for much more than the mere defense of a city. When, by his great strategic movements across the Potomae, he drew the enemy out of Virginia and broke up the plans of campaign for which it had required much time and treasure to prepare, there were higher hopes and grander purposes than even the defence of our capital, with all the political consequences which were involved in its capture.

The advantage of drawing the enemy into the interior can hardly be claimed by Gen. Wolseley as an invention; he may find it stated in a proclamation issued at Danville, Va., after the evacuation of Richmond, but merely as a compensating circumstance, the value of which it was supposed would be realized by every one.

A Field Marshal of Prussia is said to have remarked, upon seeing London, that it was a very fine place for "loot." If a hostile force should ever threaten the capital of England, by all the tender memories which bind me to it, I hope the then commander of the British forces will not avoid the "great strategic error" of defending it to a finality, by retreating before it should be necessary, and leaving the capital to the mercy of the invader.

Then, with the conceit which the wise King of the Jews describes as the most hopeless of mental conditions, Lord Wolseley censoriously criticises the conduct of both parties to the war between the States, and especially the assumed failures of Gen. Lee to reap the fruits of victory, as follows:

"What most strikes the regular soldier in these campaigns of Gen. Lee is the inefficient manner in which both he and his opponents were often served by their subordinate commanders, and how badly the staff and outpost work generally was performed on both sides. * * * Over and over again was the South apparently 'within a stone's throw of independence', as it has been many times remarked, when, from want of a thoroughly good staff to organize pursuit, the occasion was lost, and the enemy allowed to escape. Lee's combinations to secure victory were the conceptions of a truly great strategist, and, when they had been effected, his tactics were almost always everything that could be desired up to the moment of victory, but there his action seemed to stop abruptly. Was ever an army so hopelessly at the mercy of another as that of McClellan when he began his retreat to Harrison's Landing after the seven days' fighting around Richmond? What commander could wish to have his foe in a 'tighter place' than Burnside was in after his disastrous attack upon Lee at Fredericksburg? Yet in both instances the Northern commander got safely away and other similar instances could be mentioned."

To this general allegation it may suffice to reply that Lee rarely found fault with his subordinates, and, I believe, was never surprised and very rarely failed to anticipate the movements and purposes of his opponent. The duties of reconnoissance and outposts, it must therefore be concluded, were fairly well performed. Gen. Wolseley, having learned from what he

considered sufficiently good authority, both Federal and Confederate, the forces on various occasions, deduced the result that the usual numerical disparity in battle was "from about twice to three times more Federals than there were Confederates engaged." Under these circumstances a "regular soldier" might have been expected to find a better reason than defects of the staff for allowing the larger force to escape. A victory could only have been won by an army one-half or one-third as large as its opponent bringing its whole force into action, and leaving no fresh troops in reserve; its men worn out by fatigue and its ranks shattered by the casualties of battle, pursuit could only be practicable in the case of an enemy routed and flying in a state of disorganization.

Such was not condition of either of the armies selected for illustration—that of McClellan or Burnside. Neither had been routed, both had retired and taken strong positions advantageously covered by artillery, and the former supported by gun-

boats in the James river.

To those familiar with the facts, the blame of Lee for allowing Burnside to escape from the "tight place" in which he was after the battle of Fredericksburg can only provoke a smile; but for such as may take Gen. Wolseley as authority, what he calls a

"tight place" will be described.

The town of Fredericksburg is on the south side of the Rappahannock river: a wide plain extends behind the town to a commanding ridge. On this ridge Lee's force was advantageously posted. On the north side of the river, and near to it, is the bold range known as the Stafford heights. Here Burnside had assembled his formidable army, while further up the river was Hooker with another army. Burnside, after serious opposition, crossed the river and attacked Lee in position. Notwithstanding his numerical superiority and the bravery of his troops, he was repulsed, and recrossed the river on the pontoon bridges he had provided. On the heights of Stafford, with numerous batteries commanding the plain on the south side of the river, the pontoon bridges across which were his own, and an army, though its losses were heavy, yet larger than the force opposed to him, his position might well be called "tight" in a different sense from that which the censor, in the guise of eulogist, uses the word.

Enough, perhaps, has been shown to answer the criticism, but from the abundance of material may be drawn the fact that Hooker's army was in supporting distance of Burnside on the north, and as Lee's army was confronting both to prevent their advance southward, he could not wisely have placed one wing of his army beyond supporting distance of the other, or engaged in an enterprise, even if feasible, which would consequently expose the country he was defending.

Lee was always daring, but never reckless of the lives of his men, and he fought, not for self-glorification, but for the safety of his country and the success of its cause. A charge against him for risking too much could be better sustained than for over-caution and the neglect of opportunities. He seldom had an occasion where the odds were not against him, and I recollect once being present at a conference when a bright and well-educated soldier began to calculate the chances of a proposed movement with pencil in hand, but Lee, smiling, told him to put his pencil up, for if "we go to cyphering we shall be whipped beforehand."

I had almost forgotten that the supposed failure to pursue and prevent the escape of the enemy was attributed to the want of a "thoroughly good staff," but how the staff, without fresh troops, would pursue and prevent the escape of a retreating enemy, had not been explained. "Indocti discant." Perhaps the process is like that of the Irishman who brought in four prisoners and accounted for the capture by saying he "surrounded them."

In the same vein of disparagement of the officers of Lee's army, and in apparent ignorance of the fact that we had other armies, that forces were embodied in the several States to be sent to different parts of the Confederacy, and that we had a general staff, with some officers of rare ability and large experience, at the head of departments of organization, as well as of supply, Gen. Wolseley writes:

"Those who know how difficult it is to supply our own militia and volunteer forces with efficient officers can appreciate what difficulties Gen. Lee had to overcome in the formation of the army he so often led to victory. He had about him able assistants, who, like himself had received an excellent military education at West Point. To the inexperienced soldier it is no matter of surprise, but to the general reader it will be of interest to know that on either side in this war almost every General whose name will be remembered in the future had been educated at that military school, and had been trained in the old regular army of the United States."

That elementary education in the science of war is a great advantage to a General is a proposition not to be denied, but native endowment is, I think, a more essential requisite, and in his army, as well as in others, we had Generals not taught at "West Point" or "trained in the old regular army of the United States" whose names shall be remembered as long as the traditions of our war shall last, or its history be read. It is surprising that one should have visited Lee's headquarters and in free conversation not have heard of Gordon and Hampton and Breckenridge and Rhodes and Colt and Taylor and Hope and Ashby and Barksdale, and many others who came from civil life, and by distinguished service won the commission of general. Should the army of the Southwest and that of the trans-Mississippi be included, the list would be very large.

The most inattentive listener, or careless reader of the annals of our war, might be supposed to have learned of the extraordinary efforts in Missouri and Kentucky to preserve their autonomy. Shall Price and Bowen and Little, and Johnson and Morgan and Hanson be forgotten? Shall not the deeds of Forrest and McCullough be remembered? While there shall be reunions of Confederate soldiers these and other names will be pivotal points around which the camp fire reminiscences will gather, and in the more distant future be household words in the traditions

of the past.

General Lee, as known to those who had been his friends from youth to age, was not loguacious or prone to volunteer his opinions upon general subjects, and thus it appears that Gen. Wolseley must have been in the part of mind reader, rather than listener, in some of his citations. There is one instance which it seems well to notice. Lee is reported to have "declared that had he owned every slave in the South, he would willingly give them all up if by so doing he could preserve the Union." By changing the last word from "Union" into "Confederacy," the sentence will correspond with what Gen. Lee said to others. and stated when before a committee of the Senate, to whom was referred a recommendation for the enrollment of slaves in the Confederate army, with the prospective emancipation of those who should be honorably discharged; or by a change of date from the "Autumn of 1862," to the beginning of 1861, the declaration would be supposable: But, after Virginia, his sovereign, had withdrawn from the Union, after she had been invaded for the purpose of coercing her to abandon her constitutional right; after, as a Confederate General, he had fought battles to repel this invasion, and had witnessed the ruthless destructions of the lives and homes of his people; it would have been unworthy to offer sacrifice to secure the failure of the cause for which he had drawn his sword, and then bore a commission. Gen. Wolseley, in his article, commits various biographical and historical errors which are not considered important and therefore are not noticed in this review.

His nomenelature, as well as his detraction from "Mr. Davis," indicate the Northern source of his information, for it is not at all probable that he learned it either by conversation with Lee, or association with the officers at his headquarters. With assumption to know not only the acts but motives of men, some of but brief acquaintance, and others only heard of, he decides not only the character of the war between the States, but what should have been the political course of the Southern people. Having turned loose his imagination, free from the restraint of historical facts, he sweeps the whole field in the following paragraph:

"Like all men, Lee had his faults; like all the greatest of Generals, he sometimes made mistakes. His nature shrank with such horror from the dread of wounding the feelings of others, that upon occasions he left men in positions of responsibility to which their abilities were not equal. This softness of heart, amiable as that quality may be, amounts to a crime in the man intrusted with the direction of public affairs at critical moments. Lee's devotion to duty and great respect for obedience seem at times to have made him too subservient to those charged with the civil government of his country. He carried out too literally the orders of those whom the Confederate Constitution made his superiors, although he must have known them to be entirely ignorant of the science of war. He appears to have forgotten that he was the great revolutionary chief engaged in a great revolutionary war; that he was no mere leader in a political struggle of parties carried on within the lines of an old, wellestablished form of government. It was very clear to many at the time, as it will be commonly acknowledged now, that the South could only hope to win under the rule of military dictator. If Gen. Washington had had a Mr. Davis over him, could be have accomplished what he did? It will, I am sure, be news to many that Gen. Lee was given the command over all the Confederate armies a month or two only before the final collapse, and that the military policy of the South was all throughout the war dictated by Mr. Davis, as President of the Confederate States! Lee had no power to reward soldiers or promote officers. It was Mr. Davis who selected men to command divisions and armies."

If it be a psychological reflection, the announcement that no man is perfect is more grave than novel; or, if it be regarded in a military sense, still it is not quite new, as Marshal Saxe in the long, long ago is reported to have said that the General who

had made no mistake must have made few campaigns.

In what, it is asked, consisted the criminality imputed to Lee? If he was in no way responsible for the selection and promotion of the general officers, and had no power to secure the removal of incompetent officers, what was his crime? Did any case ever occur where his recommendation for promotion was disregarded, or his request for the removal of a subordinate was refused? If none, and I believe there was none, then the complaint is causeless and never could have had its origin in words spoken by Lee.

The idea that ours was a "great revolutionary war" must be attributed to the want of political information, more excusable in a foreigner than in a native, and the conclusion that we should have had a "Military Dictator" is even worse than the premise. The most cursory observation might have taught an intelligent visitor that the States had old, well-established forms of government, and that the Southern people had confederated to defend their community independence and inherited rights of person and property. Could anything, to the average English mind, be more absurd than the supposition that men inspired with the determination to stake their all in defense of such rights, would have commenced the struggle by throwing away their trusty law-shield and submitting entirely to the will of a dictator?—would fly to despotism as a refuge from possible conquest?

If a proposition may be considered, after deciding it to be absurd, I will say in addition that no man among us who could have been thought worthy of such a trust, by any large number of our people, could have been so recreant to principle as to accept the offer to reign supreme over the prostrate liberty of

his countrymen.

The hypothetical illustration of Gen. Washington with a Mr. Davis over him, together with the matter which immediately precedes and follows distinctly presents to the reader as facts that the war between the States was a revolutionary war, quite like that of the Colonies against Great Britain; that Gen. Washington had dictatorial power, and that his army was free from any control by civil authorities; each position is untrue, and the representation inexcusable in one appearing as a writer on Confederate affairs. At a period of greatest depression the Congress of the Confederation did invest Gen. Washington with extraordinary powers; they were not, however, plenary, but distinctly enumerated, given only for a brief period.

If Gen. Wolseley, by the latter part of the paragraph quoted

above, means to state that "a month or two only before the collapse" Gen. Lee was given command over all our armies, dictation of the military policy of the Confederacy, the reward of soldiers and the promotion of officers, I am one of the many to whom it would be news if it were a fact. The general supervision and direction of all our armies was assigned to Gen. Lee by President Davis in the first year of the war. His office was in Richmond, and he continued, under executive authority, long and usefully to discharge that duty.

After the battle of Seven Pines Gen. Lee was ordered to the field and to the immediate command of the Army of Virginia, then confronting the enemy on the Chickahominy. The successes of our arms in the seven days battles fulfilled my expectations of Lee, and secured for him the confidence of the people and the devoted love and admiration of his army.

The habitual thoroughness with which Gen. Lee discharged every duty, and his exact knowledge of the functions of every man in his army, whether of the line or the staff, led him to give minute attention to every detail. For example, he found the teamsters were feeding their horses on the ground, and he ordered boxes to be furnished in which the horses should be fed.

To such a commander the administration of the affairs of an army are necessarily absorbing. After a time Gen. Lee requested that he should either be relieved from the immediate command of the army of Virginia or of the general direction of our armies. I was reluctant to do either, but yielded to his reiterated request by relieving him from the general direction of our armies.

The public interest forbade his substitution by another as commander of the army of Virginia. Then this same Mr. Davis, who, according to Gen. Wolseley, took upon himself the management of all military affairs, called the tried and able soldier Gen. Bragg to his aid, and assigned to him the same general supervision which Gen. Lee had exercised before he took the field.

In the latter part of the war, a committee of the Legislature of Virginia presented to me an application to have Gen. Lee assigned to the general control of our armies, to which I replied that the only obstacle to compliance with the request was Gen. Lee's unwillingness to undertake the task, and recited the facts of his previous assignment to that duty and why he had been relieved from it.

Near the close of the war, when many, as is usual in time of disaster, were hunting for speculative expedients, the Confederate Congress initiated a measure which substantially gave to Gen. Lee the powers and duties assigned to him by the Executive in 1861. That was a general command under the authority of the President of the Confederate States, the constitutional Commander-in-Chief of the army. It was not in the power of Congress, except by impeachment, to abridge or assume the authority with which the President was invested by the Constitution. The official and personal relations between Gen. Lee and myself remained unchanged; he consulted me as before, and the friendship which began when we were cadets was only made closer and firmer by our common hopes, anxieties and trials in defense of a cause to which both had pledged person and property and whatever ambition might have anticipated from the

reputation gained in the service of the United States.

After the manner of a vulgarian, Gen. Wolseley refers to the promotion of officers, a constitutional function of the President and the Senate of the Confederate States, as the acts of Mr. Davis, and his language implies that it was a power of which Gen. Lee was deprived, and that his military policy was embarrassed by this same Mr. Davis. Where Gen. Wolselev got the material for his structure is unimportant. It matters not whether it was obtained where he learned his nomenclature or was evolved from his internal consciousness: as it is not true in the sense and for the purpose for which it is presented. Though the law of our organization required the President to nominate and "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate" to appoint officers, the nominations were made usually on the official reports and the recommendation of the General commanding the army in which the officer was to serve. In Gen. Lee's army, I am quite sure, no promotions were made without his special recommendation, and no subordinate retained in his army whom he reported to be incapable. For the foregoing reasons Gen. Wolseley could not have got his ideas from Gen. Lee: but all doubt, if any existed, must give way before the conclusive force of Gen. Lee's testimony before the grand jury in Richmond.

Soon after the close of the war, a grand jury found bills of indictment against Gen. Lee and myself. Gen. Grant, with manly integrity and soldierly pride, insisted that he had accepted the parole of Gen. Lee, and could not consent to his arrest and trial in violation of the pledge on which the parole was given. The United States Government suspended the prosecution of Lee, but in order to improve the indictment against me, impaneled another grand jury, and summoned Gen. Lee as witness, by whom to establish overt acts done by me, which might sustain the indictment for treason against the United States.

If it was expected that Lee would seek safety by transferring to me any responsibility which was his own, the expectation belonged to a lower standard of honesty and chivalry than that by which Gen. Lee was governed. To the inquiries whether he was not acting under my instructions, enumerating several of his movements and battles, he answered that he had always consulted me when it was practicable to do so, and that we had always finally reached the same conclusion on any question we discussed; that his actions had therefore been in conformity to his judgment and he could not say that he would have acted differently if there had been no conference with me, and must therefore himself bear the responsibility attaching to his acts.

Substantially thus spoke Lee when a less able man might have availed of the opportunity to avoid danger by transferring the responsibility to one on whom it would certainly gladly be placed. He met me immediately after leaving the jury-room, and reported what had occurred there. Enough has been given above to show that he never felt embarrassed in his military affairs by my interference, or aggrieved by the withholding from him of any power which belonged to him as a General, commanding one or many armies.

In the comparison instituted between the cases of Gens. Washington and Lee, and the hypothesis of a Mr. Davis, the first impression made was how very puerile, and then, unable to realize that a British officer of high grade could be so ignorant of the many important differences in the cases, the question occurred, why he should be so perverted and spiteful against one who does not remember ever to have seen him, or to have felt any interest in him, except when report created the unrealized hope that he would save Gen. Charles Gordon from impending sacrifice.

Beauvoir, Miss., 5 May, 1887.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

John R. Deering 1 to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Lexington, Ky. May 11, 1887.

To Hon. Jefferson Davis, Honored and Dear Sir,

I trust that you will not think me too bold in writing to you when I assure you that I have no motive but gratitude—no object but the honor of him who suffered so long and so severely for all that was, and is, dear to the Southern people.

¹Confederate soldier, born at Lexington, Ky., 1842, died June 12, 1917, clergyman M. E. Church, South; author "Lee and His Cause."

I have recently read your review of Gen. Wolseley's article on Genl. Lee. Along with thousands of ex-Confederates, I thank you for it. In the name of my own honor, in the name of my children, in the name of my dear, old Commonwealth of Kentucky, in the name of all the States whose sons bled and died under the Bonnie Blue Flag, in the name of Truth itself, I

thank you, sir.

I thank God, too, that you have been spared to say and write so much in vindication of our men and our Cause. Every day, I read in books and papers, and hear from the platform and in private circles, some slanders against the South. They flood the country. You find them in fiction on every train of cars; you hear them in rhyme and song; you see them in pictures upon walls, in advertisements in frames, in text-books for the common

schools of Southern country!

And these falsehoods are forming the opinions, moulding the character, and fixing the political future of our people! There are a thousand statements of them to one of truth and fact upon our side. My heart aches when I think of the judgment of posterity, formed thus, upon the sublime characters and heroic deeds of my comrades and countrywomen! I hardly ever hear or see anything from Southern authors that they would have said 25 yrs. ago. Yet I think we may be faithful to our Constitution and Laws and useful to our country as it is now without being ashamed of our past, civil, social, political or military.

We are not doing ourselves justice, I fear. We may not recall the past, but shall we see its memory destroyed or dishonored? Can not you and others organize means to secure

and disseminate its entire truth?

I beg leave, my dear Sir, to express admiration and affection for the ex-President of the Confederate States—to wish you and yours all the blessings of His grace and providence. I have not seen you since Lee's army marched through Richmond in Mar. 1862 for Yorktown. I expect to see you in "city of the Great King." I was in "Co. H" Claiborne Guards, 12th R. Miss. Vols. C. S. A.

I am *now* pastor Hill street Southern Methodist Church, Lexington. I pray for you still. You know too that all our people love you. I wish you could visit Ky.

JNO. R. DEERING

endorsed;

Approbation of letter on Gen. Wolseley.

Speech of Jefferson Davis at Meridian, Miss., May 12, 1887. (From The World, Saturday, May 14, 1887.)

Meridian, Miss., May 13.—A public reception was given yesterday to Jefferson Davis at the residence of Col. J. R. McIntosh, where he is stopping. For two hours a perfect stream of people passed through the parlors and shook hands with the ex-chieftain and his daughter. Mr. Davis was in his best humor and had a pleasant word for each one. At 5 o'clock a banquet and reception was given in the Court-House grounds. Mr. Davis made a short address in which he thanked the people of Meridian for their cordial reception. At this point members of the Press Association ascended the platform in a body and presented their respects to him.

At the banquet there were 300 covers, and seated at the table were the most distinguished men of the State. A floral wreath was brought in and E. H. Dial presented it to Mr. Davis in the name of the women of Meridian. Mr. Davis, in accepting it, said: "God has graced the South with beautiful flowers and lovely women. The most blessed of women are those of our own Southland. With such feeling expressions, the beautiful flowers which were arranged so artistically by loving hands are more beautiful than anything that has been given me." The second toast was to "Jefferson Davis, the soldier, statesman and champion of Southern rights." It was responded to by Thomas H. Woods.

When Mr. Davis rose to reply he was greeted with long-continued applause. He began by apologizing for the short address he would make, and said that he was fatigued from the day's exercises. Continuing, he said: "I am unable to treat this theme as it should be without premeditation. What was the army and navy of the South? It was the patriotism of persons who bared their breasts to bullets in defending a constitutional right. With great navies and armies against us we formed regiments and battalions. At their head we placed Lee as their commander. We remember the scenes when the wife threw her arm around her husband, the daughters in loving embrace gathered around those that were to go, and then the widowed mother, as she let the teardrops fall on the face of the devoted son she would never see again, and girded his sword to his waist and told him to go forth as his father would have gone. Those were the kind of men we had.

"With inferior numbers of men we marched onward, fighting for our rights, and battle after battle was fought and won, but the Northern historians never conceded that and indulged in triumphs of mind over matter. But now these scenes and incidents have passed, and they only live in minds and history. United you are now, and if the Union is ever to be broken, let the other side break it. The army of the South will shine forever around the camp-fires, and will still shine to our children and our children's children. The truths we fought for shall not encourage you to ever fight again; but keep your word in good or evil. God bless you all!"

Wm. H. McCardle to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Washington, D. C. May 14th, 1887.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Harrison County, Miss.

My Dear Sir:-

I have been intending for some days to write to you. I have read the recent letters of General Beauregard with the profoundest astonishment. His declaration that he directed the movement of our forces (at Shiloh) during the whole day, before and after the death of General Johnston fills me with absolute wonder.

As A. A. General of the 1st division of the 1st Corps (Polk's) I had occasion to see General Beauregard twice during Sunday the 6th of April. The first time I saw him was between 10 and 11 o'clock A.M.; and the second time was between the hours of 2 and 3 o'clock P.M. Each time I found him at his headquarters. some two miles in the rear, a distance that was constantly being lengthened by the advance of our troops and the retirement of the enemy. On each occasion he was eagerly anxious for news in regard to the progress of the fight. While retracing my steps to the front (with Howell Hinds) in the afternoon, I was met by Col. Mumford, of the staff of General Johnston, who informed me of the death of General Johnston, and that he was hastening to General Beauregard to announce to him the sad news and that the command devolved upon him. Of course it amounts to nothing when I say that I did not see General Beauregard in the field until after the fall of Johnston, but the conclusion is irresistible that he was not present until after that disastrous event. In his last letter he attempts to throw the blame for the delay in reaching Shiloh on General Polk. He says what is

true, that Hardee's Corps was ordered to leave Corinth first, and that Polk's corps was to follow in half an hour after Hardee. This is an absurdity, for the difference in the movements of different commands would constantly create confusion with only the interval of 30 minutes between them. Hardee's Corps left Corinth at 2 P.M. Thursday, the 3rd of April, and our corps was ordered to march at 7 P.M., and I know we moved promptly at the hour named in the order. Cheatham's division was up the rail road at Purdy, and Clark's division, with its artillery and trains, was the only division of the Corps at Corinth. When we emerged into the Bark road about 12 P.M., we moved up that road for two or three miles and bivouacked. At 3 o'clock our bugles sounded, and after a hasty and unsatisfactory breakfast we again resumed the march. Of course, Hardee reached the Bark road before us, but after going a short distance he followed. a branch road lateraly and to the right of the Bark road, to a point where he bivouacked. About 8 o'clock on the morning of the 4th a staff officer came galloping up and demanded the right of way for Hardee, to which he was entitled. Our division was at once halted and thrown on either side of the road, and while Hardee was passing our fellows cooked and ate a good breakfast. After allowing Hardee to get well out of our way we again resumed the march for about 5 miles, when we were again halted to allow a portion of Bragg's Command to pass from Monterey. When we moved again we proceeded until nearly dark when we again bivouacked for the night, and a terrible night it was. Rain fell in torrents. As soon as it was light enough to move we proceeded until we reached the junction of the roads at Mickey's House, when we again had to halt to allow a portion of Bragg's Command, with Breckinridge's division from Burnsville, who were in possession of the road, to pass!

General Bragg and Joe Johnston alternately made General Polk their "scape goat," and now General Beauregard seeks to fasten on him the fault of his own and the blunders of other

people!

If others had moved with the promptness which characterized the First Corps, the entire army would have reached the field Friday evening, the battle of Shiloh would have been fought on Saturday instead of Sunday, the Federal Army would have been destroyed before the arrival of Buell, and Grant and Sherman would have "disappeared from history."

I have nothing to say of the blunders of Beauregard after the death of Johnston, for they are sufficiently manifest to every

one, but this attempt to blacken the memory of General Polk is simply atrocious. I suppose, however, General Beauregard will continue his work of vilification, and as long as he can command the pen of his friend Roman, and the ability of that lying cur, Tom Jordan, to manufacture orders and evidence, the stream of slander will flow in a bold and unimpeded current.

The cool effrontery with which General Beauregard quotes from "Beauregard's Military operations" in support of all his late utterances would be amazing if it were not disgusting.

General Beauregard and the great retreater, Joe Johnston, (par nobile fratrum) are evidently of the opinion that they were absolutely the only men in the Confederate Army that ever did anything worthy of commendation.

I am ashamed to have written you such an interminable

letter, but I could not well make it shorter.

I trust you will live to see all your slanderers, all your enemies, open and secret, laid away under the cockle burrs, not the daisies, and that you may always be happy, as well here as in "sweet by and by".

Be pleased to present my kindest regards to Mrs. Davis, also to the "daughter of the Confederacy," whom I have never had the pleasure of seeing.

Believe me, my dear sir

Very truly your friend, WM. H. McCardle

C. L. LeBaron to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Pensacola, Fla. May 16th, 1887.

Hon. Jefferson Davis. Beauvoir, Miss.

My Dear Sir:

Having from time to time seen statements in newspapers and periodicals in reference to the Battle of Shiloh, I deem it my duty to state some facts, connected with that Battle, that should be recorded in history.

I was volunteer aid to General Braxton Bragg, and on the field with him and near his person during the two days fighting. I heard and saw some things which as yet I have not seen recorded in any account of that Battle.

Without entering into lengthy details, I can mention a few

incidents, that will probably enlighten the public much as to the real cause of the loss of the Battle.

About 2 o'clock P.M. the first day's fight, when the enemy held a stubborn front to us, I was near General Bragg, he ordered me to go to General Johnston to ask for re-enforcements. I obeyed his command and went to look for General Johnston, some distance in the rear of the line of the Battle, I met Maj. Thos. Jordan, one of General Beauregard's staff, I was acquainted with him, and asked where I could find General Johnston, his reply was "General Johnston has been killed, General Beauregard is now in command; say nothing of General Johnston's death, the army must not know it, you will find General Beauregard back there, tell him Major Jordan requests him to come nearer the front." I went on my errand and asked for reenforcements, but said nothing about Major Jordan's request about coming nearer to the front.

I returned to General Bragg and informed him of the death of General Johnston. The Confederates continued to drive the Federals from one stand to another, until about 5 o'clock P.M., when the latter ceased fighting and got under the river bank. At this time all was quiet, except an occasional shell from the gun boats, which went high over our heads; the Confederates coming up to the front and resting. At this time, I saw at a short distance off the 21st Alabama Regiment. Having two nephews, a cousin, in it, with numerous friends from Mobile, I asked General Bragg's permission to go to that regiment which he granted. I found them all in high spirits, feeling as if the work had been done completely. Major Stewart in command requested me to ask General Bragg for orders. I went back to General Bragg and he ordered the 21st Alabama to advance and drive the enemy into the river, and ordered me to carry the order along the line. I left Major Stewart and was about to carry out General Bragg's orders, when I met one of General Beauregard's staff, who enquired for General Bragg. I rode back to General Bragg with this officer, who said to General Bragg, "General Beauregard orders you to cease fighting and to rest your men to-night," to which General Bragg replied, "Have you promulgated this order to the Command?" The officer replied, "I have." General Bragg said, "If you had not, I would not obev it: the battle is lost."

These are facts; and, since the War, General Bragg asked me to relate to him what occurred on that occasion, and on my stating it, he said, "That is so, I will have occasion to mention it, if I should write of the War." I respectfully submit this to you for what it is worth. I beg to state as things looked at that time the victory was complete and if General Bragg had not been stopped, he would have been entitled to the honor for the victory.

Very respectfully,

Your obt. servant,

C. L. LE BARON

Albert Greenleaf to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Baltimore, 21st May, 1887.

Hon. Jefferson Davis

My Dear Sir:

I venture to cut from the N. Y. Times of the 28th ult. and enclose a hitherto unpublished letter of the novelist, Hawthorn, in reference to ex-President Pierce's attitude in the northern eye during the late struggle of the Southern States to maintain their independent rights under the constitution as it was, thinking it may have escaped your observation, and that its presentation will excite sufficient interest in you for its perusal. The frantic rage that had been nursed for so many years under what Webster termed the abolition "drum beat," had then culminated in a mastery over the voice of truth as complete as that of the Spanish Inquisition over the voice of Gallileo. The rabid intolerance of the great body of the descendants of that self righteous people who persecuted the quakers and drove the Baptists from their colony, was terrible towards those who, like Pierce, believed with Jefferson and Madison that the federal govt. "was not made the exclusive and final judge of the extent of its own powers, since that would have made its descretion and not the constitution the measure of those powers."

Having resolved, as it were, that the new world "belongs to the saints and that they are the saints" they agreed with their sister states who had passed through their revolutionary struggle with them, to a constitutional union they deemed for their advantage. Then they commenced a propagandism through canting literary channels and emigration over the northwest until it became convenient in pursuit of their scheme of sectional aggrandizement to openly nullify the most emphatic clause of the constitution, so that in 1860 a majority of the northern states had completely invalidated that solemn and mandatory provision by their "personal liberty" laws. The Southern States finding no security in law against such faithlessness chose to withdraw from a vitiated compact. Then, like all "who do the wrong and first begin to brawl," the north thundered forth its daily anathemas of "disloyalty" against those who would have upheld the constitution in its integrity. As if in this country there could [be] any loyalty unless it is to a constitutional government. I can understand how one can be loyal to a wife, or, if a subject, to his king. But I recognize no legal political personal loyalty. In 1861 I was threatened imprisonment by the provost marshal because of a remark in reply to their slanders, that I knew of no rebellion then, other than that which Mr. Lincoln and those who supported him were engaged in. I have thought that the fact of the nullification of that emphatic clause of the constitution to which I have referred had never been given its due weight in the conflict of argument and opinion both before and since the war.

I know not how much consideration you may have given to it in your recent history. I have not felt able to possess a copy. but last year while absent a copy of the first Vol. fell into my hands long enough to read up to about the beginning of '61. I did not believe the framers of the constitution contemplated a fugitive slave law, but relied on the State instrumentalities to "deliver up" the fugitive. However I have ever been disposed to credit the Statecraft of old England with designing the policy of the abolition agitation with the view to the destruction of our government because of its tendencies to commercial supremacy and to liberalize the world politically. Through two wars she had done her best to subject our fathers, and overthrow our government, but failed. She then changed her tactics. She could not openly aid in fomenting a sentimental sectional agitation so long as she continued negro slavery in the West Indies. The millions she subjects to this day in the East Indies are not termed "slaves." Hence she appropriated some twenty millions sterling to compensate for the prospective emancipation of those she held in Jamaica. This, Sir Robt, Peel said, was the best political investment England had ever made. Then her Exeter Hall abolitionists were let loose to lecture and agitate against slavery over the northern States. It gave an impetus to the domestic sentiment there which had cropped out in earlier times -in the formation of the constitution, and in the Missouri compromise. I well remember the attempt of Geo. Thompson, an English abolitionist to deliver a lecture in Dover, N. II. in 1834. He was assailed by the people, and driven from the platform amidst a shower of missiles. In the same year, I think it was, W. L. Garrison attempted to deliver a lecture on the same subject in Faneuil Hall, in Boston, when a mob assailed him, put a rope around his neck and ran him out and down State street where he was finally rescued by the police and hid under shavings in a carpenter's shop until the mob had dispersed. Now, these people in Dover and Boston had no direct interest in slavery at that time. But they had an interest in our constitutional Union, and they viewed such attempts as an attack upon that Union. That is how I interpreted the difference there between 1834 and 1861, when the abolition "drum-beat" had culminated.

Of course the original cause and other influences contributed. The "man and brother" argument resting upon the idea that the entire human family are descended from one pair, went very far with those who, not seeing much of the negro, honestly believed that he was a "black-white man," with like faculties, aspirations, &c. as the whites, differing only in color, as Sumner used to say. This strata of honest sentiment was used by the wiley and selfish Seward and his followers who looked upon the South as their "milch cow" to be used for their aggrandizement and power, but who cared nothing for the negro but as a means to their ends.

But in giving so much freedom to my pen, on a subject so hacknied, I fear I may have added too much to the many unwelcome epistles you are supposed to be afflicted with. Nevertheless I will add before closing an expression of the gratification I feel in reading your occasional speeches to your people, and your communications to the public press, seeing, as I do in them, how vigorously you still live to illustrate, maintain and defend the principles of your public life. My age is 77, but I think you are some two or three years my senior. May your powers continue unimpaired to the end, is the wish of

Your friend and fellow-citizen

(Signed) Albert Greenleaf. 624 Franklin Street.

P.S. Though late, I should not forget to thank you for your kind letter of introduction to Gen. Harris. I was not able to effect anything in reference to my claim in the Senate through him. But I succeeded in obtaining a favorable report from the House Committee just before the close of the late session.

A. G.

Wm. Preston Johnston to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Hon. Jefferson Davis,

My Dear Friend.

Tulane University of Louisiana. New Orleans, June 8th, 1887.

I have to thank you for your letter, and the enclosures of Col. Le Baron's and Col. McCardle's letters. I will take verified type written copies of them, and return you either the copies or originals as you prefer. I think I should like to keep the originals, as Jordan suggests that even Bragg's letters to me "alleged" &c. He twits me continually that I cannot "find" the lost telegram of April 4th and other documents among my father's papers. I recollect when you ordered those papers to Richmond, you suggested that that difficulty might arise with any papers he handled, and you gave me the papers to prevent the possibility of its recurrence.

The general opinion among my friends is that I have answered Beauregard effectually. They do not think I ought to notice Jordan.

Jordan falsifies so wildly that his statements are self discrediting. The remark is often made here satirically that "Jordan fought the battle," He even impudently claims that he ordered Breckinridge's charge, by his time-notes,—it was the one in which my father was killed, or a subsequent one, Cahill B. who was with his father all the time says he never saw Jordan, and that there was no "charge" at all after his death, and very little real resistance in their front.

Jordan is very impudent. If I touch him at all, I should skin him alive, and that is like skinning a skunk. His attacks on me are really attacks on Bragg and Polk and Hardee, my witnesses. Their own friends and staffs who were witnesses ought to defend them. I shall finish the historical military criticism I have prepared, but I can only do it during my leisure. It takes time to collate documents, and I am asking for a final verdict.

I have been kept very busy here lately with my University affairs, which require much attention.

Please remember me affectionately to Mrs. Davis and Miss Varina, and believe me as always,

Sincerely your Friend, Wm. Preston Johnston.

endorsed:

W. P. Johnston; ansd. 10 June 1887.

Wm. Preston Johnston to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Tulane University of Louisiana. New Orleans, June 11, 1887.

Hon. Jefferson Davis,
Beauvoir, Miss.
My Dear Friend,

Your letter has been received. I return you copies of the letters you sent me from Mr. Le Baron and Col. McCardle.

You put a question to me hard to answer, when you ask me why my father's staff do not aid in seeing justice done. Most of them are old or infirm or broken hearted men. They cannot, at least, do not-rally, to speak what they know. I appealed to Genl. Preston and to Govr. Harris. Preston has never explained his silence, except on general grounds. Harris gave an evasive answer. He saw the proof in my book, I feel sure, giving his statement to me as to where Beauregard was to be found "in his ambulance in bed," but when Beauregard called on him for the facts, denying that he said so, he replied that he had certainly said, "he wd. be found at his ambulance." He has thus left me by implication in the position of adding to his words and has always ignored my request to set me right by silence. I am perfectly willing to say I misunderstood him, if he will say he did not give me the information as I have reported it. I did not cite him as my authority. Indeed, I had no thought, at the time, that I was saying anything that wd. be construed as a reflection, for I supposed from Beauregard's telegrams &c. that he claimed to be a sick man. I do not hope to get any direct testimony from the men my father had gathered around him. They have all, first or last, testified in a declaratory way to the facts as I have them. But they will not meet controversy for him.

Yet it is easy to see the disadvantage at which I stand in any controversy, as a son. Jordan and Beauregard have availed themselves of it to the utmost.

With your permission a copy of McCardle's letter might be sent to Dr. Polk. I will see Towson Ellis about Bragg. The feeling here is against Beauregard.

Just now I am crowded with work. When my vacation occurs, I will work this matter up all right as to a statement of facts.

Very sincerely yours,

WM. PRESTON JOHNSTON.

endorsed:

W. P. Johnston with copies of letters of McCardle and Le Baron and for permission to send a copy of McC's letter to Dr. Polk; ansd. 13 June 87.

W. Gordon McCabe 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Petersburg, Va., June 18th, 1887.

The Honorable Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

Dear Sir,-

I have seen it stated in the So. Hist. Papers that in 1864 you gave permission to a Committee of Officers and men, appointed by the Federal prisoners at Andersonville, to go North, or rather to Washington, for the purpose, if possible, of arranging some terms of Exchange. No authority was given for the statement. I should greatly like to know if this is true. I know that your time is valuable and that you have many unwarrantable intrusions made upon it by those who have little or no claim upon it such as myself, but I wish to use this information ultimately for the vindication of your administration and of the cause which will ever be dear to me. (There is a small piece torn from the letter at this point)

(A) gentleman of my name wrote a life of Lee 1865, which you may have seen, as it was a "Popular" book at the time—I have never read it and I mention it only that you may not confound me with its author—I enlisted the night my State (Virginia) seceded and was at Appomattox C. H., serving all four years. I finally rose to the Captain of Art'y Pegram's Batt'n Art'y, 3rd Corps, A, U, V.

I send you a copy of my Address before the Pegram Batt'n Asso, delivered in the Capitol at Richmond on confiding to the

¹ Head Master, University School of Petersburg, Va.; president, Historical Society of Virginia.

Asso. our battle-flag, presented by Mrs. Pegram, simply that you may read the closing paragraph.

I am, Sir, with highest respect and esteem,

Yr: ob't Serv't

(Signed) W. GORDON McCABE. Formally Capt. Art'y, C.S.A.

I also send a catalogue of my school that you may see the Prizes on P. 14.

Jefferson Davis to Mrs. Flora McDonald Williams.

(From the "Glengarry" McDonalds of Virginia.)

Beauvoir, Miss. 21st June 1887

Mrs. Flora McD. Williams

Dear Madam

I hope you will not be deterred from the execution of your purpose to write a full biographical sketch of your heroic father and his patriotic deeds. If there is ever to be entire reconciliation between the North and the South it must be after a fair understanding of the cause and conduct of one another. Misrepresentation has done much to keep up hostility. Epithets applied in official documents to the efforts of the South to maintain the rights to which her people were born has engendered a disposition to regard us inferiors or criminals, and good feeling cannot be expected to grow up while such misapprehension exists, for in regard to the large mass of Northern people, I believe it is misapprehension. They do not justly appreciate our rights and naturally misunderstood our motives. Equality was the foundation stone on which the Union was built and on anything less than that it will never have a secure foundation. Your father was not a "Rebel" he was not an outlaw when he fought in the mountains, when he bled in the cause of his Sovereign State. He was not a traitor, unless to bear true allegiance to his Sovereign can be made treason. I have written more than I intended and spare you the rest.

Very truly your friend
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to P. Howard.

(From the "Atlanta Constitution," Friday, June 24, 1887.)

Beauvoir, Miss., June 20. [1887]—To Colonel P. Howard, Danville, Ills., Dear Sir:—In answer to your letter of

request by the Danville Farmers' and Mechanics' Institute that I should deliver an address at its fair, I reply, as I did last year: Some years ago I delivered an address at the Winnebago county fair and was received with great courtesy. There I was among friends, for my memory went back to the months of June, July and August, 1832, when as lieutenant upon the staff of Colonel Zachariah Taylor I was stationed at Prairie du Chien, or Fort Crawford, as it was then known, and during the memorable and historical Black Hawk war it was my good fortune to help in protecting the settlers of that country whose descendants I spoke to at Rockford. I can not come to Illinois this year.

Thanking the association through you, I have only to say, as I said last September, in an open letter to Colonel J. T. Scharr, of Baltimore, that I deny the charges made against me by General William T. Sherman, in which he says I was foremost in encouraging the late war. I say to you, my dear Colonel, that I did all in my power to prevent the late war, and that I never looked for nor aspired to the post of chief executive of the Confederate States.

I may say that the order of the war department to return the captured flags to the late confederate states was a violation of all known military precedents. You will find in my history of the late war that there were but 26 regiments of regular troops in the army of the north, and a total of 550 confederate flags captured, it is questionable if these 26 regiments captured 50. The flags were captured by the volunteer army of the north and belong to the several states, and have no right to be in the national capital.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed) Jefferson Davis.

Marcellus Green 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Jackson, Miss. June 24th, 1887.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

Dear Sir:

In September the promulgation of the Constitution of the United States will be celebrated at Philadelphia. As part thereof it is desired to invite all the descendants of the signers thereof. In conference with Governor Lowry to ascertain the names and

One of the leaders of the Mississippi Bar.

residences of such descendants it was suggested that probably you could give more information on that point than any one in Mississippi.

If it is not too much trouble I would be obliged if you would give me the names of the heads of families resident in Miss. of

such descendants with their addresses so far as you know.

The celebration will be historic and those of our people whose ancestors framed that grandest of all governmental conceptions should have place therein.

I feel that this request will impose somewhat of a task upon you, but as it for the welfare of Mississippi, I know that your head and hand always renders her glad service.

With assurances of the highest respect, I remain,

Yours respectfully,

(Signed) Marcellus Green. Com. for Miss.

L. B. Northrop to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Minor Orcus, (Va.) June 25, 1887.

My dear friend,

Thank you for your article on Wolsely. I had read it with gratification some weeks ago. Beauregard's claims on the glories of Shiloh exceed in audacity those on Manassas. J. E. Jn. proved him to be an impostor on that occasion, as you have read.

Omitting the argument of D. V. Reed in the Pha. Times, and Preston Johnston's book, I know that in Nov. 1861 (I had been collecting supplies in Ky. before Johnston went there) Col. O. C. Boone was with the concurrence of Johnston's chief commissary from Bowling Green, Major Jackson making "large depots of supplies at Grand Junction Holly Springs and Corinth."

Before Bgd went out he wrote that he was going out as a pilot when the ship was on the breakers, and after going out, he wrote to Johnston about the great battle that would be fought about Corinth thus repeating Johnston's words quoted by Reed. He denies that you lost the telegraph in eypher proving it by the archives of the Telegraph office. He and Jordan destroyed it if it ever fell into their hands.

I think Preston Johnston should revise the matter and brand Bd.

My eyes are sore so I bid you adieu, quoting the Spanish phrase, "Cosa cumplida sola en la otra vida."

Yours faithfully,

L. B. NORTHROP.

A. H. Markland to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Washington City, July 1st, 1887.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

My dear Sir:

Presuming on an acquaintance with you as a public man in the decade immediately preceding the year 1861, I beg to call your attention to the enclosed newspaper clipping from the Baltimore Sun of this day, or rather to so much of it as refers to the recent order for the return of the battle flags. It is an admitted fact that the flags referred to were put away out of sight where they might have remained until they had moulded into dust. They were giving no evidence of a victory during the civil war. It is true that organizations and individual members of organizations in both sections of the country had been, were, and now are returning flags. The work of restoring fraternal feeling among the true soldiers was going on quietly and effectively. Under such circumstances what could have been the motive for the so called flag order. It does not appear that any one asked for the return of the flags or that any one would have been benefited by their return, or their resurrection, in any form. They were as completely lost to sight as if they had gone up in smoke. I only do you justice when I say that your administration of the War Department gives no evidence that you would have been a party to the resurrection of the flags in violation of law. You gave evidence of executive capacity in that office.

How the blunder of the attempted return of the flags was brought about will likely remain an administration mystery. That the Secretary of War and the adjutant Genl. of the Army should not have known that a return of the flags, in violation of law, was an imposibility is most remarkable. You will on reflection agree with me that no soldier in the South would have felt complimented to have had the flags returned without the unequivocal sanction of the United States Congress. Heroic

men fought under those flags, and for those flags, in the broad light of day and no soldier could be complimented by an illegal, and unauthorized, disposition of them. It was the illegality of the proceeding that raised the storm and not a hatred of the people of the North to the people of the South. Not by any means. Men who were officers and soldiers in the Confederate service can be found in nearly all the towns and cities of the North engaged in the different business avocations of life and in the South you will find men who were in the federal army.

Frequently they will be found as co-partners. One of the most unfortunate mistakes is that there is supposed to be a bitterness between the soldiers of the federal and confederate army. There may be isolated cases of difference but it will be found that it does not grow out of the war. It is the fellows who were not in the war, and who were far removed from the danger line, who resurrect disturbing relics of the war. The soldiers of the North and the South who endured the privations and sufferings incident to the war get along quite well together when they meet. They know all about war and their aim is to promote peace. They are not going around throwing lighted matches in barrels of gunpowder for the purpose of promoting fraternal feeling. They know how to guard against such folly. I would that as much interest was taken in building up the trade and commerce of the South Atlantic, and Gulf ports, and thereby benefitting the whole country, as there is in the stirring up of irritating things which if left alone will die out of themselves. It is to be regretted that some of the Governors of the Southern States should have drifted into sentiment before investigating the right of the President of the United States to return the flags and to say the least of it their views in reply to telegrams from a newspaper office was a little premature. When it is understood that the flags were not on exhibition, that ninety nine out of one hundred men who were in Washington, or who might come to Washington, did not know where they were stored, that the President had no authority to return them and that the alledged reason for their return was because they were mildewed, moth eaten and rotten the Southern people will not regard their proposed return as a compliment but rather as a mortifying blunder.

I am very Respectfully, Your Obt. Svt., (Signed) A. H. MARKLAND.

B. B. Richards to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Ft. Scott, July 9th 1887.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Dear Sir

I am pleased to acknowledge receipt of your highly esteemed favour 5th inst, and now has my attention.

I am truly gratified with your explination of the Chattanooga matter at the Crutchfield House. And not much surprised to

learn that the "Howard letter" was a base forgery.

I paid "Hon, E, W. McComas President of Our "Board of Trade 'a visit this morning, he was Lieut Gov. of Virginia when old John Brown made his murderous assault on Harper's Ferry. the Gov. attention had been called by me to the same matter I wrote you in my letter of the 24th ult. I took the liberty of showing him your letter, he was much pleased with the courtesy and expressed kind regards for you personally. While bleeding Kansas—(so called) is the home and refuge of—New England "Schisms and Isms &c" yet there are thousands of bold earnest men of your faith here also! I visited my relations in Virginia last year and the principle Battle fields and Cemetrys and there silently contemplated the terrible struggle that had take place in the "Mother State and their evidence saw her earnest devotion to the "Southern Cause, And I was overwhelmed with admiration for the lofty thoughts that animated them during those dark trying hours of blood and carnage—I could but feel in my heart whether "right or "wrong, That some day in God's own good time the rich blood so freely shed on the soil of Virginia for Liberty and Sovereignty would nuture seeds that would come forth like a Sevelone from Heaven "asserting and "mantaining that such an noble sacrifice was not in vain. And then Mr. Davis the world and the American People will latter understand and appreciate you and the immortal Cause you so ably headed and for which you and the Heroes who achieved immortal renown and made so great sacrifices.

> The dauntless hearts, and patient souls, That faced life's severest stress, With manly front, and stern control, Intent there suffering land to bless!

I hope Mr. Davis that your remaining day's on Earth may prove pleasant to you,

Please accept my sincere humble best wishes for you & yours.

I am

Yours truly (Signed) B. B. RICHARDS.

To Hon. Jefferson Davis Brevoir Miss

Jefferson Davis to J. T. Scharfe.

(From New York Historical Society.)

Beauvoir, Miss 10th July 1887.

Col J. T. Scharfe, Dear Sir,

With much surprise and regret I saw in the New Orleans Times Democrat of this morning the announcement that the Morning Herald of Baltimore would publish a six column contribution giving an account of recent important interviews with Jefferson Davis & then follows not a very accurate statement of my conversations with you in regard to attempts made to assassinate me during the war. I was surprised at this because I thought the notes you took of our conversation were intended to aid you in the preparation of your proposed biography had I supposed it was to be published in a newspaper as an interview of a correspondent, I should at once have declined to entertain conversation.

In addition to other causes of regret is the fact that it will be regarded as an abandonment on my part of my determination to refuse all "interviews" with newspaper Reporters & lead to a renewal of such unwelcome visitations. My conversations with you were confidential, such as one might have with an intended biographer & I must respectfully insist that you desist from further newspaper publications of whatever you may have seen or heard during our friendly intercourse.

> Respectfully yours. JEFFERSON DAVIS.

James Millward to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Museum.)

New York, July 11th, 1887.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Dear Sir,

In reading the N. York Herald of yesterday, I noticed an article in relation to your going to Richmond Va. from Fortress Monroe, where you were released upon bail, in which it stated, that owing to the good offices of Mr. Garrett you were quartered at an hotel in Richmond upon your arrival there before your appearance before the United States Court.

In justice to my late partner and myself, I think it is doing us an injustice, as neither of us had the acquaintance of Mr. Garrett or even received any request from him. The facts are as follows:

At the time of your removal to Richmond, I went to Fortress Monroe and saw Genl. Burton, who had you in charge, and kindly extended to him an invitation, to bring you with Mrs. Davis to the Spotswood Hotel, where we would endeavour to make you comfortable, until the opening of the Court on the Monday morning following.

Genl. Burton expressed his thanks and said that he could not decide until the arrival in Richmond, as probably the United States Marshal would desire to have charge of you, but in the event of his not doing so, he would cheerfully accept the invitation. Upon arrival at Richmond, the U.S. Marshal made no demand and Genl Burton and staff in company of yourself and wife, came to the Spotswood Hotel, where you were gladly welcomed as the guests of the proprietors and were installed in the same room that you occupied during a part of your stay in Richmond as President of the Confederate States.

As far as Mr. Garrett was concerned in this matter, he really was not known, but it was the desire of my partner and myself to endeavour to allay the sufferings of a Gentleman and friend, in the times of the sorest distress, and in doing so, we felt well paid for our trouble and expense, in knowing that yourself and wife, were kindly cared for.

Please accept my kindest wishes and regards, also tender the same to Mrs. Davis.

I shall be pleased to hear of your restoration to good health

again, and the enjoyment of many years of happiness with your dear partner in life.

Respectfully (Signed) James Millward.

of Corckery & Millward, former Proprietors Spotswood Hotel Richmond, Va.

J. T. Scharf to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

828 N. Carrollton Ave., Baltimore, July 18, 1887.

My Dear President:

I regret exceedingly that you are displeased with the article that I prepared for the HERALD of this city. Indeed, since I received your letter of displeasure, the subject has given me more than any one else a great deal of pain. Under no circumstances would I have published anything about my recent pleasant visit to your home, if I had thought for a moment it would have given you the least displeasure. It was only after a great deal of solicitation on the part of the HERALD that I consented to write anything. With the exception of the article on the attempted ass[ass]inations, the remainder of the sketch is but a rehash of what I wrote and published last year in the SUN. I do not think anything was said as to when and where the article you dictated to me about the "assassination," was to be published. Had I thought for a moment that your conversation with me was "confidential" I would not have published a word that passed between us. I regret exceedingly now that I published anything, and I repeat, it has caused me much pain. I did not visit you as a representative of the HERALD, and the article as stated above, was only prepared after a great deal of solicitation on the part of the manager, after my return. You will observe that the article contains very little new matter, being made up mainly from your own writings and expressions in previous publications. You can rest assured, and I now promise you, that I will not in the future publish one word about you without at first submitting the subject-matter, for your examination and approval. If my last publication has given you any offense, I humbly ask your pardon, as it was done with the best intentions. My feelings toward you are fully expressed in the introductory part of the interview. The head-lines and sub-heads, are not mine but were placed in the article by the editors. As the HERALD is looked upon as a Republican paper, I thought I was doing you a service by placing you in the right position before a republican constituency. I cannot, however, but express my sincere regret for having allowed the article to appear, and hope you will forgive me for so doing. It will in the future prove a lesson, and prevent me from being enticed by others into doing that which I may afterwards regret.

In regard to the proposed biography: My stenographer has now returned from Philadelphia and is now aiding me to clean up my correspondence that has been gathering for several months. He will finish this by Saturday night, and some other work in which I need his services. To-morrow morning I shall begin to dictate the inquiries he is to submit to you. He will leave here the first part of the coming week, arriving at Beauvoir two days after, unless I hear from you to the contrary. He will go straight through without stopping, as he has made all his preparations, and you can confidently expect him next week. I am now collecting all the material I can relating to your life and services. During the past week I managed to secure in Boston, a complete file of the INDEX published in Liverpool during the late war. This contains a great deal of important matter relating to foreign affairs. It cost me considerable money, but I consider myself fortunate in securing a complete file of this valuable publication. Before Mr. Johnson leaves here, I will dictate to him full instructions for everything he is to lay before you upon his arrival. Please say to Mrs. Davis that he will relieve her as your amanuensis during his stay at Beauvoir, and I trust she will find in him all that I have represented. While he is clearing off your correspondence I have suggested to him to gather up and send to me all your printed and written material that you may have bearing upon the subject, so that I can be employed during his absence in arranging it. I have already begun the work, by taking notes of all the references made to you in the various publications on the war. I will not say anything further now, but will give to Mr. Johnson before he leaves, full particulars of everything of interest to you.

With kindest regards for Mrs. Davis and Miss Varina and your nephew, and with best love to you, I remain,

Sincerely and faithfully yours, (Signed) J. THOMAS SCHARF.

W. S. Jeter ¹ to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Monticello, Ark. July 18th 1887.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

My Dear Sir,

In the name and by authority of the officers of the above association, as also expressing the wishes of ten thousand of our States best citizens, I write to invite the presence at our next Fair October 4th 5th 6th & 7th of yourself Wife and Daughter, to us more beloved and honored than any name known to true and patriotic Southerners. I am aware that many Sections of the Country, including large and wealthy Citys as compared with ours, and much more convenient to your home, are almost daily calling for your presence, whose name we would not know in any other sense but Love and admiration, and will you permit me to say for the thousand of care worn, wrinkled faces and silver locked heads. Soldiers who followed Cleburne Hardee and others on so many hard fought battle fields in defense of our rights and liberties, that the presence on that occasion of yourself and most estimable family would be a season most delightful to these thousands of Arkansas noble Sons and daughters, and may I further beg My Dear Sir, to assure you that the intention of this invitation is not as a matter of custom and simple Courtesy's usual to so illustrious and distinguished of America's Sons as yourself, but for the great pleasure and gratification of our people among whom are many old Confederate patriots who once more on this side of eternity's time desire beholding and looking upon the face of their grand and noble old Chieftain of the lost (though just) cause, whose fidelity to her people has never swerved or in the least weakened.

President Davis, I trust you will pardon me for writing so feelingly and personally of your "Dear Self" when I say I am prompted, thus, remembering those noble brave utterances from your own lips "regarding our trouble with the Yankees" viz. Nothing to take back or any apologies to make. This grand declaration is indellibly in my memory and should be in that of all true Southerners. I have been with you all the way through and ever since. I beheld your noble face when you rode in front of our (Fagan's 1st Ark.) Regiment on the Battle field

¹ President South East Arkansas A. & M. Fair Association.

of Manassa, my admiration for President Davis has grown none less than it was then. I desire to say many of our most prominent Citizens from all the State including Gov. Hughs who is to deliver the opening address, will be present.

Our association embraces Eight of the richest Counties in the State and four parishes of North La. Our little City of 1800 inhabitants is just 40 miles from Ark. City where the Ark. Valley Rail Road crosses the Miss. River connecting with L.N.O. & T. R.R. at Leland. You leave N.O. at 10 P.M. arriving here next evening 3 P.M. in through sleeper. The association will take pleasure specially in footing all traveling and other expenses incured during the trip and a Committee of our Citizens will be delighted to meet you and family at Leland on L.N.O. & T.R.R. Every facility for the comfort of yourself and family will be provided for during the trip and while sojourning with us.

Appreciating fully your age, feeble health, and the situation in general, I beg to again assure you, nothing known to mankind would so delight and please our people as the presence of yourself and family on that occasion. Can you thus honor our State?

Trusting for a favorable reply at your earliest convenience, I am, Dear Sir, your most obt. svt.

T. H. Matthews, Sect. W. S. Jeter, Pres.

P.S. All of our delegation in Congress both Senate and House wish to be present if you can favor us with your presence, and I venture the assertion you will look upon Twenty thousand faces of the citizens of the Trans Mississippi Dept. Cant you cross the River?

Yours truly, W. S. Jeter, Pres.

C. W. Frazer to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Memphis, Tenn. July 18, 1887.

My dear Mr. Davis,

I take the liberty of sending you a copy of the action of our Association (of which you are an honorary member) in the Flag question.

While I look much to the past, I sometimes turn my eyes to the Republican party, and particularly to some of its prominent members; and find occasionally, if not universally, that my sus-

picions of rascality are verified.

I thought it likely, that this flag business eminated from John Sherman's friends; and that while it was entirely proper to take position for *ourselves*, we might, at the same time, take out some wind. I hope you will approve; and that other Associations will speak to the same purport.

Yours truly,

(over)

C. W. Frazer.

P.S.

This writing suggests, that I have often heard Virginia (Mrs. Boyle) say, that she had great trouble in procuring a copy of Col. Craven's (life in prison) which she sent you for some corrections, which you kindly promised to make; and that she had never heard from you; or that you had received the book.

This was perhaps a year or more since. You will remember

that she intended to paint a true picture in answer.

I was about to close, by hoping that you would live long enough to see a true history of all these things, but neither you or I will live that long, though it will be done.

Yours C.W.F.

endorsed:

Mr. Frazer about the flags; wants my approval of his action. Also reminds me of his daughter's wish for correction by me of Craven's book; ansd. 21st July '87.

Jefferson Davis to F. R. Lubbock. (From Confederate Museum.)

Col. F. R. Lubbock, My dear Friend: Beauvoir, Miss. July 20, 1887.

Yours of the 12th inst., with its inclosures, has been received. I have hitherto declined to answer any of the many inquiries made for my opinion on the Constitutional Amendment, now pending in Texas. My reason for not replying was an unwillingness to enter into a controversy in which my friends in Texas stood arrayed against each other. In departing from the rule heretofore observed, I trust that it will not be an unwarrantable intrusion.

Reared in the creed of Democracy, my faith in its tenets has grown with its growth, and I adhere to the maxim that "The world is governed too much."

When our fathers achieved their independence, the cornerstone of the government they constructed was individual liberty, and the social organizations they established were not for the surrender, but for the protection of natural rights. For this, governments were established, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. This was not to subject themselves to the will of the majority, as appears from the fact that each community inserted in its fundamental law a bill of rights to guard the inalienable privileges of the individual.

There was, then, a two-fold purpose in government: protection, and prevention against trespass by the strong upon the weak, the many on the few.

The world had long suffered from the oppressions of government under the pretext of ruling by divine right and excusing the invasion into private and domestic affairs on the plea of paternal care for the morals and good order of the people.

Our sires rejected all such pretensions, their system being: Government by the people for the people, and resting on the basis of these general propositions, I will briefly answer the inquiry in regard to the Prohibition Amendment at issue.

"Be ye temperate in all things" was a wise injunction, and would apply to intolerance as well as to drunkenness. That the intemperate use of intoxicating liquors is an evil, few, if any, would deny. That it is the root of many social disorders is conceded; but then, the question arises, what is the appropriate remedy, and what the present necessity? To destroy individual liberty and moral responsibility would be to eradicate one evil by the substitution of another, which it is submitted would be more fatal than that for which it was offered as a remedy. The abuse, and not the use, of stimulants, it must be confessed, is the evil to be remedied. Then it clearly follows that action should clearly be directed against the abuse rather than the use. If drunkenness be the cause of disorder and crime, why not pronounce drunkenness itself to be a crime and attach to it proper and adequate penalties. If it be objected that the penalties could not be enforced, that is an admission that popular opinion would be opposed to the law; but if it be true that juries could not be empannelled who would convict so degraded a criminal as a drunkard, it necessarily follows that a statutory prohibition against the sale and use of intoxicants would be a dead letter.

The next branch of the inquiry is as to the present necessity. I might appeal to men not as old as myself to sustain the assertion that the convivial use of intoxicants, and the occurrence of drunkenness had become less frequent within the last

twenty years than it was before. The refining influence of education and Christianity may be credited with this result. Why not allow these blessed handmaidens of virtue and morality to continue unembarrassed in their civilizing work. The parties to this discussion in your State have no doubt brought forward the statistical facts in regard to the effect produced in other States by this effort to control morals by legislation, and I will not encumber this letter by any reference to those facts.

You have already provision for local prohibition. If it has proved the wooden horse in which a disguised enemy to State sovereignty as the guardian of individual liberty was introduced, then let it be a warning that the progressive march would probably be from village to State and from State to United

States.

A governmental supervision and paternity, instead of the liberty the heroes of 1776 left as a legacy to their posterity. Impelled by the affection and gratitude, I feel for the people of Texas, and the belief that a great question of American policy is involved in the issue you have before you, the silence I had hoped to observe has been broken. If the utterance shall avail anything for good, it will compensate me for the objurgations with which I shall doubtless be pursued by the followers of the popularism of the day. I hope the many who have addressed me letters of inquiry on the subject will accept this as an answer, though somewhat long delayed.

Faithfully Yours,
(Signed) Jefferson Davis.

I certify that the foregoing is a true copy of the original received by me and now in my possession.

July 23, 1887.

F. R. LUBBOCK.

Jefferson Davis to C. W. Frazer. (From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Col. C. W. Frazer,

Beauvoir, Miss. 21st July 1887.

Dear Sir,

I consider the whole attempt to create an excitement about Presdt. Cleveland's order to return the flag was political, from the egg to the apple.

The law which was referred to as controlling the question, was certainly against the pretention that flags captured in war

should be considered the property of the troops by whom they were captured has made it the duty of the Sectys, of the Army and Navy to gather in the flags and deliver them to the Executive who was made the custodian.

Now I have no doubt that if they were considered as property of the United States they would fall under the general power of Congress to make rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property &c.

The law was certainly enacted to cover the case of foreign flags. According to our theory there was a public war between the States, but according to the theory of the North, it was only a "Rebellion" or insurrection which had to be put down by the Govt, and if they are right, property could not be acquired by capture as in foreign war; until the premises are settled it will be difficult to reach a conclusion that would suit both sides of this question. I agree with my brethren of the Memphis Association that the game is not worth the candle and we do not propose to take any part in it.

Fraternally yours,

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Jefferson Davis to C. W. Frazer. (From Confederate Museum.)

Beauvoir, Miss. 21st July '87.

Col. C. W. Frazer, My dear Sir,

Please say to my friend Virginia that her request being to me as a command, I expected to make marginal notes on Dr. Craven's book, but a little work now goes a great way with me and as the subject is one, the renewal of which is always painful I have postponed the reading of the book and frankly would say I would like to be let off from the task of annotating it.

As ever your friend, JEFFERSON DAVIS.

V. S. Hilliard to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Museum.)

San Francisco July 21st 1887.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Dear Sir,

A change of habitation and name may so have estranged me, as to require an introduction or renewal of past friendship.

I am the only child of the late Judge Jas. B. Bowling of St. Louis, Mo. your colleague in the U.S. Congress for many years from that district. Afterward the wife of Genl. A. G. Jenkins of Va. who prior to the War, was a member of the lower house

whilst you were in the Senate.

At the battle of Cloyd's Mountain in May 1864 he received his death wound. I have suffered total blindness from innoculating my eyes from virus in a wound I was dressing the Genl. received at the battle of Gettysburg. My restored sight is very imperfect and both eyes so blemished as to almost defy recognition of me by my friends. I am at present the wife of Maj. D. B. Hilliard one of Genl, Jenkins staff.

Pardon what may seem egotism in occupying so much space in personal reference but knowing naturally you were much annoyed with voluminous correspondence thought it best to lay my claims to an audience at the outset. Away out here in the Golden West some eighty of your loyal and battle scarred Veterans have organized an association for mutual benefit; the camp is known as the "Albert Sidney Johnstone Camp No. 4" their charter being bestowed a year since by the "R. E. Lee Camp of Richmond, Va."

The Southern element here is weaker than in any other part of the State and the bravado fuss and feathers of the ignorant and insolent members of the G. A. R. almost insufferable. Their continued boast that each and every member during engagements were always where bullets were thickest is an assertion I would not dispute but take the privilege of locating them according to their own statements, under the ammunition wagon. They snuffed war from afar and continue still to smite their enemies as did the patriarch of old the Phillistines "with the jawbone of an ass."

In connection with the Confederate Headquarters the Camp are opening a permanent Library for Southern literature and extend to all loyal Southerners a cordial welcome and relief from outside polluting influences. My Husband Maj. Hilliard is not only a member of the Camp but chairman of the Library Committee. Their rooms are ornamented with flags and insignia of our dear old Confederacy and their cabinets rich with as yet few but valued treasures in the shape of relics of the late war.

The members of the Camp are poor of purse but rich in hereditary claims and a priceless legacy of valor, daring and bravery under the Stars and Bars to be transmitted to their children.

May I ask the favor that you send them some token of your

recognition and though truant birds wandering from the parental cage (the "Land we Love") and in an uncongenial atmosphere bestow generously the balm of encouragement on their praiseworthy effort,

A photograph of yourself to adorn their headquarters would be cherished beyond all price and guarded with a care commensurate with the intrinsic value of the trophy. A relic they possess is a pipe cut by a poor prisoner from Ft. Warren with but a penknife out of brierwood and contains an image of you, unmistakable in its likeness. His tools were rude but with true loyalty in his heart from memory your features were reproduced with astonishing accuracy. Could you see how the Camp treasure(s) the pipe I feel confident you would not hesitate to add your photograph to their collection.

I will enclose a letter to Mrs. Davis to whom please present me most kindly as well as to Miss Winnie an ideal type of Southern girl and one who concentrates the interest best wishes and prayers of all Confederates. Hoping for a favorable reply

I remain Very Respectfully

Mrs. Virginia S. Hilliard.

N.B. Should you honor the Camp with the gift please send it through me to the following address,

Mrs. Virginia S. Hilliard
Care Maj. D. B. Hilliard
History Building
Market St. San Francisco.

Jefferson Davis to A. A. Winn.
(From THE CONSTITUTION, August 21, 1887.)

Beauvoir, Miss., 28th July, 1887.—Captain A. A. Winn, Sec'y Third Georgia Survivors: My dear Sir:—I have received yours of the 21st instant, inviting me to attend a reunion of the survivors of the Third Georgia regiment. It would give me great pleasure to meet those gallant men at a social reunion, and to look into the faces of the heroes who commanded my admiration when in the beginning of the war they came to the defense of Virginia, and confirmed it by their prompt re-enlistment for a longer term than their original engagement, and through many great battles down to the sad close at Appomattox, shed lustre on the name of Georgia, and contributed in no small degree to the immortal honor of the confederate army. The men of the

Third Georgia were soldiers in war, and it is alike to their credit that they are quiet citizens in time of peace. With my regrets that I am physically unable to meet them as invited, and to join in doing honor to their brave leader, Colonel A. R. Wright, please tender to each and all the fraternal feeling with which I am,

Faithfully,

(Signed) Jefferson Davis.

Jefferson Davis to the Editor of the "World." (From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Beauvoir, 30th July 1887.

To the Editor of the World.

My attention has been called to a letter of Ex Gov. Curtin published in the Herald of the 12th Inst. in regard to an alleged complicity on his part with a purpose to assassinate me, during the War between the States, and also to a letter from Wilkesbarre, Pa., on the same subject published in the World of the 18th Inst.

I solicit the use of your columns to make a brief statement of the facts so far as they are known to me.

Gov. Curtin makes two mistakes in his letter,—first, that I had made public accusation against him and that I had alleged that he was to pay \$100,000 to a desperado for my assassination. All this is based on a newspaper article purporting to be the report of an interview held with me by a newspaper correspondent. Such was not the case; a well known historian proposed to write my biography and asked me to give him for that purpose an account of attempts made during the war to assassinate me.

I told him in that connection and for that purpose, that an anonymous letter of warning had been sent to me to the effect that the Govr. of Pa. had released from the Penitentiary a notorious convict on the condition that he would go to the South and assassinate me, and if successful he was to receive as a reward \$100,000.

Though the letter did use the name of Gov. Curtin I omitted it in my statement of the substance of the letter, and as the writer did not state how the money promised was to be raised, I did not attempt to supply the omission. Indeed it was quite unimportant to me whether it came from a secret service fund, from the private purse of the Govr. or was contributed by others

who with like zeal snuffed the battle from afar and cried havoc. The anonymous letter acquired an importance it would not otherwise have possessed from the fact that about the time of its receipt, when going to my residence at the usual hour I saw a man crouching beside the basement wall of the paling of the yard fence and looking intently towards the gate of entrance. Instead of proceeding to the gate I turned and went towards the crouching figure; as he was approached he rose fled and escaped. The importance thus given to the anonymous letter induced me to enclose it to the Hon. Wm. B. Reed of Philada., with a request that he would make such inquiry as to him might be practicable to discover the writer and to verify or disprove the statements.

Gov. Curtin's "emphatic contradiction" of the accusations against him pertains not to me, but to the writer of the letter who is unknown to me, and for whom I have not vouched.

The avowal of Govr. Curtin of zeal to maintain the Govt. by honorable warfare, and the denial that he "ever resorted to such means for conduct of the War'' makes a commendable appreciation of the obligations of civilized war, and it is a pity that there should be anything to interrupt the current of his self laudation. The letter from Wilkesbarre already referred to, certainly reveals conduct not very different from that alleged by the anonymous letter written. It thereby appears that Gov. Curtin received an application, apparently, from the U.S. War Dept. for the release from the Pa. penitentiary of a notorious convict that he might "be sent over the lines for a specific purpose." On this and other like representations it appears that an order was issued by the Gov. for the release of the convict. It is not shown that the Gov. knew or thought proper to inquire for what special service the General of the Army required a convicted criminal, but that the fact he was to be employed at the South was enough to secure compliance with the application. To an average mind intent upon "honorable warfare" the question would naturally have arisen: For what proper duty with the army can a convict be particularly qualified? In the absence of information on that point, it might have been reasonably supposed that the "specific purpose" was to do an act which a soldier worthy of the name would not perform. Assassination might readily have been supposed to be such "specific purpose," and the application for release have been postponed for further information, and refused unless it should be such as would justify compliance by bringing the "purpose" within the pale of "honorable warfare."

Gov. Curtin does not say whether this was the first transaction of like kind between himself and the U.S. War Dept., but his ready belief that the forged Letters were genuine would indi-

cate that it was not a surprising event.

In conclusion I beg to repeat that in stating the substance of this anonymous letter received by me, and the attendant circumstances, it was not intended to accuse or to excuse Gov. Curtin, neither was the statement made for a newspaper article and conditions precedent were imposed upon its publication even in the proposed biography.

> Jefferson Davis to Monroe McClurg.1 (From Mississippi Department of Archives and History.)

> > Beauvoir Miss. 2nd Aug 1887.

Monroe McClurg Esqr.

Dear Sir,

Please accept my thanks for your very kind letter of the 29th Ult. inviting me and my Daughter to attend an old fashioned barbecue at Shongolo on the 5th Inst.

I remember the old town very well and it would give me great pleasure to revisit it, but I am physically unable at this time to do so- It is very gratifying to me to be assured of the affectionate remembrance of the people of your section & especially of the battle scarred veterans who have survived the many perils they encountered for the sacred cause of State rights and constitutional government. Would that it were permitted to me to see your little children and those of your neighbors. I live, not without hope of the restoration of the principles which our Fathers left as an inheritance to their posterity forever, & it is from the coming generation that boon must be expected.

Accept my thanks for the complimentary terms in which you refer to my Daughter. Too young to have known the trials of

¹ Greenwood Miss. July 15, 1908

My Dear Doctor Rowland-

Following your request for letters from Jefferson Davis, I hand you under this cover one written to me twenty one years ago. I was directed by a committee on invitation to write him. The letter is his reply. It was read publicly at the great barbecue and greatly appreciated. Shongalo is one mile west of Vaiden, in south-eastern Carroll County.

Please verify the copy I hand you with the original and kindly return the original to me. I have use a pen copy, rather than a type written one,

to the more accurately follow the text of the original.

I have the honor to be most respectfully

Monroe McClurg.

(Enclosed letter attached).

the war she has learned from her patriotic Mother to honor our cause and love the men who heroically sustained it,

Please make my grateful acknowledgements to the friends you represent in your Invitation and assure them of the undying love with which I am Faithfully

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

Louis Schade to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Washington, D. C. Aug. 6, 1887.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

Sir:

Yesterday I mailed you a copy of my paper, the Washington Sentinel, and beg you to examine it.

Let me thank you for your noble, truly Democratic anti-prohibition letter. You will be rewarded for it. At any rate your old friend, this winter, will do his best to let the people know that in the President of the Confederacy there is more manhood and democracy than in the Democratic President Cleveland.

You will remember me as the Counsel of poor Captain Wirz. My hopes that under a Democratic President this case should be re-examined and justice done to the memory and the children of that poor victim, have disappeared altogether. Nothing of the kind will be possible under a Cleveland and an emasculated Democracy.

With assurances of the highest consideration, most respectfully

Yours.

endorsed: Schade about Wirtz' children. LOUIS SCHADE.

F. R. Lubbock to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Museum.)

Treasury Department State of Texas.

Austin, Aug. 6th 1887. My very dear friend,

Yours of 26th Aug reached me the evening before my departure for the "Pea Ridge" battle ground in Ark. I was sent by Gov Ross of Texas, as his representative to take part in the unveiling of a monument, to Genls. Ben McCullock, Jas. McIntosh and W. G. Slack and others killed at "Elkhorn" or "Pea Ridge," this is my apology for not answering before.

I did not expect an answer to mine of 12th of August knowing how much your time is occupied. I trust ere this you have recovered from your indisposition and that this will find Mrs.

Davis. Miss Davis and vourself well.

I wish now to say to you that our majority in the late election will be just about 100,000. When I read your letter I determined not to take the responsibility of publishing, put it in my pocket and went to Fort Worth when I would meet with the Committee managing the campaign, as also representative men from the entire State. The Committee were unanimous, and so was every representative man, in favor of its going at once to the country. I was to read it when I made my speech, and the committee in the meantime had a copy prepaid and Certified to by myself published, and very generally distributed. When first circulated the Pros received it with shouts as the best Campaign document they could have That, they would aid us in giving it circulation and that it would be worth to them not less than 20,000 votes it would turn all the negroes against us, as well (as) many Republicans. It is very disgusting to know, that men claiming to be Southern men in sentiment, and Democrats resorted to such miserable devices as to say to some that you would return again the Colored brother to slavery and to labor in your cotton fields, and then in certain quarters they would denounce it as a forgery. Suffice it to say that it did us good they did not deceive anybody and it gained us a large vote from the best citizens in the State, because you enunciated good and honest democratic truths and they believed you would utter none other sentiments. No Sir, we received a majority of the Democratic Vote of the State, and they simply lie when they say our Majority was made up by all the negroes and Mexicans. We carried Counties almost unanimously, that contained neither negroes or Mexicans; The fact is, that while we may have gotten a majority of Negroes there were large sections, particularly in North Texas, where the Negroes voted with Pros and in which counties we beat them-

The Pros commenced courting and soliciting the negro vote. The ministers Ladies and others invited them to their gatherings picnics, etc and in every possible way "hunny fugled" them. They imported colored Ministers, notably Bishop Truan*

^{*} This may be Turner but the characters look more like Truan.

from Georgia, and our friend Judge Reagan presented him to the Ladies and Gentlemen as the distinguished divine from Georgia, a good thing right here, a friend of the Judge's handed him your letter to read after reading, he remarked, "Well it is a very good letter but really I am very sorry that Mr. Davis has taken part in this fight, It is outside of his range and I do not think it is well for *outsiders* to interfere."

His friend replied Judge, do you not think Mr. Davis has as much right and is not quite as appropriate as for your friends to send to Georgia for a Colored Preacher and that you should be going about the country introducing and endorsing him to the Ladies especially. The Pros claimed all the Preachers Ladies Moral men etc. Now my dear friend I will say to you that doubtless the Methodist and Baptists were mostly Pros. Presbyterians Episcopalian and Catholics never preached on the subject, but voted mostly with the Antis, and the wives of the Antis were generally the same way of thinking with their husbands. I also write to assure you that of the men that canvassed and took an active part the Antis had largely the advantage by way of temperance morality etc. It was a dirty canvass. I hope never to see just such another. It reminded me of the Know Nothing times, if anything, more acrimonious and filthy— I think however we have put them to bed where they will remain for sometime— We have local option in this State and it is a strange fact, but nevertheless true, that the local option counties went almost unanimously against the amendment.

You must excuse me for trespassing upon your time with this long letter. I felt that I wished to explain some things to you. I mentioned to our Atty. Genl., Mr. Hogg that I was about to write he begged to be specially mentioned and sends his most profound regards to you.

You will recollect him as being one of our party visiting you in April 1885 and one who caught a chicken and took him off naming him Jeffn Davis. You knew his father Genl. Hogg.

Trusting this will find you well I am my dear friend

Yours as ever (Signed) F. R. Lubbock.

Henry Whitney Cleveland to Jefferson Davis
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

352 West Jefferson Street Louisville, Kentucky, 16: August: 1887.

His Excellency—

Jefferson Davis,

Dear and Honored Sir,

While people are bothering you about Prohibition and the nonsense of British General Incompetents, please do not forget my prior question—Did the Executive of the Confederate States, as the Century asserted in the "Bail" article, ever submit to a proposal from Blair or any one, that Lee and all of us who wore the gray, should run away to Texas and then shake hands with the barn and home burners,—and the insulter escape with a whole skin; and, that not being true, how nearly true is the MS I sent you, as written out from the notes of Mr. A. H. Stephens for my biography of him in 1886, and not used in the book because he said he was under some pledge to you. In substance it is this- An armistice, declaration of war with France on the Monroe doctrine, permit to ship our cotton under some tax or indemnity; fraternization in a common cause the probable issue. That the whole matter was rejected by the very parties who proposed it, when the Commissioners, Stephens, Hunter and Campbell, met them at Fortress Monroe on the boat, either, because time had passed and Lincoln and Seward knew that Grant could succeed as Sherman had, or, like Seward's solemn pledge about Fort Sumpter in 1861, it was all a lie and fraud, to get Blair into Richmond in consultation with malcontents like A. H. Stephens, and correspondence with Jos. E. Brown. Stephens led me to believe that you did not wish the South to know of what a chance you refused, as in reconstruction with State organizations and compensation for the slaves. I now believe that the secret was his own, and his excess of caution in the "War between the States," covers his own wish to get back into the Union, and talks with Blair about it! Suppose you keep my MS, and give me a little letter of your own about it. I will not publish it in your own life-time without your consent.

I never got my commission from you in the war-if I had

one made out, I wonder if you would sign it now? I have the Hon. Jas. A. Seddon's appointments, only.

With growing appreciation, I am, dear Sir, Your very humble servant.

HENRY WHITNEY CLEVELAND.

see-

Atlantic article also.

endorsed:

Revd. Henry W. Cleveland; about meeting at Hampton Roads.

Jefferson Davis to Percy L. Moore.

Personal

Beauvoir Miss. 16th Aug. 1887.

Percy L. Moore Esqr. My Dear Sir.

Accept my sincere thanks for the copy of the Advance of the 13th Inst which you had the kindness to send to me.

It seems but a short time since the people of the South, with singular unanimity staked everything they held dear on the issue of defending the rights they inherited against the invasion with which they were threatened. Truth is eternal and ours is the cause of Truth. Yet the few years which have elapsed since our efforts were defeated have sufficed to rear in our land a band of McSycophants who bend the pregnant hinges of the knee' and court the powers which overwhelmed us by reviling the men living and dead who gave all they had for their country.

Among the meanest of the Deserters are the class you have justly rebuked, those who put on the garb of Christianity the better to serve the purpose of falsehood & libel. It is a consolation to me and sustains the hope of future restoration of the true principles of liberty to see you & others like you, piercing the mask with the arrows of truth.

Again thanking you for your manly exposure of falsehood & hypocrisy, I am

Very truly yours,
JEFFERSON DAVIS.

James Longstreet to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Gainesville, Ga. 2d Sept. 1887.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

My Dear Sir,

Memoirs of R. E. Lee by General Long quote you as witness to the charge that the Army of Northern Virginia was in a very demoralised condition at the time of General Lee's assignment to the command. The quotation evidently refers to the day after General Lee was assigned, but General Long makes it appear as referring to a council of General Officers which was called by Gen. Lee a week or more later, and this was really the only council called by General Lee at the time. From General Lee's accounts to me, I infer that the quotation from you refers to reports made to General Lee by General Whiting.

A similar statement from (Gen.) Long published in the Philadelphia Weekly Times, lead me to write all the officers who were present at the council called by Genl. Lee at the time referred to, asking them if there was any symptom of demoralisation in the Army in their commands, and at the same time asking if any allusion was made to withdrawing the troops and abandoning Richmond. Without exception the charges were positively denied and my testimony to the same effect was added and pub-

lished in denial of the ugly charges of Gen. Long.

So far from entertaining a thought of giving Richmond up, the army was never so resolved to hold it as at the time General Long lays his charges, and even asserted that they would dig bayous, to reach the enemy's trenches, if not allowed some other means of getting at him. Experience at 7 Pines so far from demoralising the army, only gave the troops greater confidence in their valor. This is true of all of the army except the demidivision under Whiting. In withdrawing that division General Lee stated to me as his reason its demoralised condition, and so far (from) expressing doubts of the other troops he referred to them as having greater confidence than he had, and the morale was quite equal amongst all the officers and men to his own.

I am trying to make a record of events from my standpoint is

my excuse for troubling you with this letter.

It is to ask, if General Long, in giving you as witness to the demoralized condition of the Army of Northern Virginia at the time General Lee was assigned to command it, correctly represents you?

Not satisfied with efforts to disparage others, as individuals, Gen. Long puts the Army and the people of the south in false positions. The Army as demoralised, and ready when Gen. Lee took command to abandon the field, and the people of the South as embarking in a hopeless contest which General Lee alone knew from the outset to be hopeless.

My right arm, still unwieldy from the effects of the Wilderness hurt, is my excuse for this poor effect at chirography, which at best was never passably good.

With high respect,

Your obt. servt.

JAMES LONGSTREET.

endorsed:

Genl. Jas. Longstreet; see Long's life of Lee; ansd. 11th Sept. '87.

C. E. Merrill ¹ to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Museum.)

Jacksonville, Fla., Sept. 12th, 1887

Ex-President Jeffⁿ Davis: My dear Mr. Davis:

I enclose you an editorial from today's News Herald, in which, as you will see, I take the ground that in his early congressional service Mr. Calhoun's views favoring "protection" may have been (and no doubt were) greatly influenced by his prejudice against Great Britain with whom the country was just then on the eve of war. The idea is original with me. Have you ever seen it expressed heretofore, or have you yourself ever regarded the matter in that light?

You may possibly recollect that while I was editor of the daily Nashville World (two or three years ago) I took Mr. William Walter Phelps to task for having stated in a speech, to the House that you (on leaving the Senate in 1861) had breathed out "threatening and slaughter." When I republished the speech you did make on that occasion, he admitted his error in a letter to me, though I could not get him to do so publicly.

I was elected Editor of the *News Herald* May 1st last and moved hither from Tennessee.

Your letter to Ex-Gov. Lubbock has had more influence in this and other States than any publication since the war. It

² Editor News-Herald, Jacksonville, Fla.

was a most wise and timely utterance and has brought most of our people to their right minds.

If my friends, Maj. and Miss Sallie Morgan are at Biloxi

they can acquaint you with me. With great respect

I am your friend and obt. svt.

(Signed) C. E. MERRILL, Editor etc.

N. J. Hammond 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Atlanta, Ga. 21st Sept. 1887.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss.

Dear Sir:

Reading Justice Miller's speech at Philadelphia, Pa, upon the origin etc. of our Constitution of U. S. recalls that its first commentator was Rawle, a Philadelphia lawyer and that he taught, in so many words that any state had a right to secede from the Union at pleasure.

Without regard to whether that was true doctrine I ask your decision as to an historical fact. When in Congress I asked Genl. Sheridan if that book was not taught at West Point. He thought not. I wrote the Commandant at West Point and he thought not. I have been told that it was, while you were a student there.

Allow me to so far tax you as to ask whether that be so and when it ceased to be so taught if ever taught there.

Hoping you long life and much happiness, I am,

Yours, etc.,

(Signed) N. J. HAMMOND.

Manly Tello to Jefferson Davis

(From Confederate Museum.)

Cleveland, O. Sept 29 1887

President Jefferson Davis, My dear chief.

I took the liberty of sending your letter in confidence to my parish priest. I enclose his answer. (Taking a liberty with

¹ Nathaniel J. Hammond, born 1833, died 1899, Supreme Court Reporter, Attorney-General of Georgia, Congressman from that State 1879-1887.

his letter, as I did with yours; in both cases I hope pardonably.)

My own opinion is in agreement with yours and Father McMahon's. I send the volume. Please retain it as a souvenir of
the good priest. I know it will please him.

Believe me, my dear chief, ever at your service. I sincerely hope you have by this thoroughly recovered from your indis-

position. May God ever bless you and yours,

Your serv't and friend, (Signed) MANLY TELLO.

P. S. It happened that last night a young lady opened your work at the page containing your likeness at the age of 32 (I believe); her natural exclamation of, Oh how handsome! pleased me.

R. W. Burks to Jefferson Davis

(From Confederate Museum.)

Feagin P. O. Houston Co., Ga. Oct. 11th, 1887.

Hon. Jefferson Davis, Beauvoir, Miss. Dear Sir:

Pardon the intrusion on your valuable time, but a matter of much interest and importance, to me urges me to address you.

I am a teacher and for sometime the Civil War has been the subject of study. In looking up supplementary reading for the children, on this subject, I found the account of your prison life at Fortress Monroe, by Dr. John J. Craven, your attending physician.

I do not allow the children reading matter of that nature unless I am satisfied it is authentic. If you are familiar with the book will you please let me know if the details and incidents are true? My school has manifested so keen an interest in every incident of the war, I felt encouraged to approach you.

They join me in wishing a fervent, "God bless you," and that you may be able to attend our state fair at Macon, Ga., when they will feel honored in welcoming their hero.

Very respectfully,

(Signed) R. W. Burks.

W. Howard McCaleb 1 to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

New Orleans, October 12th, 1887.

Hon. Jefferson Davis. My dear Friend:

Your attention is respectfully called to the enclosed editorial entitled "Who was the last to surrender." You know full well that my Company composed of Veterans of the Army of N. Va. came with you to Washington, Ga. and never "became marauders" as is falsely stated in this Article. Capt. Given Campbell told me that he and his men escaped and never surrendered. I do not believe that W. Van Benthuysen knows much about your capture. After leaving you at your request I came on with my command to Meridian Miss. and there surrendered on the 22nd May 1865. I am jealous of the reputation of my comrades who composed a part of yr. Escort. It is a slander to call them marauders and I ask of you to vindicate me and them from the foul aspersions contained in this Article.

Excuse me for intruding upon your valuable time, but a word

from you will settle this matter.

Ever yrs. sincerely, (Signed) E. HOWARD McCALEB.

J. B. Gordon to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

My dear Mr. President: Atlanta, Ga. Oct. 13th, 1887.

I esteem it a privilege to introduce my friends, Hon. H. H. Carlton, Maj. Lamar Cobb, Mr. P. A. Stovall and Col. W. J. Morton, all of Athens, Georgia. These gentlemen fitly represent our best people and like all true men in Georgia and in the South are full of affectionate loyalty to you and yours.

I sincerely hope that you will be able to go from Macon to Athens. No place in our State will give you a more enthusiastic welcome; and I am sure it would interest you to visit the former home of so many of our distinguished citizens, among whom, were some of your warm personal friends.

With the sincere hope of meeting you soon and of welcoming you again to Georgia, I am, Faithfully your friend,

(Signed) J. B. Gordon.

¹ Confederate soldier and lawyer of New Orleans.

Henry Whitney Cleveland to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

352 West Jefferson Street, Louisville, Kentucky, 14: November 1887.

Your Excellency Jefferson Davis, Dear and Honored Sir:

I was Kentucky State Commissioner to the Piedmont Atlanta Georgia Fair and the reception of my kinsman, Grover Cleveland. I think I had rather been sent to Macon to bear the greeting of Kentucky to you, and entirely agree in the views of my old friend, Henry R. Jackson. I have been in England and seen how Oliver Cromwell outranks the Charles's and Georges even with the Nobility. So it will be here in a century from 1865. I suppose you have now had time to read my MS written out from the notes of Alexander H. Stephens as to his view of the Blair mission in 1864-5, the terms Mr. Lincoln was forced to offer under the losses and defeats of U.S. Grant in his Wilderness road, and of the alternative that Mr. Lincoln may not have intended the cessation of hostilities and war with Mexico as a basis of reconstruction,—and changed his mind in view of the expected fall of Petersburg; but that he was insincere all of the time, as Mr. Seward was about the forts in 1861. In short that Mr. Blair may have been a tool or a spy, and that he possibly talked one way to you, and another to Stephens, Hunter and others, on the streets of Richmond. I would prefer an article by you to a revision, but a revision of my article rather than silence on this theme far more important to history, than the gasconade of a British General. I will modify my article in any way you wish, or, I will use an article by you and lay mine aside. The compensation will go strictly in charity to a need of this city. Regards and love to Mrs. Davis and family.

Faithfully,
HENRY WHITNEY CLEVELAND.

P.S. Could Mrs. Davis spare a picture of herself,—say of 1861 or '87?

endorsed: Revd. ('leveland; about A. H. Stephens statement.

S. A. Matthews to Jefferson Davis.

(From Confederate Museum.)

Summit, Nov 22, 1887.

Hon Jefferson Davis Dear Sir

You must excuse me from trespassing on your valuable time to peruse a kind word from an old personal and political friend and I cannot resist the temptation as well as the natural impulse of my feelings towards an old and tried friend of his native country to express to you my sincere and heartfelt approbation of your course through so many absurd and malignant attacks upon your integrity and patriotism But with your old friends these actions have fell harmless, whether coming from Priest or politician and like tried gold you have come out of the fire of

fanaticism pure and unsullied

My first political or official action was while a member of the Legislature from Pike County 1850 to cast my maiden vote for you for U. S. Senator, having been before that time from an ardent supporter of your true doctrines as to National and State policy, and will say that I have no cause to regret the doctrines of State rights which were inculcated in my mind while but a youth. And a service of four years in the Confederate army has not lessened my attachment to the same. In looking over the list of members of the Legislature of 50, how many are left. All but a few have crossed the dark river. I can find but Roderick Seal, J. L. Alcorn, Jas. Stewart and myself that can answer to roll call—Barton, Harrison, McRae, Catching, Sharkey, Anderson, Cassidy, Wall, Talbott, Weathersly, Barry, Scott, and a host of others are all gone. And now having passed three score and five years, although the fires of youth have paled I see no cause to regret my past political course. Hoping that your honorable and eventful life may yet be prolonged so that the youth of the country may by your example entertain the proper principles of our government and act in accordance with the same

Would be pleased to hear from you, should it be convenient so to do

I am truly your Friend and obt Svt

(Signed) S. A. MATTHEWS.

Sidney Root 1 to Jefferson Davis. (From Confederate Museum.)

My dear Sir

Atlanta Nov. 22, 1887.

In due time I reed your kind letter of the 9th and at once wrote Col. B. W. Frobel who is temporarily in Macon. Since which I met him and he cheerfully promised to send you the map of Cobb County with explanatory notes &c. If he writes you as he talked to me, he will correct serious misapprehensions about the battle of Seven pines, and the operations near Atlanta—the transfer of the command from Johnston to Hood &c. Hood I knew well, being often at his headquarters during the siege of Atlanta, and he afterwards visiting and dining with me in N. York, a most noble and gallant soldier—Johnston I knew but slightly—

It chanced that my friend J. L. M. Curry—now minister to Spain was Johnston's Judge advocate General and often visited me in Atlanta during the retreat. We were all anxious for the safety of Atlanta, and from time to time Curry reported that a stand would be made and battle delivered—as at Cass Station, Kennesaw &c., but before I could get word to my friends in the Confederacy, the army was in retreat. I know nothing of military matters, but I naturally felt a strong interest in the confederacy and in Atlanta, where 14 of our buildings were burned by Sherman. I care nothing for the great loss of property, but I dislike to see matters so distorted that no correct record will reach the future historian. The fallen cause has few friends before the World. I well remember Albert Sidney Johnston's phrase-"Success is the test of merit" by those who do not think. For instance I knew many friends of Gen. Grant who always considered him a cheap man until, backed by the resources of the World he received the surrender of the shattered remnant of Gen. Lee's Army at Appomattox—I believe history will vindicate us, and to this end I desire to straighten out matters while we live. I presume Col. Frobel would not care for his Memorandums to be published. Though he did not say so it might renew controversies of which every true Confederate ought to be ashamed. He talked freely and as he was in position to know, I got a good deal of information on points which were before obscure to me.

¹ A leading merchant and financier of Atlanta, Georgia, a native of Massachusetts.

On yesterday I mailed Miss Varina a well meant but rather gushing discription of Beauvoir, and Brieffeld. I suppose there is no harm in my saying that by my own experience in planting with free negroes, the fewer Brieffelds the better. However this wonderfully illustrated description will do no harm—let it go.

I apologise for this long letter which was intended to be only a note—Don't be too hospitable to all the visitors who want to visit

you. I am trying to keep them away.

Pray remember me most kindly to Mrs. Davis, Miss Varina and Mrs. Hays, and believe me

Sincerely your friend (Signed) SIDNEY ROOT.

Hon. Jefferson Davis.

Henry Whitney Cleveland to Jefferson Davis.
(From Confederate Memorial Hall.)

Not for publication.

352 West Jefferson Street, Louisville, Kentucky, 25: November 1887.

Your Excellency, Jefferson Davis, Dear and Honored Sir.

It was the best of our Thanksgiving to have the letter from you, postmarked the 23rd. The sensational report in the Republican press of your being near death at Macon, was so absolutely and oppositely contradicted in the Courier-Journal dispatches, that my hurried note was sent in full confidence of its finding you perfectly well. Let me say at the outset, if either your physical or mental disinclination to reading MS, makes this suggestion welcome, you are entirely at liberty to put my writing in the fire—with the remainder of this letter unread and unanswered. I am not so selfish as to ask unwelcome exertion from you, for the sake of swelling the attendance at any Fair, or, inflating my own little reputation.

Briefly then,—there appeared in the Century (date and words quoted in my article, with you) a generally fair article on "The Bailing of Jefferson Davis." I knew some of the facts, being by his Cleveland marriage, a kinsman of Horace Greeley, but had never used them, as they only recalled a Shame on all of the South. In the article however, what purported to be a verbatim report from General Blair, had this remarkable statement (I write this away from books or notes): He said that he proposed

to you from Mr. Lincoln, the evacuation of Richmond and of the whole South, by Confederate Armies. Sherman was to permit the flight without battle, and Grant and he were to pursue all of us in our exodus, through all of the states, turned over to their mercy, across the Mississippi and finally out of Texas into Mexico. Once on foreign soil, he said nothing could hinder the fraternization of the two armies, and love and reconstruction would end our crowning cowardice and disgrace. This is the substance. I wrote to Editor R. W. Gilder whom I knew when I edited Appleton's Journal. I said to him that if Blair had ever made such a proposal to the Man of Buena Vista and of Richmond, nothing but your paralysis could have saved him from being kicked down stairs. Another article appeared in the Atlantic Monthly, April 1887, entitled "A suppressed chapter in History, by Edmund Kirke," p. 435. This is very similar to what Mr. Stephens gave me for my article in the New York Tribune, 1865, and (with the MS notes I have.) largely printed in "The War Between the States." In my article now with you, I have quoted the book, because it was revised by him, and not the MS. (See that). I was on parole after Vicksburg, and Chief of Ordnance for the State of Georgia. Mr. Stephens had known me from boyhood, and I claim your sympathy and forbearance when I tell you, that I studied law under Joseph E. Brown, who had his first lift in money from my father. That Robert Toombs gave me the use of his Library as if it had been my own, that Judge Thomas W. Thomas, Stephens' second in the Benk, H. Hill proposed duel, was my law partner, and—after you put General Lee at the head of the Army of North Virginia. —General Smith used to visit my quarters, and he and Toombs and Linton Stephens, abuse you by the hour! Naturally I did not admire you greatly, and as ('hief Editor of the Augusta Ga. Daily Constitutionalist, I printed some of their speeches and letters; under my parole. Mr. Stephens returned from Hampton Rds, in bad temper, and said to all his friends that you would not permit a full report of the famous Conference, because it was part of the plan of Mr. Lincoln to encourage treason in the South, by offering pay for the Slaves and good terms of Reconstruction; while he ignored the Confederate Government. That Hunter and Campbell had sided with you, &c. I told him Mr. Lincoln would give his version and advised giving the whole truth—then. I took notes in his presence, but first used them in the Tribune as a means to get him out of Fort Warren. He professed to be indignant at the publication, but gave it all and more, in "the War between the States." (See Article.) His account in brief, was—That Mr. Seward proposed a masterly check-mate to the Recognition proposed by Napoleon III. Namely, the assertion of the Monroe Doctrine by both North and South; passage of cotton through the Blockade to defray the cost of war with the French, and an Armistice, to be led up to Reconstruction. That this may have been a fraudulent offer to lull the South to rest, and, Mr. Blair a spy, was I think my suggestion.

His view was that at Hampton Rds. it was too late to accept it. However, the slaves could even then be paid for, and the South be restored as She was. (See April Atlantic, 1887.) So said the Northern papers at the time, so thousands still believe, and curse you for not making the money! I wrote my article to vindicate you by the testimony of your enemies. Burn it when

you wish, with my free consent.

Now a word about Mr. Stephens, and it will surprise you to learn that my loyalty to you cost me ten thousand dollars. I worshiped him, as most Georgians did. He came to me in Augusta, after his release from Fort Warren, with a letter from O. D. Case & Co., Hartford. They said they had paid Mr. Greeley One hundred thousand dollars royalty on his book, and would pay Mr. Stephens twenty thousand dollars, cash, and a royalty, for any book about the War, he would put his name to. Mr. Stephens said he "was only inspired on his legs," but he would give me ten thousand dollars, to come to his house and write the book. He had letters from Johnston, Beauregard, G. W. Smith and many more. I was very poor and am so yet, and agreed. I gave up work I had-the Yankees having my paper,—and concluded first to issue "The Life, Letters and Speeches of A. H. Stephens," to prepare the way. On that I made \$2500. My first quarrel with him was his altering the printed speeches, some of which he had revised in my presence. He said he was wrongly reported. In my book, the passages in his praise are mainly of his writing or dictation. I have his MS notes to prove it. So much for my Adulation! When it came to writing his book, I found that his plan was, by testimony of Toombs and sore headed Generals, to east the whole odium of the Failure of the War upon you. (See Gen. Grant's Book concerning yourself.) I said in substance-"Do you know, Mr. Stephens, that Major Dunwoody once proposed to send you and Govr. Brown to Richmond in irons, as traitors? Do you remember that you used the Southern Express and the Arch Traitor Henry B. Plant, for your correspondence, for fear letters were opened? Mr. Davis is in Prison (1865) in peril of life, and in

irons. Whether moving Joseph E. Johnston lost Georgia or not (I am satisfied on that now), the whole heart of the South is with Mr. Davis now. If you print such a book I believe a mob will hang you, and not be far wrong.

He dictated another, or Constitutional view, through his Secretary Hidell, but he never forgave me, although I made him Governor in 1882-3. It cost me \$10,000, and the fame of it. The Books and Letters of the Generals, all grew out of that correspondence in my opinion. I believe now, Mr. President, that I do you justice, even if it be too late. I do not vote,—I am so poor that I would gladly come and be your overseer or your secretary, for bare bread for wife and little children, but I am a Confederate still and you are my President.

If you wish to reply to the charge that you ever listened to an offer to disgrace the Army by useless and senseless flight, I am your servant for the task.

If you let it go with the Pollard and other lies, you can burn all I wrote. Although I needed the money bitterly, I offered it for charity, in a need of this city.

Grateful for the pictures you gave me—none of Mrs. Davis—for the honor of letters from you, and leaving as sole legacy (perhaps) to my children, the sword I wore in your cause and our own, I am,

Dear and Honored Sir,
Your humble servant,
HENRY WHITNEY CLEVELAND.

P.S. There was a very brief note from you, saying you would write when you had read my article. The promised letter never came. I keep them all. endorsed:

Revd. H. W. ('leveland about Stephens and slanders on J. D. ansd. 15th Dec. '87.







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